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GUSTAF E. KARSTEN

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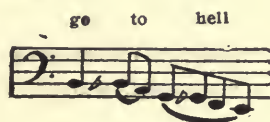
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## AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF INTONATION.\*

Last summer, in Hammerstein's roof-garden, I heard a man imitating on his banjo scenes of domestic life, among which was a conversation between husband and wife. The man came home late, and after he had, with considerable trouble, found the key-hole and climbed upstairs, she started a good sermon, interrupted only by a few muttered utterances from his side, until he lost his patience and said :



And every one of the audience understood, from the sound of the banjo, what his words had been.

The performer produced these tones by turning the keys and so shortening and lengthening the strings. If you tried the same thing on the piano, you would hardly succeed in making yourself understood, because you can not glide from one tone to the other on the piano. And that is the peculiarity of the intonations, that our voice does not rest on one tone a perceivable time, but glides or slurs in a continual portamento or springs up and down.

What is this intonation, this Sprachmelodie, or Sprachmelos,<sup>1</sup> and how does it differ from a musical melody? The main difference in its character is the aforesaid difference of fixed and gliding tones. While a melody is musical, is bound to harmonies and keys, intonation is a half-musical noise with half-harmonies and disharmonies, quickly changing its keys, and having, instead of chords, arpeggiated chords.<sup>2</sup>

\* A lecture given before the Language and Literature Club of the University of Wisconsin.

<sup>1</sup> Saran in his *Deutsche Verslehre* (München 1907, p. 24 ff.) discriminates between "Sprachmelos" (intonation in prose) and "Sprachmelodie" (intonation in verse).

<sup>2</sup> cf. Johan Storm, *Englische Philologie*, Leipzig, 1892. I 205 ff.

It is proven by notations that speech really uses different keys for different purposes. But I am not musician enough to be competent on this question, and I can leave it aside for the very simple reason that only a very refined ear, after a close study, can discriminate any shades of that kind in our intonations.<sup>3</sup>

While, further, in music the words are rather an accompaniment of the melody, and in a certain way subjected to it, speech-melody is an accompaniment of the speechsounds, *accantus*—*accentus*, as it was called in Latin, to translate the Greek term *προσῳδία*—i. e., something that is sung to the words which are the communication of the thoughts. Nevertheless, this *προσῳδία* is no unessential detail. As the quoted instance shows us, intonation alone is expressive. We can observe this every day by listening to a conversation in a distant room, from which we do not hear anything but a vague noise with its pitches. We even use it for communications of simple attitudes of mind toward a given fact, when we are too lazy to articulate. Our 'm' or 'm etc.,'<sup>4</sup> is almost nothing but intonation, and is nevertheless understood by the person addressed.

Written words and phrases are lifeless and meaningless. They reveal in no way the emotional interest of the speaker, unless there be a musical sign represented by our punctuation. However, the emotional interest of the speaker cannot be expressed at all, or at best incompletely, while in speech there is a surprising richness of means, which leaves the scholar who first tackles these questions almost in despair of ever being able to explain and classify them. And, indeed, comparatively little has been done. There are very clever aperçus and observations on the question, which, however, often leave the reader in doubt about the most important details, because they are rendered by insufficient little bars and points, from which nothing can be

<sup>3</sup> cf. Storm, l. c., p. 207.

cf. Merkel, *Physiologie der menschlichen Stimme*, Leipzig, 1866. p. 356 ff.

<sup>4</sup> cf. Eduard Sievers, *Grundzüge der Phonetik*, Leipzig, 1901. § 397.



learned about the starting point and the nature of the intervals.<sup>5</sup> There are elaborate curves taken with the kymographion in psychological laboratories. But those are too elaborate, the curves too long and large, and the instances, on account of the difficulty of this process, not numerous enough for our purposes.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Merkel in his "Physiologie der menschlichen Stimme" was one of the first to give notations with musical signs, and his observations are not yet antiquated nor surpassed. Paul Pierson (*Metricque naturelle du langage*, Paris 1884), Storm (l. c. I, 177 ff.), Saran (*Deutsche Verslehre*, München 1907, p. 36 and p. 219; *Studien z. d. Phil.*, Halle 1903, p. 171-239) and others followed. Sievers in his "Grundzüge der Phonetik, Leipzig 1901," deals more with the more phonetic or physiological phenomena; his fundamental theories on "Sprachmelodie" are given only in form of a program (cf. note 18), but we are still waiting for his more extensive publication on the subject.

It is a pity that A. Melville Bell in his various books on elocution and phonetics used the system of bars and points and a very vague description and terminology. His observations were, as it seems, to judge for instance from the XXVI chapter of his "Essays and Postscripts on Elocution" (New York 1886), "A shadow class of students," very interesting and extensive. Other observations of that kind we find in Jespersen, Sweet, Passy, Hempl and others. Jespersen devotes a whole and very valuable chapter to these problems. It is to be regretted, in my opinion, that he did not discriminate between Hochton or Tiefton in the course of the sentence and rise and fall, if subject to the Abschlussgesetz, a circumstance which leads him to overemphasize the influence of the breath on intonation. He says (p. 228): "Beim Beginn eines Satzes, wo die Lungen eben mit Luft gefüllt sind, ist es natürlich, dass auch die Schwingungszahl der Stimmbänder grösser ist als gegen Schluss, wo die in der Lunge gesammelte Luftmasse fast verbraucht ist. Es ist daher ganz natürlich, dass man die letzten Silben eines längeren Satzes mit tieferem Ton ausspricht als die ersten . . ." This is, however, if made a law, not true. We can, on the contrary, very often observe that the highest rise is reached at the end of the sentence very close to the cadence, which occurs in the last syllable, or even in the last vowel or consonant of the last syllable. And for that reason I preferred to begin in my investigations with the end of the communication and to proceed toward the beginning. (Compare the doubtful intonation quoted by Jespersen: nicht ei-nen Pfennig mehr, which could be just as well: nicht einen Pfennig mehr.)

<sup>6</sup> cf. Edward Wheeler Scripture's works, especially his "Elements of Experimental Phonetics," New York 1902. For more practical purposes the method of experiment with the machine seems to be of very small profit on account of the reasons given above. It is, moreover,

Only a short time ago a way was found which really seems to be apt to give practical results. Daniel Jones published a small volume of intonation curves taken by the aid of a phonograph and tuning forks. The only objection against this process would be that the records are not taken under his supervision with speakers whose peculiarities he had studied and he could describe, and that the speakers speak memorized texts with here and there false accents.

A few attempts are made to simplify and classify the different observations, but they are neither thoroughly done, lacking a method and a system of classification and subclassification, nor do they avoid the difficulty which comes in through inappropriate terms and the attempt to characterize the whole intonation of a phrase at once, instead of taking the different parts of it first. Some of them even get confused by mixing up the intonation with the accent and by the presumption that the result of the stronger stress is a higher pitch.

This is obviously an error. A violinchord does not give a higher pitch because it is pinched stronger; and so it is with the vocal chords. But emotions affect the larynx. Through acceleration of the movement of the heart, the breathing organs as well as the glottis are contracted, and accordingly the tone is pitched higher. On the other hand, relaxation, as a result of the not an advisable practice to use speeches made by a trained person, as those of actors, who are often carried away by habits of a peculiar kind of singing and by the melody of the verse itself. In Jones' notations I noticed among others the wrong intonation on p. 65: "das *ich* dir ausgesucht, where *ich* must not take the accent of emphasis (Wallenstein did not *choose* a horse, but rode his *usual* "Schecke"), and on p. 57 "Lüge" only takes up the preceding verb "lügen," and is therefore to be spoken in a low tone, while "Sternkunst" deserves a higher pitch; line 6 on the same page the word "giebt" is overemphasized. The French conversation he offers is taken for educational purposes and accordingly somewhat conservative and unnatural in its intonation; the rare occurrence of shifted accent to my mind seems to confirm this; for as Viëtor says (Elemente der Phonetik und Orthoëpie des Deutschen, Englischen und Französischen, Heilbronn 1887): It is doubtful whether: "das Französische überhaupt je anders als im Affekt gesprochen wird." (p. 43.)



diminished interest and emotion, lowers it. We can then state at this point one of the most elementary of psychological laws, that of expectation and fulfilment, to which the multitude of the phenomena of the endintonation can be reduced. By endintonation we mean the intonation of the end of a statement. For this is for our purposes the most important part of the sentence, and since we have in this investigation to deal more with the emotional expressions than with the merely physiological and phonetic sides of speech, we do well to give the main emphasis to this most important factor.

The *falling curve or cadence* means that the communication of the thought is completed and that the speaker does not expect any continuation of it from the person addressed. The cadence is the expression of fulfilment. When I say:

I'll take a walk today  
 Ich werde heute ausgehen  
 Je vais me promener aujourd'hui

there is nothing that indicates the expectation of a continuation or an answer. And the case is not changed—as it perhaps might appear to a person unused to observation of speechtones—when the accent on the last word brings in a high pitch before the dropping of the voice in

I'll take a walk today

or

Ich will heute ausgehn

or

Je vais m' promener aujourd'hui

for there is always a little tag of falling curve even as late as in the last part of the *i* in *aujourd'hui* or in a voiced consonant:

Er meinte den Mann  
 Il croyait que c'était l'homme  
 He meant the man  
 Er ist am Ziel

The simplest way to find this out is to take a word of two syllables with the accent on the first. Instead of

Er ist am Ziel

say:

Er ist am Ziele  
 Er meinte die Männer a. s. o.

The stronger the interest, the emotion of the communication, the *larger* the intervals. While the most usual curve moves in musical fourths and fifths by passing through the second, it is often pitched to the octave and even higher: for instance, if we want to emphasize that he meant the *man*, and not the *woman*. In doubtful cases, or even in general, it is advisable in order to suppress the "Eigenton," the relative pitch of the vowel, to stop all articulation and let the air pass through the nose, thus isolating the intonation from the words to which it belongs, and to trust more to the *motoric* sense than to the *acoustic*. Sounds which are heard only with difficulty can still be felt through the movements of the glottis by a person that is used to observing himself.

So the dropping of the tone at the end of the sentence:

Oui, c'est gentil

Perhaps for the reason of clearly bringing out the cadence, the French so often uses the shifted accent or the simple raising of the voice before the last syllable if this bears the main accent:

Oui, c'est gen•til.<sup>7</sup>

In Jones' notations, where this shifting is very scarce, we have it twice in the cadence:

Alors il vaut mieux les prendre au gui•chet. (p. 46, 5)

Si ce n'est toi, c'est donc ton•frère. (p. 42, 22)

Jespersion quotes:

On nous a servis comme des•rois. (Phon., p. 238)

and Storm, I, 187:

Monsieur Dubois, donnez vous la peine d'en•trer.

The shifting, of course, is very common in cases of emotion and emphasis:

En effet, je n'ai jamais vu rien vu d'aussi gran•diose.

C'est d'un effet mer•veil•leux.

J'l'ai bien vu• mais je n'l'ai pas•en•ten•du.

where "entendu" and "vu" form a contrast and would have about the same high pitch in German and in English:

Ich habe ihn gehört• aber nicht gesehn•

I heard• him but I did not see• him

<sup>7</sup> To indicate the relative lower or higher pitch I use the lower or higher dots at the *end* of the syllable.

That the mere syntactical structure of the sentence has no influence on the intonation can be easily seen, when we observe questions which are meant as commands or prohibitions. We say, with a constant fall:<sup>8</sup>

Willst du das wohl sein lassen\

Will you stop that nonsense\

Voulez vous me donner ce livre\

But we can even go farther and state that intonations are kept for historical reasons. All questions with an interrogative pronoun take the cadence. They were—according to a supposition which I owe to Mr. Edward Prokosch—originally dependent clauses, having the intonation of such.

Wér hat dir das gesagt\

Quí est-ce qui te l'a dit\

Wann hast du ihn gesehn\

Whén did you see him\

When didd you see him\

When did yóu see him\

When did you seé him\

And the same intonation will take place when a question is asked either upon a preceding communication of the fact you are asking for, or upon a preceding answer which you did not expect:

Did he réally say so\

Hat er das wírklich gesagt\

Whén did you see him, not whére\

Mais non, est-ce quil la écrit\

No, but did he wríte it to you\

We are perhaps not far from the explanation by assuming that those questions are also felt as dependent clauses:

I mean: whén did you see him\

No, but did he write you, thát is the question\

One could say the preceding question implies a contrast:

Did he wríte it to you\

and we supply:

Or did he only sáy so\

But in disjunctive questions only the second member has the cadence; the first one takes a rising pitch:<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Here as later the cadence is indicated by a line slanting to the right, the end rise by a line slanting to the left.

<sup>9</sup> cf. Jespersen, *Phon.* p. 332. *Hempl: German Orthography and Phonology*, New York, 1897, p. 172.

Willst du hfer bleiben / oder nach Háuse gehn\  
 Will you stay hère / or will you go hôme\  
 Resterez vous ici / ou rentrerez vous chez nous\

Either these are not to be regarded as real questions, but as statements of two possibilities between which you have to choose, or they are under the laws of contrast pitch, which will be explained later. Hempl calls the second member an anticipated reply. I need not say that questions of surprise, anger, disappointment, even when they consist of an interrogative pronoun or interjection, do not take the rising pitch, as long as an answer is not to be expected:

wie\ wirklich\ est-il possible\ vraiment\ how\ really\

Many phoneticians presume a level pitch having its place between the rising and falling pitch. But I think that we can not concede it a class by itself. It is the expression of indifference, and, as far as I can see, always somewhat falling or somewhat rising:

jà yès ouì wèll = may be, it is so  
 tjá = dazu kann ich nichts sagen  
 wèll = I don't know  
 já yès ouì, mais . . . .

They often indicate that some remark or objection is suppressed.

We come now to the *rising pitch*, the most important use of which is that in questions not introduced by an interrogative pronoun:

Hast du ihn geséhn /  
 Did you sée him /  
 L'avez vous vú /  
 Est-ce que vous l'avez vú /  
 Er hat das getán /  
 Giebst du mir das Búch /

But there is one sort of a question introduced by an interrogative pronoun that takes the rising instead of the falling tone, and that is a question asking for repetition of a statement or an answer which the questioner has not understood.

A comes home and B asks him about his commission:

A Well/what did he sáy\  
 Nun / was hat er geságt\  
 Eh bien, quest-ce quil a díť\

B He'd come to-mórrów\  
 Er käme mórgen \  
 Il allait venir demáin\  
 A Whát did he say /  
 Wás hat er gesagt /  
 Qu'est-ce qu'il a dit /

Or, when B is surprised at the question of A, he will repeat the same question, with a rising pitch:

Was hat er geságt / Na, dass er kómmen wollte\  
 Jespersen calls this "a question raised to the second power."<sup>10</sup>

In a surprised question the intervals are usually a little larger:

Really / Vraiment / Wirklich /

To call some one's attention to a fact, to warn him, or to express that we are ready for action, we start with a comparatively high tone and go still farther up:

fertig / ready / allright /  
 attention / s'il vous plait /  
 Vorsicht /

Belegte Brödchen /, Pumpernickel / Apfelsinen gefällig /

At the same time there is a very simple acoustic reason which often forces public speakers to raise their voice on the last syllable of the sentence, instead of dropping it; and this can also be noticed when somebody is called by name; however, in this last case the reason *might* be that one is waiting for an answer.

Adolf / Karl / Ernst / (which is mostly changed to Erenst)

One of my first impressions, when I came to this country two years ago, was in the station of the New York Central the man with the megaphone, who, in the word "Springfield," had a musical interval of about a fourth or fifth in the "r," while the difference of the two "i's" was hardly a semitone.

The word "nation" has always been very interesting to me in this respect, for almost every time I have heard it pronounced in a speech, it had the rising instead of the falling pitch; and I suspect that this is a habit introduced by public speakers who want to make it as expressive as possible at the end of a phrase, by raising the last syllable:

of the whole nation /

<sup>10</sup> Phon. p. 231.



On the other hand, it seems perhaps at the first glance surprising that peddlers and street vendors sometimes prefer the cadence. But it is to be remembered that their exclamations are mostly little songs, really sung more than spoken, though not always very musical. Our blueberry sellers sing:

Heilebeern, frische Heilebeern

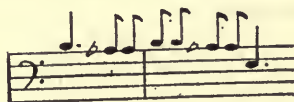
Hei le beern frische Heilebeern



Others:

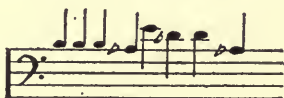
Waldmeister, alle Sorten Tee

Wald-meis-ter, alle Sorten Tee



In Normandy I heard a man peddling watercress and singing:

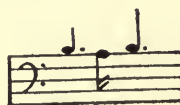
Cresson de fontaine, deus sous la botte,



Cresson d' deus  
fon-taine sous la botte

while in Holstein peddlers announce their fish with a rising pitch, but more with a speaking voice:

Kaft Flundérn



Kaft Flundérn



Still another reason, but in agreement with our statement: rising pitch is the expression of expectation, we have in sentences as

Das must du doch nicht tunV

You must not do\that /

or (Sweet),

Don't forget to post that let·terV

It isn't la\te/ (or better læ>it/)

It serves here to soften the contradiction, the command, the prohibition, as if the speaker expected a defense or apology of the person addressed.

It is not late\

Don't forget to post that letter\

You must not do that\

sound quite different. And while these polite and gentle commands start quite low, we have the same phenomenon, but starting higher and with smaller intervals, when we say "good-bye" or "halloh" to a person. The other one usually replies in a lower tone and with the cadence: That means, the conversation is over.

Good·byeV good·bye\ hal·lohV hal·loh\

tjöh / tjöh\ (for adieu in German)

bonjour madame / bonjour monsieur\



Bonjour madame Bonjour monsieur

The rising pitch is further used at any stop in the middle of the sentence or any communication, in order to express that it is incomplete and the end to follow. You put in your order to your grocer, and say:

A pound of butter / two pounds of sugar / a peck of apples / a dozen of eggs/and a pint of cream·><sup>12</sup>



A pound of butter and a pint of cream

<sup>12</sup> Note that "pint" takes the high pitch to emphasize the cadence. We have here in English something similar to the French shifted accent.

The same intonation can often be noticed in an emphatical: I·beg·your·par·don.

The grocer will repeat the same words with the same intonation, and ask:

That's all /,

and you will answer:

That's all \

In such enumerations, in English as in German, we mostly use thirds, fourths and fifths, starting from the fundamental and going up the scale.

But while we say:

Schokolade, Kaffee, Tee, Butterbröte



Schokolade

Butterbröte

the French goes up to the fifth first, and falls back to the fourth. If the word, for instance, has four syllables, the first two remain on the starting tone; if three, the first one does; if two, the first one takes the fifth immediately:

du chocolat, du té, du café



du chocolat

du té du café

But the opposite intonation, falling curve is used if the specification is to be emphasized; for instance, if the great number of objects is to be brought out:



Butterbröte

We saw a terrible disorder: books\chairs\plates\old rags\music\everything lay on the floor in an utter confusion.<sup>13</sup>

The following example may illustrate the rising at the stop in a sentence:

Soon /, however /, the revival took a turn / at which the more conservative clergy were alarmed.

And the English rule of punctuation before a relative clause, which seems so hard to learn to foreigners, is the easiest thing in the world if formulated as follows:

Set a comma, where you drop your voice, no comma where you raise it.

But, to be sure, they would have to know where to raise and to drop the voice.

The people / who had been so profoundly stirred by this great awakening / were the same / who in 1776 declared themselves independent from the mother country. NO COMMA.

But

He did not come home even then\, which merely showed that he had little regard for his family,

or

At last I was obliged to give a peremptory refusal\, for which we had nothing but sullen looks and short answers the whole day ensuing.

An exception to this intonation is made when, as in the case of the enumeration, the attention of the listener is called to the details of the sentence, to every part of the explanation. So in dramatic description:

Und als sie nun da stand\und weinte\und nach ihrer Mutter rief\, und er ins Zimmer trat\und sie in seine Arme schloss /, da kam ihr zum erstenmal der Gedanke. . . .

And now when she stood there\and wept\and called for her mother\and he entered the room\and took her in his arms /, for the first time the thought came to her. . . .

The general level of every new instance here is a little higher, but with falling curve, until the last one takes the rising pitch to indicate the relation of dependent and independent clause. So also in an argument:

Et quand' alors\, par une sorte de progrès\, de processus lent\ il seront arrivé\à ce point\troublé\et obscure /, il ne se reveilleront pas sur terre. . . .

Hemphill<sup>14</sup> gives another example and states this falling pitch

<sup>13</sup> cf. Jespersen, *Phon.* p. 235.

<sup>14</sup> l. c. p. 171.

if it is desired to give the impression that the members of a series were not all thought of in the first framing of a sentence:

Er war furchtbar böse\, er schwur\, er stampfte mit den Füßen\, er schlug sogar nach mir.

This instance, however, is not as good because of the grammatical completeness of every member of the description.

So far we have only spoken of the very end of the sentence. Even in the short communication represented by a single word, as: ja, yes, oui, non, so, indeed, we have complications which have led several scholars to the assumption of compound pitches, as: falling-rising and rising-falling. For the sake of simplicity those terms are advisable and acceptable. But I hardly think that they differ materially from the simple types of rising and falling pitch, because we can observe, even here, that straight rise or straight fall very seldom takes place.<sup>15</sup> Mostly we have curves.

To mark and emphasize the rise, we go down first and let the pitch glide or spring up; to emphasize the fall, we do the opposite.

ja^ jaV nein^ neinV yes^ yesV a. s. o.

If now a word with a strong accent precedes this last fall or rise, the curve will be more pronounced; that is, the accent will take the opposite tone, and the end of the syllable or the following unaccented syllable will glide up and down through a more or less large interval to the third, fourth, fifth or, even the octave, or still higher.

ja^ non, yes^, oui\ Roger /

This last example shows: the tone which is the farthest removed from the final tone can be placed back from the end into the interior of the clause:

Don't you like to have it warm in your room

Est-ce que ton père te l'a dit

Wer hat dir das gesagt.

However, if the word with the last accent is too far removed from the end, or an accessory accent comes in after it, the first accent takes the high pitch and the curve goes down and reaches

<sup>15</sup> I find a similar opinion in Viëtor, *Elemente der Phonetik*, Leipzig 1904<sup>5</sup> p. 300.

its lowest pitch in the other accented word or near the end of the communication:<sup>16</sup>

Est-ce que votre père ne vous a pas donné ce livre?

Didn't your father at least tell you anything about this matter?

But even this does not occur if the character of the question is that of astonishment, surprise, if the most important word has a contradictory accent, if in our example *the father* is meant in contrast to the mother. And from this use that intonation seems to be originated which I should like to call "Rapportyon" or the "tone of relation."

We find it in all contradictions, establishing a relation between the speaker and the person addressed. We can generally supply the words "as you think," and, if not already expressed, the positive contradictory statement.

My mother did not say so / (as you think, but it was my father)

Karl hat das nicht getan /

Heinrich ist gekommen, nicht Friedrich /

Friedrich ist nicht gekommen, sondern Heinrich \

Note that always the negative member takes the low pitch. The character of this intonation seems to be that of a certain didactic nature, and, as aforesaid, establishing a relation between the speaker and the person addressed. I have not yet been able to observe it in French, where it seems to be lacking.



Ces gens n'ont pas venu au spectacle pu or vous, en-tendre.<sup>17</sup>  
where "vous" does not get the strongly lowered pitch and the intonation falls from "en" to "tendre"

Ce n'était pas mon père, c'était mon frère

<sup>16</sup> Jespersen says, l. c. p. 231: "Wo die Frage nur einem einzelnen Wort im Satze gilt, erhält dieses Aufton, während das Folgende gut abwärts gehen kann, z.B. 'Ist es Anna, mit der er sich verheiratet hat?'" I would, however, call this intonation quite exceptional and rather have "Anna" take the lowest tone in the sentence. Jespersen's example makes me think of questions in a guessing game.

<sup>17</sup> This example is taken from Storm l. c. I 218.



where the accent is shifted upon the "mon." Thus it seems that in general we have to discriminate between two intonation systems which have already been assumed by Sievers, who stated: "Es gebe in Deutschland zwei landschaftlich getrennte Systeme der Empfindung für die melische Wirkung der Rede, das Niederdeutsche und das Hochdeutsche"; that is to say, a curve which expresses in the North of Germany a certain emotional attitude of the speaker will in the South express a quite different one. However, I cannot help thinking that this—merely preliminary—statement is too general, and that it is rather the emotional condition than the expression of it which changes. For even in the two parts of Germany, in the very dialects, I find intonations which for the German of the South and the German of the North have the same meaning and are the expression of the same emotional attitude. If I may be permitted to give my opinion on the matter, which is based on observations made at random, I would say that the two different intonations correspond to different conditions of mind and are the result of the racial difference and of that of temperament. I find that the observations made by Lessiak in his excellent article on the "Mundart von Pernegg in Kärnten" support this idea. He states the two intonations in his Southern dialect, and says that the first one, with rising pitch on the accented syllables, is used to express emotionless statement, communication of interesting events, command, energetic confident statement, cheerful or angry surprise, astonishment. The second, where the accented syllables have the lower pitch, is used to express indifference, resignation, despair, complaint, pity, well-meant advice, mild reproof, moderate surprise, objective narration, indifferent repetition of a communication of a third person, restrained style with persons of higher station. The tempo, he says, is here less fast, the intervals smaller, the general level lower.

<sup>18</sup> Eduard Sievers: *Ueber Sprachmelodisches in der Deutschen Dichtung*, Leipzig 1901, p. 24. Franz Saran, *Deutsche Verslehre*, München 1907, p. 116.



And he gives an excellent instance of the change of the two intonations:

It's a hard world, one never knows what to do. Help is getting scarce, corn isn't worth anything anymore. What in the world will become of us at the end?

is is wɔl rix'œ a khraeɪts af dr welt mən wās sɔn ne'amer wɔs mən  
sɔlt o'nhöbm: de.anspotn sint olwaeɪl weanigr, s trā.d hɔkhan wert mēr  
—lo wohin wemr den khö'm ən gotsnɔm mitr waeɪl.

That agrees perfectly with our observation. Lessiak says that the sentence with reversed intonation is a kind of parenthesis, a simple intimation of unquestioned facts. I would say: it refers to something that the person addressed knows and which the speaker wants to recall to him; it is didactic.

I myself have observed this intonation in lectures, where the lecturer gives a résumé. For instance:

We can therefore / make the statement /, that this intonation / is used / to sum up / the different details /, pointed out / in the course / of our lecture \

The French example given above:

Et quand alors \, par une sorte de progrès \, de processus lent \, il seront arrivé \ a ce point \ troublé \ et obscure \

I could give, as a résumé with the opposite intonation,

Et quand alors /, par une sorte de progres /, de processus lent /, il seront arrive / a ce point / troublé / et obscure /, il ne s'éveilleront pas sur terre. . . . .

A few days ago I made the same observation with Mr. Morgan, who gave in his own words a résumé of the contents of an article which had appeared in the Nation. Hempl's note on the subject (l. c. p. 172 & 173) would, however, rather confirm Sievers' supposition. He says: "It will be observed that in most cases this intonation (falling-rising) is generally associated with an incomplete or hesitated presentation of the case. Its excessive use by many Americans makes upon Germans and Englishmen an impression of weakness and indecision," while "falling-rising" is associated by Germans and Americans with some form of disapproval or contempt. Its lavish use by Englishmen is therefore apt to give offense where not intended.

How general all these intonations are, and whether the peculiarities of the individual demand a more extensive consideration, is still to be investigated and must be shown in detail. Still, I hope to have given the impression that a large part of them is common to all.

The limitations of a three-quarters-of-an-hour lecture compelled me to restrict myself to the question of the direction of the curves and to leave aside as much as possible the complications arising from the nature of the intervals, their starting point, etc.

To give an example: though the direction is the same, the curve in:



I didn't mean to do that

(Look here,) I didn't mean to do that. ( I am awfully sorry that I did it and don't see how it could happen)

denotes something different from the curve in:



I didn't mean to do that

(Why? Do you think I'm telling you a story?)

But still less has been done in this line of investigation on the subject, and I would have to give mere observations. If I have contributed to show what stage our knowledge of these matters has reached, and succeeded in pointing out what an enormous field of linguistic investigation is opened, I would be very glad. And this field will not only bear fruit for the study of modern languages—it will at the same time give new insight into psychological facts in regard to the relations of the languages, and, further, in question of authorship, furnish valu-

able criteria, as the new, startling theories of Sievers and Ottmar Rutz have proven.

cf. Eduard Sievers: *Metrische Studien* I, 1-2, Leipzig 1901.

Ottmar Rutz: *Neue Entdeckungen von der menschlichen Stimme*, München 1908.

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BARTHOLD HEINRICH BROCKES' RENDERING OF  
THOMSON'S SEASONS AND THE LATER  
GERMAN TRANSLATIONS.

PART I.

THE TRANSLATION OF THE SEASONS BY B. H. BROCKES.

I. BARTHOLD HEINRICH BROCKES AND THE SEASONS.

The *Seasons* was one of the earliest of the great English works to be translated into German and from its first introduction proved such a favorite that many later attempts were made to render the poem in various forms. These attempts extend over a period of more than seventy-five years, covering the critical period of German literature when the poetical language of Germany was being created and perfected and when the literature of the country was advancing by great strides from the dullness and bombast of the early eighteenth century writers to the finished work of the classical period. Under the sway of the Romanticists and their strivings to get back to nature the *Seasons* won new popularity and in the early nineteenth century renewed attempts were made to give the German readers an adequate presentation of Thomson's poem.

Covering as it does this long period of creating and perfecting, the various translations of the *Seasons* may be taken as a somewhat crude measure of the growth of the German language and of the advancement of the art of translation which kept step with the general literary development of the country.

At the time Brockes put the *Seasons* into German (1744) none of the great translations had been written which have made the literature of that country famous in this branch. His work was done some twenty years before Wieland's Shakespeare translations appeared—the first of that great line of reproductions which through the efforts of Eschenburg, Tieck and Schlegel have made the English author almost as well known in Germany as at home. Voss did not set the high standard of skill in this art till a generation after Brockes' death (1747), when his version of Homer's *Odyssey* appeared

(1781). It was the wonderful success which crowned this work that showed the Germans what a translation really might be and the high ideal here reached led Goethe to formulate the principles set forth in his essay on "Uebersetzung."<sup>1</sup>

Not till some ten years after the appearance of the first edition of the *Seasons* in London (1730) did the influence of this poem make itself felt in Germany. Barthold Heinrich Brockes<sup>2</sup> (1680-1747) was the first writer in Germany to discover the great English landscape author, or at least, the first to introduce him to German readers. It is not known how Brockes became acquainted with Thomson's poem; still it is not unlikely that his good friend, Friederich von Hagedorn,<sup>3</sup> had presented him with the volume. In 1729 Hagedorn went to London as private secretary to the Danish ambassador, Freiherr von Sohlenthal. In 1731 he returned to Hamburg and it is very possible that he carried back with him a copy of the *Seasons*, which just at that time was causing such a furor in London, and that he presented it to his friend, Brockes, whom he knew would appreciate it highly. Brockes had for many years been publishing poetry which treated of nature from the idealistic standpoint and which saw in all earthly phenomena the glorification of the Creator. The study of nature and his love of out-door life had aroused him to put forth one volume after another. B. J. Zink, in his introduction to the seventh volume of *Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott*,<sup>4</sup> writes of Brockes: "Die Stunden, welche Ihm die mühsamen Pflichten seines Amts übrig gelassen, hat Er denen Pflichten gewidmet, die Er schon vielen Jahren als ein vernünftiger Zuschauer der Werke Gottes und als Lehrer der Natur ausgeübt hat." But by the time he received the *Seasons*—Brockes was then about fifty years old—his muse had almost reached the limits of her creative power.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. A., Vol. VII, p. 235.

<sup>2</sup> Brandl, B. H. Brockes, Innsbruck, 1878. Lappenberg, Brockes Selbstbiographie. Hindrichsen, Brockes und das Amt Ritzebüttel.

<sup>3</sup> Lappenberg, as above, p. 220. J. J. Eschenburg, Hagedorns Werke, vol. IV, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> This is the title of the nine volumes of poems which Brockes wrote. Referred to hereafter as *Ird. Verg.*

<sup>5</sup> Brandl, p. 77.



His works were becoming more and more uninteresting and pedantic, the schoolmaster was taking the place of the author and his poems were becoming mere catalogs of the beauties of nature. Wieland wrote: "Alle hier angezogene Brockischen Stücke befinden sich in dem ersten Theil des *Ird. Verg. in Gott*, wo man überhaupt seine besten Sachen suchen muss."<sup>6</sup>

Thomson is sometimes criticised for overloading his verse with too many details and for neglecting his background and the arrangement of his pictures in his effort to cover minutiae, but in this respect his poetry is simplicity itself when compared with that of Brockes, who studied nature through a magnifying glass. Brockes was already too old by the time he read the *Seasons* to be expected to change his method or style to any great extent, still, after taking up his residence in Ritzbüttel in the year 1735, quite a marked improvement is seen in his work. In this place with its quiet country life he breathed in a new inspiration for nature and in her solitudes he read Thomson's *Seasons*, which he had brought with him from Hamburg.<sup>7</sup> Zink, in the introduction above mentioned, ascribes this improvement to the change of scenery: "Neue Vorwürfe haben Ihm zu neuen Gedanken Anlass gegeben.—Das Landleben hat indessen seine besondere Vorzüge. Es giebt tausend Vorwürfe, die zu einem zärtlichen und vernünftigen Vergnügen anreizen, und die Seele eine gewisse sanfte Ruhe und eine Freystatt verstatten, der sie so oft in der Stadt und unter dem Gewühl der Menschen entbehren muss."<sup>8</sup>

Brockes found in the *Seasons* no new sort of poetry, for he had long been writing descriptive and narrative verse, but he rather discovered in Thomson a greater poet than he himself was in his own field.<sup>9</sup> And since he perceived that Thomson had expressed more beautifully the love for nature than he could do it, he followed his English master and translated what he could not invent. With the *Jahreszeiten* as a magic wand he led German poetry out from the study and the haunts of

<sup>6</sup> Wieland, *Briefe an einen jungen Dichter*, p. 101.

<sup>7</sup> Brandl, p. 97.

<sup>8</sup> Zink, p. 11.

<sup>9</sup> Gjerset, p. 9.

man into the heart of nature and showed her the beauties there; how the grass grows and the flowers bloom and how the plains and woods are full of life and music; showed her the beauties of the day and night and the joy of living; led her through the harvest fields with the ripening grain and all their bounteous life, into the forest with its falling verdure and its departing birds, and sang to her also of the joys of winter with its snow and ice and active life. And German poetry heard and caught the inspiration, and a new life thrilled through her song and filled her notes with love for the world and its beautiful, simple nature. Brockes was a writer without much imagination, but his love for nature led him to wish that he might arouse in his fellow-countrymen an appreciation of her. This desire was furthered by the success of his first volume of poems, which had met with a warm reception. To him rather than to Haller belongs the honor of introducing descriptive poetry into Germany and of freeing German verse from the bondage of artificial nature as seen in the "Schäfergedichte."

## II. THE FIRST ATTEMPTS TO TRANSLATE PARTS OF THE SEASONS.

1. About the time that the influence of the *Seasons* began to make itself felt in Brockes' poems, he was reproducing fragments of Thomson's work, the first appearing as an appendix to his translation of Pope's *Essay on Man* (Hamburg, 1740). This earliest attempt was a short selection from *Spring*, which was printed with the English text on the opposite page under the title, "*The Wild and Irregular Passion of Love*," which Brockes rendered, "*Die Wilden und unordentlichen Eigenschaften der Liebe, aus Mr. Thomson's Seasons*." In this passage Brockes tries several different meters; perhaps in order to see which is most convenient and best suited to his purpose, although he uses no forms with which he was not already familiar. We find here a mixture of verses with four, five and six accents, with anacrusis and with random rhyme. The double line or verse of eight accents,<sup>10</sup> which is really made up of two rhythmical groups of four accents each, is not used at all. It had not as

<sup>10</sup> For discussion of verse form see p. 69.

yet driven the other forms of verse into the background and it was not the only form used in translations, as Brandl states.<sup>11</sup> That Brockes found the verse of six accents too short to make a verse-for-verse translation is clearly seen from the fact that he required 195 lines to reproduce the 133 of the original, which in his complete work of 1745<sup>12</sup> requires but 137 verses. In this earliest attempt the *Picture of Passion* is not very exactly rendered. Since he printed the English text on the opposite page it would seem that the author had rather the idea of introducing Thomson's work to Germany than of making a close translation.

Compared with J. it is more poetic and pleasing because it is not hampered by the necessity of reproducing the original so exactly, but may take liberties in treatment which could not be allowed in J.

When Brockes made his complete translation of the *Seasons* he used his earlier attempt, transferring from it, without change, all verses of four accents. The other verses were expanded to eight accents, but a large number of words, phrases and rhymes were retained in J. Since the same measure is used in both it was only necessary to add the lacking syllables to fill out the eight accents.

2. Brockes' second attempt was a reworking of the *Hymn to the Seasons*, which he used as an introduction to his *Harmonischen Himmelslust im Irdischen*.<sup>14</sup> This translation Brockes has added to his *Jahreszeiten*, with a few minor changes. He has reproduced the 121 iambic verses of the original by 173 double verses without anacrusis. His work is very free, much freer even than J., and can be considered only as a reworking. At the end of the hymn Brockes has added: "Dieses Gedicht ist nach Anleitung eines berühmten Dichters, Mr. Thomson, verfertigt worden." One emendation that Brockes made is interesting. In the edition of 1741 v. 40, every living soul, is rendered, alle lebendigen Seelen. In J. this appears: alle Geister, alle Seelen, which is not so exact, but which enables the

<sup>11</sup> Brandl, p. 133.

<sup>12</sup> This will hereafter be referred to as J.

<sup>14</sup> Musicalische Gedichte und Cantaten, theils neu, theils aus dem Ird. Verg., Hamburg, 1741.

author to avoid the old pronunciation of *lebendigen*.<sup>15</sup> Brockes also made many other orthographic changes when he published the hymn a second time in J.

3. Brockes' next published translation from the *Seasons* is inserted in his *Frühlingsgedicht*.<sup>16</sup> It also appears in his *Cantaten*, 2nd edition,<sup>17</sup> under the title, *Die Vögel im Frühling*, which is introduced by an aria. F. G., which contains a translation of Sp. 535-827, begins with 80 verses by Brockes, a mixture of lines of eight, six, five and four accents. When Brockes inserted this translation in J., he had to make many changes, as it was so free. As far as v. 645 (110 verses), Brockes has inserted his first translation as a whole in J., but the portion between 645 and 796 he could not use, as it had been too freely treated and too much omitted. Verses 645-711 are entirely omitted in F. G. and, in place of the description of the eagle, Brockes has put in two verses on the power of the Creator. The first translation of vv. 712-731 is inserted in J., almost without change. The passage 733-795 is again completely changed, the 22 verses of F. G. being expanded to 55 in J. From that point on (796-827) the earlier translation is again used and the poem ends with 22 original verses which contain a panegyric to God.

4. Brockes, in his *Morgengedanken*,<sup>18</sup> has again made use of the *Seasons*, this time selecting vv. 46-95 from *Summer*. This can scarcely be considered a translation, but is rather an imitation of Thomson's verses, the same descriptions being given and the same plan followed. The author has again added to his title, "Nach Anleitung Mr. Thomson's." In M. G. the fifty

<sup>15</sup> This shows a later use of the old pronunciation of this work by Brockes better than does the reference given in Grimm's Wörterbuch, vol. VI, p. 426.

<sup>16</sup> Ird. Ver., vol. VII, p. 34, subtitle, Abermahlige Betrachtung des Frühlings, insbesondere der darin überall verspürten Fruchtbarkeit und Triebe zur Vermehrung. Nach Anleitung einiger Gedanken aus Mr. Thomson's Seasons. This is referred to as F. G.

<sup>17</sup> First edition not at hand; cannot say if it appeared in 1741 or not. N. D. Giseke in preface to 2d ed. says several new poems were added to this edition. No mention of Thomson.

<sup>18</sup> Ird. Verg., vol. VII, p. 180. This is referred to as M. G.



verses of the original are expanded to sixty-eight double verses and two lines of four accents and the poem ends with a reflection on the end and aim of beauty. In J. the same portion is reproduced in forty-one double verses and ten short lines. Only a few expressions from M. G. are retained in J.: bunten Osten, Wandersmanne, der junge Tag. It seems as though Brockes has avoided the repetition of the same terms.

After Brockes had made these four attempts, he published no more fragments, but completed his *Jahreszeiten*, which appeared a few years later.

### III. BROCKES' JAHRESZEITEN.

#### THE ENGLISH TEXT.

Brockes published his translation as "*Anhang des Ird. Verg. in Gott*" with the title page:

Herrn B. H. Brockes'  
Com. Palat. Caef. und Rahts-Herrn der Kayser,  
freyen Reichs-Stadt Hamburg,  
aus  
dem Englischen übersetzte  
JAHRES-ZEITEN  
des  
Herrn Thomson.  
Zum Anhang  
des Irdischen Vergnügens  
in Gott.  
Hamburg, bey Christian Herold.  
1745.<sup>19</sup>

Brockes has based his translation on the text of the first edition of the *Seasons*, 1730,<sup>20</sup> but the English text printed opposite his German is from the 1738 edition. The first edition was full of typographical errors and old spellings and most of these were corrected in the second edition. Still many are retained and these are found also in Brockes' text: Sp. 220 smoaking, 222 landskip, 273 chearful, 359 gulph, 614 compleat, 834 rowl, etc. In Sp. 1057 Brockes has copied a typographical error, laivsh. All the italicised words of the 1738 edition are printed in large type by Brockes. Still better proof that

<sup>19</sup> Gjerset disputes this date, Thesis, p. 3.

<sup>20</sup> Borchard, Textgeschichte von Thomson's *Seasons*, p. 14.



Brockes translated one version and printed the other is given in Au. 408, where this line is omitted in the 1738 text and in Brockes' English, but is included in the translation.

tho' she sits

Au. 408    Concealed, with folded ears, unsleeping eyes  
              By nature raised to take th' horizon in:

Again in Au. 861-862 Brockes has printed the lines as in the 1738 text and translated what he found in the 1730 edition. The earlier form reads:

Au. 861    And thus united Britain, Britain made  
              Intire, th' imperial Mistress of the Deep.

In the latter form and in Brockes' text this is changed to:  
              And thus in Soul united as in Name,  
              Bid Britain reign the Mistress of the Deep.<sup>21</sup>

The engravings Brockes has published in his translation are copied from those of the 1738 edition, which were drawn by W. Kent and engraved by P. Fouodrier. The German plates were engraved by C. F. Fritsch; the artist is not mentioned.

B. J. Zink, in his introduction to Brockes' *Jahreszeiten*, mentions the edition of 1738 and gives the six lines that were added after Wi. 230, and also a translation of them by his employer. He writes further: "Sonsten ist vor wenig Monaten eine mit etwan tausend Zeilen vermehrte Auflage ans Licht getreten, welche aber nicht zur Zeit in Deutschland angelanget ist." This was the edition of 1744, in which the number of verses in the *Seasons* was increased from 4,343 to 5,413.

## A. TEXT CRITICISM.

### I. SUCCESSFUL TRANSLATIONS.

Brockes recognized Thomson as a master after his own heart, as one who had a theological strain running all through his work, who saw the perfection of nature and recognized its meaning<sup>22</sup> and who wrote many songs of praise to the Creator.

<sup>21</sup> Borchard (p. 16) in discussing the text of 1738 writes: "Der Text der Jahreszeiten ist im Frühling, Sommer und Herbst ein unveränderter Abdruck der Quartausgabe von 1730."

<sup>22</sup> Herder calls Thomson's *Seasons* "schildernde Lehrgedichte." Briefe, vol. XVIII, p. 106.

Here Brockes could follow the English poet in complete sympathy, and it is just in his translations of these panegyrics that he is most successful.

It is by no means a literal translation and yet is a fairly true reproduction of the original. Perhaps it is this very freedom of treatment that makes these passages Brockes' best renderings. They show at least that Brockes' work has a style of its own. It may not be Thomson's, the lines may not be as rolling and majestic as the blank verse, indeed they may be accused of being wordy, ponderous and rough, but we find here the diction which is characteristic of his whole *Ird. Verg. in Gott*.

## II. TREATMENT OF PERIODS.

In general Brockes has followed the division into periods and systems which characterize the original. He has never undertaken to transpose the episodes, pictures or order of his text, but he has often changed the grouping of sentences within a period, and this has led him sometimes to a false interpretation. Cauer (p. 120) defends this procedure and shows the necessity of breaking up a long Latin sentence so as to avoid a multiplicity of subordinate clauses and phrases, which are so frequent in the classic languages. Brockes has made these changes for the sake of clearness, especially in passages which contain several exclamations, dependent clauses or participial phrases. Such periods he has divided into sentences, supplying verbs where necessary. For instance, in Sp. 1043-1061 a period of nineteen lines has been separated into four sentences. Shorter periods have been similarly treated; Sp. 127-135, eight verses are here divided into three sentences; Sp. 273-279, in place of a period of six lines, three sentences are found, and, Su. 429-438, six sentences take the place of a period of ten lines. Such a division has little or no effect on the sense of the passage, as Brockes has ended sentences where Thomson placed colons or semi-colons. But in several instances he has begun a new sentence where there is no break in thought. In such cases the difference in grouping causes a grammatical change which often alters the sense.



- Sp. 250      Whether he steals along the lonely dale  
                  In silent search: or through the forest, rank  
                  With what the dull incurious weeds account,  
                  Bursts his blind way;  
                  Die er, bald durch ein einsam Thal, mit stiller Hand  
                                 bemüht zu stehlen  
                  Bald durch den Wald, (wo wilde Kräuter unachtsam sich  
                                 durch alles drängen,  
                  Wo sie die blinden Wege selbst durch ein beständigs  
                                 Drücken sprengen.)

#### IV. EPISODES.

Among his descriptions of nature in her changing phases, Thomson has inserted some thirty episodes in the form of praise to the Creator, panegyrics to England and her great men, philosophical reflections and narratives. These constitute nearly one-third of the *Seasons* (about 1,300 lines). Those episodes Brockes has expanded more than he has the remainder of the poem, and he has rendered the philosophical passages most freely. It was pointed out that it is in such portions that his translation is most successful.

#### V. PICTURES.

The *Seasons* contain many pictures which vary in length from three or four lines to twenty or thirty. They are full of motion; in none of them is perfect repose and quiet: even in the description of the noon hour on a hot summer's day, the rooks fly across the foreground, the "homely fowls convene," "in the buzzing shade" the sleeping dogs dream of the chase till "wakened by the wasp." In *Winter*, v. 220, after the snow has "turned the earth's universal face into one dazzling waste," the picture is not dead; the ox lows, the birds and hare appear before the cottage and the sheep wander over the fields. Brockes has succeeded quite well with these pictures, although he sometimes omits part of the action, as in *Su.* 229, where he has rendered "the homely fowls convene" by "in bequehm-und fauler Ruh, gestreckt bey einander liegen." In the same picture the "buzzing shade" is omitted. This loss of action in the pictures rests largely on the omission of adjectives of motion, although in some cases it is the verbs which are left out.



## VI. PASSAGES FREELY TRANSLATED.

From the examples given it will be seen that Brockes has not made a literal translation, and in many places he has apparently made no effort to follow his original closely. He was enough of a writer, and had a sufficient knowledge of nature, to have his own ideas along the line of thought inspired by Thomson, and moreover he had written too much nature poetry to hesitate to insert such ideas in his translation. It is in just this particular that Wieland criticised Brockes when he said: "Er würde ewig mit seiner Betrachtung der Natur haben fortfahren können auf die Art wie er es angefangen." Many lines of the *Jahreszeiten* can scarcely be considered a translation, so freely has the original been treated; indeed, some passages are not recognizable as from Thomson. The translator has succeeded in complicating simple ideas and in reproducing in an almost unintelligible style what in the original is clear and plain. What work he has made of Sp. 134!

Nor from their friendly task, the busy bill

Of little trooping birds instinctive scares.

Da denn auch der geschäftige Schnabel der kleinen Vögel sie entdecket,

Und durch ihr, ihm nützlichs, Tagwerk und fressigen Instinkt sie schrecket.

These cases are selected from the freest of Brockes' renderings; to give all the passages in which he has treated his original freely would necessitate reprinting almost the whole of the *Jahreszeiten*. If these intentional variations reproduced the thought of the original and were made merely to fill out the double verse they would not be such great blemishes on his method of translation; but they are really more than repetitions or expansions of Thomson's thought, they are substitutions of Brockes' own ideas in place of what he found in his English text. It is this tendency on Brockes' part which led von Palthen to write in the introduction to his translation of the *Seasons* (1785):

"Es ist bekannt, dass die Broksische Übersetzung in Versen abgefasst sei. Ich weiss nicht, ob in dem Zwange des Silben-

Cf. von Palthen, p. 84.



masses allein, oder noch in einer andern Ursache der Grund lieget, dass diese Übersetzung ihrem Originale so gar unähnlich ist; so viel weiss ich, und ich berufe mich hierin kühnlich auf das Urtheil der Kenner, dass selbige in gar vielen Stellen den Sinn der Urschrift falsch ausdrücke, und wo sie denselben trifft, mehrentheils die Stärke des männlichen Dichters durch eine matte Ausdehnung schwäche, und unfühlbar mache."

I suspect that Brockes has treated his original so freely because he did not always understand it perfectly. He trusted more to his feelings than to his knowledge. It was easier for him to give his conception of Thomson's thought than it was to study out the meaning of what was not clear to him.

## VII. INCORRECT TRANSLATIONS.

The difficulties of Thomson's English and his involved style have led Brockes into many errors. At the time when this translation was made there was but one lexicon to which the writer could refer for words unknown to him. This was the *Deutsch-Englisches Lexicon* of Christian Ludwig, which had appeared in several editions. The earliest copy which I have been able to consult is the second edition, Leipzig, 1745. This contains a reprint of the preface to the first edition, in which Ludwig writes: "Nichtsdestoweniger ist man gemüssigt, das gegenwärtige Dictionarium nicht ohne Vorrede in die Welt zu schicken, weil es das erste von seiner Art ist, darinne einzele teutsche Wörter so wohl, als gantze Redenstarten, und insonderheit solche, darinnen eine Sprache von der andern abgeht, ins Englische übersetzt sind."

In his second preface he mentions his *Englisch-Deutsch-Französisches Dictionarium* of ten years previous. The first preface is dated Leipzig, May 3, 1716. Bodmer in 1720 wrote Heinrich Meister (Dec. 27): "Itzt bin ich beschäftigt das Engländische zu lernen, blos mit Hilf von Ludewigs Grammatik."

This lexicon of Ludwig's was by no means complete, even in the second edition, but it was much improved after the appearance of Dr. Johnson's *English Dictionary* (1755). Many of Thomson's unusual words are not given by Ludwig till after this

date. It is not surprising, then, that Brockes translated such expressions as the following incorrectly: S. 323 spires, 673 fall, 103 fuming, Au. 330 glomerating, 1218 sickled, Wi. 450 darkling, 458 attempered, 582 bickering, 700 quivered, etc. But it is not only these unusual words that Brockes has translated incorrectly; he has often made mistakes which can arise only from a limited knowledge of English. Sp. 953, "bird of evening," means nightingale, not owl; Wi. 240, "fill their pens with food," does not mean ihren Bauch mit Futter füllen. More often Brockes has been misled by a word similar in form to the one he is translating and has thus made some laughable errors.

Wi. 236 twine of light, das getheilte Zwillingenlicht, Sp. 517, congenial soils, Hochzeits-betten, Au. 1027 is deemed, ist verdammet. Or where a word has two meanings, Brockes has selected the wrong one and thus has changed the sense of the verse.

Sp. 376 springs of life, Lebens-Federchen.

Sp. 423, Wi. 27, numbers, die Zahlen. In some cases the translator has completely misunderstood the English and has made gross errors.

Su. 540 Thy valleys float with golden waves  
In Bächen fließen güldne Wellen

Au. 115 The city rose  
And stretching street on street by thousands led  
From twining woody haunts, or the tough yew  
To bows strong straining, her aspiring sons.  
Die Stadt' entstünden, du verlängtest  
Viel tausend Gassen bey einander, die du, mit vieler  
Kunst, verengtest  
Aus der verwachsenen Wälder Gipfeln, und, aus dem zähen  
Eibenbaum,  
Mit angespannten Kräften, bogest die stolzen Zweig' in  
einen Raum.

#### VIII. AUGMENTATION.

In the 1730 edition of the *Seasons* there are 4,343 verses; Sp. 1,087, Su. 1,206, Au. 1,269, Wi. 781. In order to reproduce these in German, Brockes has used some 3,880 verses of eight accents and 472 of four, together 4,352 verses. From the similarity in the number of lines it would seem that the translation was close, with but few additions or amplifications. This is,

however, not at all the case. Although Brockes sought to make a verse-for-verse translation, it will be seen that he has increased the length of the poem greatly when his verse form is considered. Thomson has used nothing but blank verse, hence his poem contains 21,715 feet. Brockes has required 32,168 feet to reproduce these, an increase of 10,458 feet, or nearly 50 per cent. This difference is partly accounted for by the greater length of German words, but still in the first 210 lines of *Spring* Thomson has used 1,530 words and Brockes 2,033, an increase of 503—32 per cent. This is not as large an increase as that indicated in the number of feet, but still we cannot expect to find a literal translation. It is well known that the uninflected English language is shorter than the German and that it is difficult to render the complete thought of an English verse into German with the same number of syllables. In the discussion of the blank verse translations, it will be shown how the various writers have struggled with this problem and how the *Seasons* has suffered in consequence of this difference between the two languages.

How can this discrepancy in length between the original and Brockes' translation be accounted for? The difference in length between English and German is not a sufficient reason, and therefore we must expect to find that Brockes has expanded his work and added to it some of his own ideas; or, as Wieland expresses it: "Brockes hat ein Wort in ganzen Perioden übersetzt." (Wieland, *Gespräche*, vol. XIII., p. 494.) This amplification Brockes has accomplished in various ways, the most common being a verse-for-verse translation so arranged that the first part of Thomson's verse to the cesura is expanded to form the first half of Brockes' double verse and the part after the cesura forms the second half of the double-line or the second rhythmical group. The arrangement is as follows:

$$\begin{array}{rcl}
 \begin{array}{ccc} 1 & & 2 \\ \hline & : & \\ & : & \end{array} & = & \begin{array}{c} 1 \\ \hline 2 \end{array} a
 \end{array}$$
  

$$\begin{array}{rcl}
 \begin{array}{ccc} 3 & & 4 \\ \hline & : & \\ 5 \text{ accents} & & \end{array} & = & \begin{array}{c} 3 \\ \hline 4 \\ \hline 4 \text{ accents} \end{array} a
 \end{array}$$

- Sp. 47      The harrow follows harsh, and shuts the scene.  
              Die rauhe Ege folgt darauf, die denn des Schauspiels  
                                  Vorhang schliesset.
- Sp. 187                'Tis silence all,  
              And pleasing expectation.  
                                  Die Stille herrschet überall,  
              Und ein vergnüglich-holdes Warten.

Not only are isolated verses (i. e., where the verse is a complete sentence without grammatical connection with the preceding or succeeding line) treated in this manner, although the method is clearer here, but also a large number of the lines of the poem, and the amplification is for the most part thus to be accounted for.

- Su. 15      Come, Inspiration from thy hermit seat  
              By mortal seldom found, may fancy dare,  
              From thy fixed serious Muse, and raptured eye  
              Shot on surrounding Heaven, to steal one look,  
              Creative of the poet, every power  
              Exalting to an ecstasy of soul.  
              Komm, heilige Begeisterung, von dem einseidlerischen Sitz,  
              Bey Menschen selten nur gefunden! Vermöchte Phantasie und Witz,  
              Von deiner ernstlichen Betrachtung und deinem Auge, das entzückt,  
              Wenn es den ausgespannten Himmel, der alle Ding' umschrankt, erklickt  
              Doch einen Blick, der, einen Dichter zu bilden, fähig ist, zu stehlen!  
              Erheb' in mir ein' jede Kraft bis zur Entzückung meiner Seelen!

Less frequently Brockes has expanded part of a verse to two rhythmical groups, i. e., a complete double verse.

- Sp. 710. Claps his glad pinions.

Da dann sein fröhliches Gefieder der grosse Vater schwingend drehet.

- Au. 805. What nations come and go?

Wie viele Nationen kommen, wie viele derselben wieder gehn?

Amplification is not always confined to a single verse or part of a verse, but it often occurs in connection with several lines or parts thereof; in Sp. 11-18, 35 measures in the original equal 68 in the translation; Sp. 721-725, 21 feet in the original equal 48.

a. Repetition of an Idea.



When Brockes found that he had part of a rhythmical group, or, indeed, a whole line to fill out, he did not hesitate to repeat the thought in other words (cf. Additions, p. 36).

- Sp. 45                                      and liberal throws the grain  
    Into the faithful bosom of the ground  
    er gisset  
    In einem gleichsam trocknen Regen die Saat, und wirft,  
    mit milder Hand,  
    Das Korn in den getreuen Busen der Erd', in das ge-  
    brochne Land.
- Wi. 89                                      The crested cock, with all his female train,  
    Pensive and wet.  
    Der mit dem Kamm geschmückte Hahn,  
    Mit feuchten, ganz zerzausten Federn, scheint jetzt in  
    ein betrübtes Denken,  
    Mit seiner nassen Weiber Schaar, sich melancholisch zu  
    versenken.

*b.* Verbs added in the translation, which are omitted in the original.

Thomson's style is in some respects quite brief; he often expresses in a word or phrase a thought which in the translation requires a whole sentence. Many times he uses clauses or exclamations without verbs, thus obtaining a brevity which is very effective. In these, almost without exception, Brockes has supplied the verbs and the other necessary grammatical parts of the sentence, thus greatly lengthening his translation.

- Su. 404                                      now fretting o'er a rock,  
    Now scarcely moving through a reedy pool  
    Now starting to a sudden stream, and now  
    Gently diffused into a limpid plain;  
    Theils reibt es sich an einem Stein,  
    Theils sieht man es, nicht ohne Müh, durch dick-beschilfte  
    Pfüten gehn,  
    Bald vor ein schnelles Wasser stutzen, bald in der Wiesen  
    hellem Schein  
    Vergnüglich durch einander wandern.

The endeavor to render clearly what seemed to him vague and dark in the original has led Brockes to many an expansion and circumlocution which detract from the vigor and beauty of the poem.

- Sp. 464                                      The negligence of nature, wide and wild  
    Die Natur,





that Thomson used the adjective more frequently than any other part of speech. I shall not attempt any elaborate defense of Thomson's adjectives; suffice it to say that he had great talent in their use and that in the skillful treatment of this class of words lies his chief charm as a descriptive poet. But if Thomson is criticised for using too many adjectives, what is to be said of Brockes, who, not content with translating the abundance of modifiers in his original, has added several hundred? *Spring*, in the 1730 edition, contains about 1,039 modifiers and in Brockes' *Frühling* there are 1,216, an addition of 177—17 per cent. Sometimes Brockes adds adjectives to those he translates.

Sp. 402 the prowling herd, der so wilden, frässigen, ergrimmt-und räuberischen Schaar. Su. 559 bold, firm and graceful are thy generous youth, Beherzt und stark, und schön, und munter sind deine braven, jungen Leute.

#### NOUNS.

The repetition of nouns is much less frequent, although many measures of the *Jahreszeiten* are thus filled out.

Sp. 193 mountains, vales and forests seem to demand, Es scheinen gar die Berge, Wälder, die Thäler, Auen, Wiesen, Felder zu erbitten.

Sp. 783, his sportive lambs, Die Lämmer und die jungen Böcke.

Sp. 1065, some new charm, eine neue Art von Liebreiz und Vollkommenheit.

The tendency increased in Brockes' later works, till some of his poems are little more than lists of names.

#### VERBS.

Verbs are repeated about as frequently as nouns.

Su. 183, beam forever, beständig leuchten, strahlen, funkeln.

Su. 840, disturbs the flood, der die Fluth erhebet, peitschet und erschüttert.

f. The present participle rendered by a clause.

Another method of expansion frequently used by Brockes is the reproduction of a participle by a phrase or clause. In the *Seasons* this verbal form is often used as an adjective. In this case it is difficult to use the corresponding form in German iambs.<sup>23</sup> Where the present participle is used verbally the English idiom cannot be rendered in German, but must be paraphrased. Brockes has taken advantage of both circumstances to

<sup>23</sup> Cf. discussion of hexameter translation, p. 110.

fill out his long line. This accounts for many of the added measures of the *Jahreszeiten*. In the following examples the present participle is expanded to a phrase or clause:

Wi. 45     Retiring to the verge of Heaven the sun  
              Scarce spreads o'er Aether the dejected day.  
              So breitet die entfernte Sonne, die bey des Himmels  
                                  Wirbel steckt,  
              Kaum den betrübten Tag zu uns, der in die Lüfte sich  
                                  zerschläget.

Wi. 524, pretending sleep, wie, oder, that als ob sie schlief.

The present participle used as adjective is treated on page 58.

g. The past participle.

The translation of the past participle is not so troublesome, as its idiomatic use is quite similar in the two languages. Gottsched in his *Sprachkunst* (p. 374) (483) objected to the use of the participles in such cases as: dieses sehend, sprach er; erschreckt durch deine Worte, kann ich dir nichts antworten, but he allowed: sterbend ging er, lebend kam er wieder.

Sp. 118, engendered by the hazy north, erzeugt vom feuchten Nord.

Sp. 130, involved in smoke, in Schmauch verwickelt.

Su. 887, ox half-raised, der Ochs' halb aufgestanden.

Still even in many such cases Brockes was led to expand, chiefly on account of his tendency to insert missing verbs; these are generally taken from Thomson's participles.

Au. 110     Hence every form of cultivated life  
              In order set, protected and inspired,  
              Into perfection wrought.  
              Hieraus entstehen alle Formen von einem angenehmen  
                                  Leben,  
              Die du uns nur allein gegeben.  
              Hiedurch sind sie in Ordnung kommen, sie sind be-  
                                  schützt, und, wie erdacht,  
              Auch zur Vollkommenheit gebracht.

## 9. ADDITIONS.

Brockes might be forgiven for thus expanding his translation on the ground that it was necessary to fill out his long line, if he had not carried it to such great extent and thereby destroyed the simplicity of his original. Thomson's style may be inflated and the *Seasons* somewhat verbose, the pictures may be vague and





10. OMISSIONS AND CONTRACTIONS.

With Brockes' tendency to amplification and the necessity of filling out the double verse form it might be expected that there would be but few omissions and contractions. But such occur and not only are single words left out, but also sentences and whole thoughts.

Examples of passages omitted.

Su. 457 Backward to mingle in detested war,  
But foremost when engaged the turn to death,<sup>24</sup>

Au. 448 he stands at bay;  
And puts his last weak refuge in despair.

In many cases these omissions occur because Brockes did not understand the original; in other cases the part omitted is simply a repetition of the thought, hence the translation suffers no loss in clearness.

Sp. 369 Clear was the temperate air; an even calm  
Perpetual reigned.  
Ein' ebne Still regierte stets.

Contractions are even rarer; indeed, they are often only apparent contractions. Where three lines of the original are reproduced by two, or four lines by three, the translation is no shorter, for in the first case Brockes has used 16 measures to render 15, and in the second case in place of 20 there are 24.

Au. 395 But lavish fed, in nature's bounty rolled,  
To laugh at anguish, and rejoice in blood,  
Is what your horrid bosoms never knew.  
Und die ihr, wenn ihr durch die Huld der milderern  
Natur euch nährtet,  
Von Angst zu lachen, und mit Blut euch zu ergetzen,  
nicht begehrtet.

Brockes has often taken advantage of the ease with which noun compounds can be formed in German and rendered a phrase by this means.

Sp. 4 shower of roses, Rosen-Regen.

Sp. 959 messenger of love, Liebes-Brief.

<sup>24</sup> A misprint for: to turn the death.

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(To be Continued)



## THE RELATION OF LODDFÁFNIR TO ODIN IN THE HÁVAMÁL.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sophus Bugge. *Studier over de nordiske Gude og Heltesagns Oprindelse af Sophus Bugge*. Christiania. 1881-1889.

Detter und Heinzel. *Sæmundar Edda mit einem Anhang herausgegeben und erklärt von F. Detter und R. Heinzel*. Leipzig. 1903.

Hazellius. *Inledning till Hávamál eller Odens Sång af Arthur Immanuel Hazellius*. Uppsala. 1860.

Finnur Jónsson. *Den Islandske Litteraturs Historie tilligemed den Oldnorske af Finnur Jónsson*. København. 1907.

Müllenhoff. *Deutsche Altertumskunde von Karl Müllenhoff*. Fünfter Band besorgt durch Max Roediger. Berlin. 1908.

Niedner. *Zur Liederreda von Felix Niedner*. Berlin. 1896.

Vigfusson, Gudbrand and Powell. *Corpus poeticum Boreale*. Oxford. 1883.

The relation of Loddfáfnir to Odin in the Old Norse *Hávamál* has long been a mooted question. This question is fraught with many difficulties which even the most learned of O. N. scholars have not been able to solve satisfactorily. In determining this question there is, however, one very important factor upon which sufficient stress has not been laid. In v. 163 of the *Hávamál* (*Norroen Fornkvæði*, Sophus Bugge. Christiania. 1867), Odin refuses to divulge to Loddfáfnir the eighteenth and last of the magic songs (*fimbulljóð*) in which Loddfáfnir has been receiving instruction from the god. If the nature of this magic song can be discovered, it will throw additional light not only upon the nature of Odin in the *Ljóðatal*, but also upon the character of the pupil who is receiving instruction from him.

There are two theories in regard to the authorship of these magic songs—namely, one that the speaker is the god Odin himself, the other that the speaker is the pupil Loddfáfnir, who claims to have heard in the Hall of the High One these songs, which are in reality, however, nothing but his own invention that he attempts, under the guise of feigned wisdom, to foist upon a credulous audience. The former theory is held by the eminent Scandinavian scholars, Sophus Bugge and Finnur Jónsson, the latter by the celebrated German scholar, Karl Müllen-

hoff. Both theories are largely due to the interpretation laid upon the structure of the Loddfáfnismál and its relation to the *Rúnatal* and the *Ljóðatal*.

Bugge holds (323 ff., 361 ff.) that all three lays (vv. 111-164) originally formed a single poem and that V. 111 originally introduced the *Rúnatal* (vv. 138-145), while the Loddfáfnismál was a later interpolation. The position of the Loddfáfnismál, directly following V. 111, he considers due to the fact that line 8 of this strophe—*ne of rǫþom þogþo*—which refers to the interpretation of runes, was misunderstood by the scribe as referring to advice (*rǫþ*) which Loddfáfnir is to receive. In the *Rúnatal*, Odin tells the story of his hanging upon “the windy tree,” and instructs Loddfáfnir in the use of magic runes; therefore, the words addressed to Loddfáfnir in the *Ljóðatal*, which is a part of the same original poem as the *Rúnatal*, must also have been spoken by Odin. The last strophe (164) of the *Hávamál* forms the conclusion of Odin’s speech to Loddfáfnir and is, therefore, rightly placed at the end of the *Ljóðatal* and not at the end of the *Loddfáfnismál*, which was a later extension of the original poem *Rúnatal*—*Ljóðatal* (111. 138-145. 146-164). A similar division is made by Vigfusson (*corp. poet.* I, 23 ff.).

Müllenhoff, on the other hand (252 ff., 266 ff., 270 ff.), makes three distinct poems of Bugge’s original one, and brings the last strophe (164) in direct connection with the Loddfáfnismál, which he considers as the *Hávamál* proper. By this arrangement Müllenhoff is forced to connect V. 111 directly with the Loddfáfnismál and to explain the nature of the advice given in this lay as due to the invention of a skilful minstrel, who with coarse and ironic buffoonery charges himself with practical wisdom, which he claims to have received from the god Odin.

Bugge considers the speaker in all three lays as Odin himself, and explains the coarse platitudes in the Loddfáfnismál, so out of keeping with the dignified atmosphere of the *Rúnatal* and the *Ljóðatal*, on the ground that the Loddfáfnismál is a later extension of these two lays (V. 111. 138-164.) and that the ad-

vice given Loddfáfnir is not the invention of a "flunkerer," but the serious counsel of a wise god.

That the speaker in the Ljóðatal is Odin, and not Loddfáfnir, Bugge (361 ff.) has clearly shown. He also makes clear to what extent Müllenhoff is forced to mutilate the original form of the *Codex Regius* by the assumption that Loddfáfnir is the speaker, for in this case Müllenhoff must not only separate vv. 146-163 (Ljóðatal) from vv. 138-145 (Rúnatal), which precede the former in the manuscript, but also from v. 164, and finally he must strike out, in v. 162, those lines which are addressed to Loddfáfnir.

The intimate connection between the Loddfáfnismál on the one hand and the Rúnatal-Ljóðatal on the other, both in their direct sequence in the *Codex Regius* and in their inner relation (as wisdom imparted by the High One) render Bugge's ground far more tenable than that of Müllenhoff. If Odin is the speaker in the Ljóðatal, why deny him this function in the Loddfáfnismál? Bugge answers this question satisfactorily (326 ff.) by meeting every argument in regard to the speaker in the Loddfáfnismál. Müllenhoff says (267): "Loddfáfnir ist ein flunkerer wie nur einer seines gleichen und macht daraus kein hehl: er bedient sich der fiktion und erhabenen einkleidung nur, um seiner werten zuhörerschaft einen possen zu spielen." Bugge's answer to this is that neither the trivial advice given in v. 112, nor the reference to the proper treatment of guests and to hospitality towards strangers and beggars in vv. 132, 135, suggest in any way that Loddfáfnir is himself a poor beggar-minstrel who is here indulging in ironical self-satire. When Odin says, in v. 134, "never laugh at an aged minstrel"—*at három þul*—Müllenhoff believes that this "aged minstrel" signifies, or at least includes, the minstrel Loddfáfnir. "No one can believe," says Bugge, "that even a boastful 'flunkerer' could have Odin warn him not to laugh at himself." Finally the line, *Háva hollu i*, in vv. 111 and 164, denoting the place where Loddfáfnir receives these mystical instructions from Odin, is supported by an analogous situation in Snorre's Gylfagynning (I, 36; II, 253).

Müllenhoff's plight is best seen (276 ff.) in his forced interpretation of vv. 162 and 164. In v. 162, Loddfáfnir is told that he will long be without these songs of his master which will enable him to retain the love of a young woman, and is taunted with the assurance that they would be useful if he could get them. This is (according to Müllenhoff) a trick played upon the minstrel Loddfáfnir, evidently because, after the first half of the strophe, the speaker has moral scruples against telling Loddfáfnir anything more about magic love-songs, and because the speaker's own thoughts and words here fail him. In fact, in v. 163 the speaker finally refuses to divulge anything at all concerning the nature of the last (eighteenth) magic song (which he is to keep for his wife or for his sister), so that Loddfáfnir in the end is completely duped and must go away without the coveted knowledge. In this verse (163) the speaker is satisfied with assuring Loddfáfnir of his superior wisdom, but at the same time the poet forgets that it is really Odin who is supposed to be Loddfáfnir's teacher, and yet the poet makes v. 164 (which infers that Loddfáfnir heard these words in the Hall of the High One) follow as the concluding strophe of the whole poem.

Bugge, on the other hand, holds (324, Note 1) that the songs (*ljóða þessa*) mentioned in v. 162, which Vigfusson (*Corp. poet.* I, 20, 28) would remove entirely from the *Ljóðatal*, have reference not merely to the preceding lines in the same strophe, but to all the *ljóð* mentioned in v. 146 and enumerated in the following strophes 146-162. That Loddfáfnir is again addressed directly after the seventeenth song is due to the fact that Odin wishes to keep from Loddfáfnir the eighteenth and last magic song.

From Müllenhoff's interpretation of vv. 162, 163, it would appear to be his contention that if Odin really were the speaker he would not be satisfied with merely assuring Loddfáfnir of his superior wisdom (v. 163), but would divulge his knowledge as a proof of it, and that, therefore, the speaker is not Odin himself, but a literary invention of a clever minstrel. I do not believe that the attitude attributed by Müllenhoff to Odin is justifiable.



No satisfactory answer has ever yet been given either as to the nature of this eighteenth song in v. 163 or as to why the speaker refuses to divulge it.

V. 163 reads as follows:

þat kann ec ip átiánda,  
 er ec æva kennig  
 mey ne mannz kono,  
 — alt er betra  
 er einn um kann,  
 þat fylgir lióða locom,—  
 nema þeirri einni,  
 er mic armi verr  
 eþa min systur se.

This eighteenth I know  
 which never I shall tell  
 to maid or man's wife,  
 — 'tis far better  
 for one alone to know,  
 this is the end of my songs —  
 save to her alone  
 who shall embrace me,  
 or to my own sister.

"Detter und Heinzel" (p. 150) refer to this passage as obscure: "Der Inhalt ist dunkel." Felix Niedner (p. 4) considers the strophe as a literary invention on the part of the poet, which has its precedent in the *Vegtamskviða*, v. 12. He agrees, then, with Müllenhoff that Loddfáfnir and not Odin is the speaker here, and that Loddfáfnir is simply availing himself of a conventional literary form which is used in other Eddic poems in connection with Odin's wisdom: "dass wir es nicht mit Reden Odins an Loddfáfnir sondern mit solchen Loddfáfnirs, die er seinen Zuhörern gegenüber vorgiebt von Odin empfangen zu haben, zu thun haben, spricht schon das zeugniss der auch sonst, z. B. bei der *Vegtamskviða*, gut orientierten Papierhandschriften." Although Niedner agrees that Odin is elsewhere the speaker in the *Ljóðatal*, yet he considers this strophe (v. 163) as the literary device of a "flunkerer," "der sich der fiktion und erhabenen einkleidung nur bedient, um seiner werten zuhörerschaft einen



possen zu spielen." But the situation is entirely different in the Vegtamskviða from that in strophe 163 of the Ljóðatal. In the Vegtamskviða, Odin asks the "*völva*" a question which in itself in no wise reveals his identity.

He asks, v. 12 :

Hveriar 'ro þær mayjar,  
ær at muni gráta  
ok a himin verpa  
halsa skautum?

Who are the maids  
that bitterly weep  
and sling the sail-sheets  
high in the air?

There is nothing in this question to reveal Odin's identity. But is there nothing to reveal his identity in v. 163 of the Ljóðatal? I believe that both these passages are reflections of the *Vafþrúðnismál*, v. 54, ll. 4-6, in which Odin, who has appeared before the giant under the guise of an assumed name, suddenly reveals his identity by asking a question which no one knows except himself. In the case of the Vegtamskviða we have, to be sure, a mere conventional imitation of the same motif in that here Odin's question, though having no connection with his own character or personality, produces the effect of revealing his identity. But in v. 163 of the Ljóðatal we have an actual means of discovering Odin's identity. In the *Vafþrúðnismál*, v. 54, ll. 4-6, Odin asks the giant Vafþrúðnir :

Hvat mælti Óðinn  
aðr a bal stigi,  
sialfr i eyra syni?

What spake Odin  
into his son's ear  
ere he stepped on the pyre?

No one on earth knows the answer to this question but Odin himself, since his son Balder has long ago been dead. The giant Vafþrúðnir recognizes immediately that it is Odin with whom he has been contesting, and acknowledges his defeat by his inabil-

ity to answer an impossible question. He says in the last strophe of the lay: "no man knows what thou in days long past didst whisper into thy son's ear; now I see 'tis *Odin* with whom I have been contesting in words of wisdom. Thou art ever the wisest of men." So, too, in the "*Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks konungs*" (C. VI, 263), which in the passage in question is based upon the *Vafþrúpnismál*, *Odin* asks the same question of King *Heiðrek*:

"*Hvat mælti Óðinn í eyra Baldri áþr hann var á bál um borinn?*" *Heiðrek* answers: "The words thou didst speak no one knows but thee alone." So, too, in a corrupted passage in the "*Ketilssaga hæings*" (C. IV) and in the "*Fornaldar sögur*" (II, 125) this question appears as a symbol of that which is impossible to answer: "*huat er þat at bál segir bani flagði.*" This question, then, the answer to which no one knows except *Odin* himself, serves to reveal completely and without mistake his identity. Why does *Odin* wish to keep from *Loddfáfnir* the eighteenth magic song?

There is one secret in the world which he will reveal to no man, and that is the secret which he spake into the ear of *Balder* upon the funeral pyre. Whatever this may have been; whether *Odin's* words were a reflection of Christian influence, as *Bugge* believed (p. 64), and had reference to the resurrection of the son *Christ* after his death upon the cross, or whether they referred to the pagan doctrine of the new life after *Ragnarøk*, in which *Balder* returns to earth again, these words belonged to *Odin* alone, and as such are a secret with him. In the *Vafþrúpnismál* he proves himself to be the wisest of all men. In the *Vegtamskviða* he is the father of magic song, v. 3 (*galldrs fǫður*). As the wisest of gods and men, and as master of witchcraft and magic song, *Odin* instructs the pupil, *Loddfáfnir*. In strophe 163 he refuses to give his pupil instruction in things to which he alone is secret. Thus he makes a fitting conclusion to his long array of magic songs by bringing *Loddfáfnir* to realize that it is the all-wise god *Odin* who is his master. He does this by hinting at that secret which no one knows but himself. *Odin* never

reveals his identity by a direct statement, but always by this indirect method of characterization, which cannot fail of recognition. The words he spake into Balder's ear may very well have referred to the new life in which Balder is to return to earth again, and Odin could very well have transformed these words into a magic formula (*fimbulkjóð*). The future life with its inscrutable mystery is well suited as a subject for a magic song. The last of all the magic songs thus contains the great mystery of the universe. It is the Allfather alone who knows this mystery. His refusal to divulge it is in keeping with the mystical character and dignified tone of the *Rúnatal* and *Ljóðatal*. He is the all-wise and omnipotent God, and as such he shrouds the last of his instructions in the deepest mystery of all. His personality and identity are unmistakable when he refers to an event to which he and the dead alone are privy. Thus the refusal to divulge this last magic song is not the imitation of a mere literary convention, as in the *Vegtamskviða*, but an instance of Odin's method of revealing his identity as genuine as in the *Vafþrúðnismál* itself. If in the last magic song there were nothing by which Odin could be identified, or which could in any way be connected with his personality, then it might be conceivable, as Müllenhoff believes, that Loddfáfnir (as the speaker) merely avails himself of a literary tradition concerning Odin, as in the *Vegtamskviða*. But that a means of identification does actually exist is shown by the fact that Odin in the *Vafþrúðnismál* is in possession of a secret which not even the wisest of giants possesses. Why attribute, then, Odin's refusal to divulge a secret which he alone possesses to a mere conventional literary form? Odin's refusal to divulge this secret is as natural as his desire to defeat the giant *Vafþrúðnir* by asking him an impossible question. In both instances he displays his superiority in wisdom. In instructing his pupil, Loddfáfnir, he thus takes occasion to show his mastery over the whole world of magic song and witchcraft by still keeping in secret the greatest of all mysteries, which only he and the god Balder ever have known.

In the last three lines of this strophe (163) Odin says that

no one shall learn this secret from him except his wife or his sister :

Nema þeirri einni,  
er mic armi verr  
eða min systir se.

Save to her alone  
who shall embrace me,  
or to my sister.

Felix Niedner (p. 6, Note 1) holds that these lines are the literary fiction of Müllenhoff's "flunkerer," since Odin's wife, Frigg, according to the testimony of the Lokasenna (v. 29), knows the destiny of all things (*öllum orlofum*), and since there is no evidence that Odin ever had a sister. Any fiction to this effect, he says, would be in the mouth of the highest God a joke of the most insipid character. "Ich verstehe aber nicht, wie Bugge und Jónsson bei ihrer Ansicht die v. 163, als echten Abschluss beibehalten können: denn wenn Odin am Schluss sagt, er wolle sein achzehntes Lied niemand mitteilen, als seiner Gattin oder Schwester, so ist das erste allenfalls noch zu verstehen, da Frigg nach Lokas. 29 '*öllum orlofum*' kennt, aber von einer Schwester Odins ist sonst nirgends die Rede und die Fiktion einer solchen wäre doch im Munde des höchsten Gottes ein recht saftloser Scherz: jene Bemerkung erklärt sich nur als Witz eines Spielmannes, und zwar ein recht schlechter, wie Müllenhoff (a. a. O. S. 276) hervorgehoben hat."

I fear that Niedner has made too literal an interpretation of these three lines in question. We have here merely a reflection of Old Norse social conditions infused into the conception of Odin's relations to his family. Such a reflection is characteristic of all the Old Norse mythology. In fact, the *Völuspá* is a very vivid reflection of political and moral conditions of Norse society in the tenth century, and the *Hávamál* itself is for a large part a compendium of social and ethical maxims upon which that society based its rule of conduct. When Odin says that he will divulge this secret to no one except his wife or his sister, he refers to the intimate members of his own family. To confine



his secret to the bosom of his family is tantamount to still keeping his secret. A stranger cannot, in the nature of things, have a share in those secrets which are to be confined to the sacred precincts of family life. The holy relation of man to wife or to sister in the Old Norse family did not, as it does not in the family today, permit of such a breach of natural fidelity. Whether Frigg did or did not know "øll orlog," or whether Odin never did have a sister, the situation is not thereby in any way disturbed. Odin reflects the natural attitude of any Old Norse "paterfamilias" towards the members of his family and towards the outside world. Therefore, Loddfáfnir, the pupil, is refused this secret which Odin is willing to communicate to those who are confined within the sacred precincts of the family bond. Such an attitude does not reflect the character of a jocose minstrel who is inventing a situation which he thinks he will deceive his audience into believing, but the serious and responsible character of the god Odin himself. Such a responsible character is compatible with the Old Norse conception of Odin as the highest god. The dignified and elevated tone of the *Rúnatal* and the *Ljóðatal* is, by this attitude on the part of Odin, enhanced rather than diminished. Furthermore, the concluding strophe in which Odin refuses to divulge this secret is the culmination and final revelation of Odin's elevated character and all-masterful mind. From a literary view-point, therefore, this strophe proves the poet of the *Ljóðatal* to be a writer of highly artistic sense, in that he here sustains the dignified tone of his whole poem, and not to be, as Müllenhoff would have him (p. 295), "ein lockerer gesell." The *Loddfáfnismál*, on the other hand, is the work of a later interpolator, as Bugge suggests (326 ff.). That Odin here should descend from his dignified height in the *Rúnatal* and the *Ljóðatal* is not at all surprising when we consider the fact that the subject-matter in the *Loddfáfnismál* does not concern the mystical elements of witchcraft, runes or of magic songs (except perhaps in vv. 113, 114, where Odin warns Loddfáfnir never to sleep in a witch's bosom), but is the practical advice upon everyday matters given to a member of Old Norse society, who appears



in mythical form. Here the poet clothes his picture in a mythical garb, with Odin as the teacher and Loddfáfnir as the pupil. This is exactly the same relation as we have in the initial strophes of the *Hávamál*, vv. 1-78, which are arranged under the general title of the "Speech of the High One," only that in the *Loddfáfnismál* the relation between teacher and pupil is expressed. In fact, Finnur Jónsson believes (p. 49) that vv. 1-78 are not a "Spruchgedicht," as Müllenhoff would have them (p. 260), a mere collection of ethical and social maxims whose authorship is unknown, but that they are Odin's speech, the *Háva Mál*. In his wanderings upon earth, Odin has come to a farm, has been well received, and thus gives to men, in return for their kind hospitality, his wisdom and advice, in the form of social and ethical maxims. Both vv. 1-78 and the *Loddfáfnismál* serve as necessary members of the whole body of the *Hávamál*. In the *Loddfáfnismál*, Odin gives advice to his pupil, Loddfáfnir, in essentially the same manner as he does to an unknown audience in vv. 1-78. In fact, there are several verses in the *Loddfáfnismál* which seem to be direct reflections of certain verses in vv. 1-78: for instance, those which refer to friendship and the relations it involves: cf. vv. 42 ff. with vv. 119 ff. of the *Loddfáfnismál*. In v. 44 we have:

*Veitztu, ef þu vin átt  
þann er þu vel truir,  
oc vill þu af hanom gott geta:  
geði scaltu við þann blanda  
oc giofom scipta,  
fara at finna opt.*

In v. 119:

*veitztu ef þu vin átt  
þannz þu vel trúir,  
farþu at finna opt.*

And in v. 124:

*sifom er þa blandat.*

In the *Loddfáfnismál* the relation between Odin and his audience, which we have in vv. 1-78, is given poetical expression by

the presence of a mythical pupil, Loddfáfnir (cf. B. 335 ff.). Thus the Loddfáfnismál is essentially a Háva Mál immediately connected with the Rúnatal and the Ljóðatal by a later interpolator who misunderstood the significance of line 8 in the initial strophe (111) of the Rúnatal:—*ne of rǫpum þegþo*—believing “*rǫpum*” to mean “advice” rather than “the interpretation of magic runes” (p. 327 ff.). Having seen that Loddfáfnir was addressed in v. 162, the interpolator caused the “*rǫp*” (advice) likewise to be addressed to Loddfáfnir in vv. 112-137, forming the so-called Loddfáfnismál. This advice given to Loddfáfnir is in keeping with the same conditions of Norse society to which vv. 1-78 give expression. V. 112 of the Loddfáfnismál, which gave Müllenhoff grounds for believing the speaker to be a “landfahrer” and a “flunkerer,” is a picture of Old Norse social conditions true to the history of civilization, as Hjalmar Falk points out (*Maal og Minne*, Vol. I, Christiania, 1910). In the *Ynlinga Saga* (C. 14) it said of the King: “*um nóttina gekk hann út í svalir at leita ser staðar.*” So, too, Odin, in v. 112, warns Loddfáfnir:

Nótt þú risat  
nema á niðsn ser,  
eða þu leitir þer innan ut staðar.

Hence the discrepancy in tone between the Loddfáfnismál, on the one hand, which, like vv. 1-78, deals with matters of practical wisdom, and the Rúnatal and Ljóðatal, on the other hand, which deals with the mystical elements of nature and the gods. All three lays, however, form a consistent part of the whole Hávamál.

Loddfáfnir is, therefore, not a “landfahrer” or a “flunkerer,” but a mythical character whom Odin addresses as his pupil and instructs in the art of witchcraft and magic songs, and to whom finally (due to the work of a later interpolator) he imparts his advice upon affairs of practical wisdom.<sup>1</sup> That Loddfáfnir is an

<sup>1</sup> Yet it is not necessary to change *manna mál* (V. 111, l. 6) to *Háva mál*, as Müllenhoff maintains (252 ff.). In the first place, the reading *manna mál* is supported by the plural verb *þegþo* in l. 8, as B. remarks (p. 331). Secondly, it is perfectly conceivable that Odin at

historical character, a minstrel such as Müllenhoff maintains, is not at all probable in the light of the facts shown in the foregoing analysis.

The character of the eighteenth and last magic song (v. 163) has, therefore, thrown additional light upon the relation of Odin to Loddfáfnir. The analysis of this strophe has served to weaken Müllenhoff's theory that the speaker in the Loddfáfnismál, Rúnatal and Ljóðatal is not Odin, but the literary invention of a clever minstrel. Bugge, on the other hand, seems to me to have found the true relation of things, but has failed to explain two very important points. In the first place, he maintains that the Loddfáfnismál is the work of a later interpolator, which accounts for the difference in tone between the Loddfáfnismál, on the one hand, and the Rúnatal-Ljóðatal, on the other; but yet he does not sufficiently support his own contention. The foregoing analysis shows that the difference in tone between these two parts of the Hávamál is due to the fact that the Loddfáfnismál is a part of the Háva Mál (Speech of the High One), which, like vv. 1-78, deals with things of practical wisdom, given in the form of advice to a mythical pupil, Loddfáfnir; while the Rúnatal and Ljóðatal deal with witchcraft, magic songs and the mysteries of nature. Secondly, Bugge has given no explanation either as to the nature of the eighteenth magic song or as to the reason why Odin refuses to divulge it. The foregoing analysis shows that there is actually a mystical secret of which Odin is in possession, and, furthermore, it shows why this secret could serve as a fitting culmination to Odin's imposing array of magic songs.

the "Urðar brunn" is addressing an audience one of whom is Loddfáfnir. Loddfáfnir may, therefore, be the individual and personal representative of Odin's audience. The "Speech of the High One" in the Loddfáfnismál, Rúnatal and Ljóðatal is thus addressed to a mythical individual, while in vv. 1-78 Odin's audience is not specified.

Furthermore, the "Urðar brunn" (V. 111, l. 3), where Odin addresses his audience, is the regular meeting-place for the council of the gods (tingsted) and as such may be conceived as the "Hall of the High One" (*Hávahöllu* †) since Odin is the chief member of the assembly and its speaker upon this occasion. Odin's "Hall" is here the place of assembly at the "Urðar brunn."

This analysis of strophe 163 of the *Ljóðatal*, therefore, serves to strengthen and extend Bugge's position, which, on the whole, has been accepted by Old Norse scholars as essentially correct.

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## THE DRAMATIC UNITIES IN ENGLAND.

For the source of the dramatic unities, as for so many other things, we must go back to Aristotle. The passages that touch upon the unity of action are contained in the *Poetics*. As translated by Professor Butcher<sup>1</sup> these *loci* run as follows: "Unity of plot does not, as some persons think, consist in the unity of the hero. For infinitely various are the incidents in one man's life, which cannot be reduced to unity, and so, too, there are many actions of one man out of which we cannot make one action. Hence the error, as it appears, of all poets who have composed a *Heracleid*, a *Theseid*, or other poems of the kind. They imagine that as *Heracles* was one man, the story of *Heracles* must also be a unity." (P. VIII, 1 & 2.)<sup>2</sup> "A whole is that which has a beginning, a middle and an end." (VII, 3.) "To define the matter roughly, we may say that the proper magnitude is comprised within such limits, that the sequence of events, according to the law of probability or necessity, will admit of a change from bad fortune to good, or from good fortune to bad." (VII, 7.) "As therefore in the other imitative arts, the imitation is one when the object imitated is one, so the plot, being the imitation of an action, must imitate one action and that a whole, the structural union of the parts being such that, if any one of them is displaced or removed, the whole will be disjointed or disturbed. For a thing whose presence or absence makes no visible difference is not an organic part of the whole." (VIII, 4.)

Of the unity of time Aristotle speaks but briefly: "Epic poetry and tragedy differ, again, in their length, for tragedy endeavors, as far as possible, to confine itself to a single revolution of the sun, or but slightly to exceed this limit, whereas the epic action has no limits of time." (V, 4.)

For the purposes of this study it is unnecessary to comment,

<sup>1</sup> Ed. of the *Poetics* (with trans. 1902).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ch. XXIII, 1 & 4, where it is stated that unity of time, like unity of person, does not of itself bind events into a unity. (Professor Butcher.) Aristotle's views have added light thrown on them when studied in conjunction with the principles laid down by Plato in the *Phaedrus*.



at the present moment, on Aristotle's doctrine of the Major Unity, i. e., action.<sup>3</sup> One remark of Prof. Butcher's, however, it is desirable to bear in mind throughout our discussion: "Unity in Aristotle is the principle of limit, without which an object loses itself in the *ἄπειρον*, the region of the undefined, the indeterminate, the accidental. By means of unity the plot becomes individual and also intelligible."<sup>4</sup> Because of this service performed by the unity of plot or action, it has been admitted, with very generous latitude and with no common acceptance as to meaning, by many dramatists.<sup>5</sup> The Greek notion of the unity of time, however, and its companion, of place, require some explanation here.

To begin with, these two minor unities are not, strictly speaking, a doctrine with Aristotle; they are "a rough generalization as to the practice of the Greek stage."<sup>6</sup> They are the "scenic" unities, "continuities," as Prof. Moulton calls them, demanded by the exigencies of the Greek theatre. A Greek tragedy began where ours is ready to end,—that is, at the moment of suspense preceding the climax. From this point the catastrophe was rapidly sketched and the action concluded with a swift *dénouement*.<sup>7</sup> Thus there was little opportunity for elaboration, for counter-action, or for sub-plot, so that the unity of action was a tangible, distinctive feature of the drama, and not, as with our romantic playwrights, a vague, indeterminate generalization. The minor unities were conserved with equal decisiveness by the Chorus of the Greek tragedy. How the Chorus tended to have this effect requires no explanation.<sup>8</sup> It must not be forgotten,

<sup>3</sup> Full discussions on this point are found in Butcher's *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art* (3rd Ed. 1902, pp. 274 ff.); also in Moulton's *The Ancient Classical Drama* (1890, pp. 124 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> Butcher (op. cit., p. 275).

<sup>5</sup> Prof. Lounsbury (*Shakespearean Wars*, Vol. 1, Chap. I passim) seems to find for the doctrine a greater currency than it had. In its Aristotelian sense it is certainly far from universal in the practice of the English playwrights. Vd. *infra*, p. 29.

<sup>6</sup> Butcher, as above, p. 277.

<sup>7</sup> Butcher (*idem*) calls this "The simple and highly concentrated movement of the Greek tragedy."

<sup>8</sup> It is to be noted that the stage was never empty. Cf. the French *liaison des scènes*, the irresistible result of strict adherence to time and place.

however, as many scholars have pointed out, that in the Greek drama "the time that elapses during the songs of the Chorus is entirely idealized"; and also that the unities of time and place (for the latter was equally a stage practice with the Greeks<sup>9</sup>) are by no means universally observed. It is necessary to remember, furthermore, that in the Greek observance of the unities there is little, if any, thought of "verisimilitude," of restricting the time and place for the purpose of producing the semblance of reality. Certainly the Greeks did not found these stage practices, as the Renaissance critics did, on any false and shackling notion of *vraisemblance*. We must look upon them as determined by the conditions of the Greek theatre;<sup>10</sup> yet, may we add that they are the concomitants of an inner, subtler necessity—of the law for unity of effect in all things, in a Gothic cathedral as well as in a Greek temple? Unity underlies all works of art and is an expression of an instinctive desire in man. If, then, the unities of time and place help, in a modest way, to fulfill this desire, may we not be justified in considering them with greater tolerance as, in a measure, connected with the basic principle of Unity? But more of this later.

Before coming to the Renaissance theory and practice it is necessary to bridge, in a few words, the gap between the Greeks and the Italians. That the Roman dramas are slavish imitations of the Greek is evident enough, but that they knew the *Poetics* may well be doubted.<sup>11</sup> Horace has an allusion to the unity of action:

<sup>9</sup> The reason for Aristotle's silence on the unity of place is thus commented upon by D'Aubignac (*Pratique* 1, 86): "J'estime qu'il l'a négligé (i. e., l'unité de lieu) a cause que cette unité étoit trop connue de son temps; et que les Choeurs qui demeuroient ordinairement sur le Théâtre durant tout le cours d'une Pièce, marquoient trop visiblement l'Unité de Lieu."

<sup>10</sup> Raumer (*Ueber die Poet. des Arist.*, 1828, p. 183) holds that the place of a Greek tragedy, as the time, was idealized. "Kann man aber von einer solchen Einheit sprechen wo der Ort so ganz bestimmungslos, so negativ genommen wird, dass er eigentlich gar nicht mitspielt, sondern nur den Raum bezeichnet, hinreichend, dass Leute dasselbst gehn, stehn und reden können?"

<sup>11</sup> "Ob Seneca oder die Römer die Poetik des Aristotles gekannt haben, ist mehr als zweifelhaft." (Ebner, *Beitrag z. Gesch. der Einheiten in Italien*, p. 20.)

"Denique sit quidvis, simplex dumtaxat et unum." (v. 23.) Seneca adheres closely to the minor unities. On the other hand, the careful division of his dramas into acts made it possible for a new influence to come in later. In the Senecan plays the Chorus leaves the stage at the end of each act; thus a decided break in the *continuity* of the action is produced, and a change of scene is easily possible.<sup>12</sup>

The next mention of the *Poetics* is in Averroës' so-called translation.<sup>13</sup> This work, which is really a paraphrase<sup>14</sup> appearing first in 1481, drew attention to the original, and in 1498 came the earliest Latin translation, by Georgius Valla. Aristotle was now to take his place as a giver of dramatic laws, as he had already established his reputation as a scientist and a philosopher. Renaissance scholars eagerly turned to his work for the rules that were to determine the form of the dramatic output in Italy for a great number of years, and in France for many more. The Renaissance had its first home in Italy; hence the dramatic unities arose in this land. As Ebner expresses it, "Gerade dieses Land (Italian) also Ausgangspunkt diesen Regeln unsere besondere Aufmerksamkeit in Anspruch nehmen muss."<sup>15</sup>

The eager interest during the rebirth of learning in all documents of the past, the veneration for the name of Aristotle,

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Cunliffe (*The Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy*) 1893, p. 37: "The absence of the Chorus during the progress of the action lessened Seneca's hold on the so-called unities of time and place."

<sup>13</sup> Averroës (Ibn-Roschd, 1126-1198). As Renan says (*Averroës et l'Averroïsme*) "Ibn-Roschd n'a lu Aristote que dans les anciennes versions faites du syriaque par Honein Ibn Ihak." Cited Ebner, o. c. p. 24. By this work in the *Münch. Beiträge*, I have benefited largely, in my summary of the unities in Greece and sixteenth-century Italy. Nor must I fail to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Spingarn's book and to his personal help, cheerfully given, in the matter of bibliography.

<sup>14</sup> Averroës did not expound his version as a code of laws for the writers of his land, but drew from it what they could appreciate. As Ebner puts it, "Wären die italienischen Übersetzer, Kommentatoren und Dichter eben so unbefangen der Poetik des Aristoteles gegenüber getreten, so würden die Regeln von der Einheiten nicht Jahrhunderte lang den freien Geistesschwung des Genies eingedämmt haben." Cf. with this, Saintsbury, *Hist. Criticism*, V. 2, p. 76.

<sup>15</sup> Ebner (o. c. p. 3) Cf. Morandi, *Voltaire contro Shakespeare*, etc., p. 169, ff.



accounts for the large number of Latin and Italian translations and adaptations of the *Poetics* that appeared in the 16th century in Italy. But the equally large number of commentaries on the text is accounted for by the very incompleteness of that text. Its *précis* form, its summary treatment, required expansion, elaboration, and was a veritable boon for gentlemen exegetically inclined. Gaspari expresses this well,—“Die vielfach dunkelen und schwierigen Sätze der Poetik, boten immer die Möglichkeit, dass jeder darin fand was er brauchte, und um ihre Auslegung hat sich Jahrhunderte lang die literarische Kritik mehr gedreht, als um direkte Betrachtung der Kunst und des Kunstwerkes.”<sup>16</sup>

We shall briefly review the progress of Italian thought on the subject of the unities, with the ultimate aim of noting the trend of the criticism and its influence on English ideas. Ebner has found the earliest “modern” reference to dramatic laws in *Historia Betica*, a Latin play by Caroli Verardi of Cesena, acted in Rome in 1492. The author in his preface reveals a knowledge of rules for the theatre, but like his fellow-dramatist Ricci, and so many others, he does not choose to follow the laws.<sup>17</sup> The position of the first to refer at some length to the unity of time has been claimed for Giraldis Cintio;<sup>18</sup> yet if Trissino’s work, published posthumously, was written and known in 1529 (as there is good ground for believing), the credit must be given to the latter critic. In substance Trissino<sup>19</sup> repeats Aristotle,—the action is to be *una e compiuta e grande*; the time he limits “to one period of the sun or little more.” For the vague expres-

<sup>16</sup> Gaspari, *Gesch. der ital. Lit.*, V. 2, p. 562. Cited also by Ebner.

<sup>17</sup> Ebner (p. 162) gives the passage referred to in the text. It does not seem to have exercised any influence on later thought, its great interest lying in its early date, at the very threshold of the modern era. On Ricci Vd. *infra*.

<sup>18</sup> Spingarn (*Hist. Lit. Crit. in Ren.* 1908, p. 91) and others after him. Giraldis book dates 1554. The exact date of the completion of his work is April 20, 1543. Trissino (1478-1550) published the first four parts of his *Sei Divisione*, etc., in 1529. The two parts dealing with Tragedy and Comedy did not appear till 1563. Several circumstances (discussed by Ebner) make it likely that the later parts were ready simultaneously with the earlier.

<sup>19</sup> For work, etc., see Bibliography,—as for the other Italians cited.

sion—"one period of the sun"—this commentator offers no explanation, as he might have done if he had known the edition and commentaries of Robortelli (1548).<sup>20</sup>

Of greater importance is the fact that Trissino is perhaps the first to say specifically that the unity of time is a hard and fast rule of tragedy, and that "only ignorant poets" disregard it. This is a sweeping statement indeed, and by no means true. It marks, however, as Professor Spingarn points out, "the first distinction between the learned and ignorant poet, based on the test of the observance of the unity of time," which is "an artistic principle with Trissino that has helped to save dramatic poetry from the formlessness and chaotic condition of the Mediaeval drama."<sup>21</sup>

That Trissino's statement regarding "ignorant" poets is illiberal and untrue, is proved by the words of Ricci, a dramatist and contemporary of the critic. In the prologue to his *Tre Tiranni* (1553)<sup>22</sup> Ricci makes a surprisingly modern attack on the "theatric" laws. He sums up the case against the strict constructionists with spirit and intelligence, and from one point of view leaves little to be added. "It has pleased the author," he says, "to depart somewhat from the customs and rules of the ancients, who represent in their comedies but one action, accomplished in a brief time or in a single day. The author has wished that the present play should, according as the action demands, include many days and nights, even a whole year. And while he can frankly say that such was his pleasure, he has, none the less, several reasons to advance in support of his position: as we are now living in the present and not in times long past, and as the demands are different, it seems evident that with these changes should also be altered and renewed according to the time, poetry, and prose, and verse, and style, as well as the art of representation." Here is a sweeping rejection of the dramatic unities. And as Castelvetro first summed up

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Ebner, p. 59, who points this out.

<sup>21</sup> Spingarn (o. c. p. 93).

<sup>22</sup> Cited Ebner, p. 163. I have not read the work, which Ebner calls a comedy.



completely the case for the unities, so Ricci is the first, as far as is known, to deny them as completely.<sup>23</sup>

Giraldi Cintio was a dramatist as well as a critic and knew the difficulty of strict adherence to the unities. He at first defends his slight trespassing of the single day unity<sup>24</sup> and cites Greek and Latin precedent. Going back to the phrase of Aristotle, he declares himself willing to expand the words,—“a little more”—into two days.<sup>25</sup> Later Giraldi seems to have repented his latitude, and he becomes a conformist in practice as well as in theory. In the dramatist's examination of his play *Heracleis*<sup>26</sup> occurs a statement that may be construed as the first mention of the unity of place. Giraldi shows that the time must be lengthened because of “la lontananza dei luoghi”—an argument we will meet again. Evidently he regards the unity of place not as a law, but as a mere help to the representation, not at all necessary for verisimilitude<sup>27</sup>—though the “distance between places” leads directly to the doctrine of the verisimilar.

To Robertelli belongs the doubtful honor of first giving to the drama an exact time limit, that of the artificial day of twelve hours. In favor of this view he makes the plea that “No work is done at night.”<sup>28</sup> His opinion is stoutly opposed by another critic, Bernardo Segni, who says that some deeds, such as plottings and murders, naturally belong to the night. The

<sup>23</sup> Of course it must be remembered that when Ricci wrote, the unities had not yet been made gospel by hundreds of critics and by the consenting bondage of as many dramatists. They were still being weighed in the balance, even in Italy. Cf. Ebner, p. 61.

<sup>24</sup> In his *Discorsi*, p. 250 ff., Cf. p. 213.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Spingarn (p. 91), who says, “One day or but little more.” Giraldi's words are, “Le (dramatic poetry) diede piu spatio di uno giorno: & noi con la sua autorità componemmo l'Antile et la Didone di modo, che la lor attione tocca alquanto di due giorni.”

<sup>26</sup> See the passage in Ebner.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Giraldi's discussion of “verisimilitude” in the “Epilogo” to his *Didone* (1543). He was incited to this by the criticism of Bartolomeo Cavalcanti on his play. His remarks (given by Ebner, p. 165) should be compared with those of Corneille in his *Discours*.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. D'Aubignac—*Pratique*, p. 109. Robertelli's Latin edition and commentary is dated 1548. Segni's is the first Italian translation.

unity of place is further commented upon by Maggi, who, by deriving the unities strictly from the necessity of preserving *verisimilitude*, gives the basis of future discussion.<sup>29</sup>

It is unprofitable for our purpose to examine into the theories of a number of other Italian commentators. There is no view worthy of attention until we come to Scaliger. This writer makes "no direct statement on the unity of time,—but his reference is unmistakable."<sup>30</sup> His indefinite limit is from six to eight hours. Nor does he allow anything on the stage that is not in strict accordance with *verisimile*. When dealing with the story of Ceyx, says this pedant, do not begin your play with the departure of the ship, as no storm of sufficient fury to sink the vessel can arise within the time allotted. Nor is it within reason to expect that a shipwreck can prove fatal when the vessel is hardly out of sight of land.<sup>31</sup> Such is the narrow, spiritless view of our dryasdust scholar. Let us have perfect adherence to truth, to actuality in all details, is the burden of his cry. No lies, no deceptions. The deadening effect of such criticism is evident enough. Unfortunately, the influence of Scaliger's ideas, shackling though they were, was widespread. As Ebner sums it up, "Die allgemeine Hochachtung, die ihm (Scaliger) also Gelehrten gezollt wurde, hat auch seiner Poetik zu dem Ansehen verholfen das sie nahezu zwei Jahrhunderte lang in Italien, Spanien, Frankreich und Deutschland genossen hat."

There remains for consideration the work of but one Italian critic, whose views, of prime importance in the formulation of the minor unities, exercised a vast influence on English thought.

<sup>29</sup> Maggi in his *Annotationes* (1550) is also the first to hint at a limitation of time for the epic. Minturno (1559 and 1563) narrows the time down to one year.

<sup>30</sup> Spingarn (op. cit. p. 94).

<sup>31</sup> Professor Spingarn in his citations (p. 96) from Scaliger is somewhat misleading. This is because of failure to mention that the Italian critic points to Ovid's story of Ceyx as his example. What Saintsbury (*Hist. Crit.*, V. 2, p. 76) says on Scaliger is well worth repeating: "Scaliger did not explicitly enjoin the Three Unities, but he did more than any other man has done to inculcate that unfortunate notion of 'verisimilitude' from which, much more than from Aristotle, they were derived."

This critic is Castelvetro.<sup>32</sup> His reasoning, as Professor Spingarn has pointed out, is based entirely on stage representation. It is the old notion of verisimilitude worked to such absurd extremes as to be fairly ludicrous. As bases for his deductions he propounds questions like the following: How long can the spectator sit out a performance without physical weariness? How many things can be presented him without making the mental strain too intense? Such views can but arouse wonder and despair. Foolish and illogical in the extreme, they barred the theatre to imagination and gave but grudging admittance to sympathy. It is to the perverted ideas of Castelvetro, as determined by his predecessors, that the unities of time and place owe the greatest share of their ill-repute.<sup>33</sup>

Having traced the course of Italian theory to the final formulation of the unities, we can now sum up the trend of the criticism. We shall thus be prepared to note the influence of this body of critical ideas upon English speculation on the subject.

It has been seen that the unities—all three—originated with the Greeks as stage practice, due to stage necessities. They were certainly not reasoned out by Aristotle on self-concocted premises. With the Italians the case is reversed. 'Ostensibly fathered on Aristotle,<sup>34</sup> they were really the result of *a priori*

<sup>32</sup> Spingarn (o. c. p. 97): "Castelvetro (1570) was the first theorist to formulate the unity of place, and thus to give the three unities their final form." Ebner doubts (p. 41) whether Otto, in his Preface to *Saül*, was right in naming Castelvetro as "der Formulierer der Ortseinheit." In fact, he names Jean de la Taille (1572) for this much-disputed position. The reasons he advances are by no means convincing or sufficient, and surely the amount of space given by the Italian critic to the discussion of the unities assures him undisputed possession of the honor. Ebner evidently has not noted the passage cited by Professor Spingarn (p. 99).

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Professor Saintsbury (op. cit. p. 84): "And so the Three, the Weird Sisters of dramatic criticism, the vampires that sucked the blood out of nearly all European tragedy, save in England and Spain, for three centuries, make their appearance from the time of Castelvetro."

<sup>34</sup> Manzoni (*Lettre à M. C. sur l'unité de temps, etc.*) well expresses the imagined embarrassment of the Philosopher at the honor thrust upon him: "Si ce philosophe revenait et qu'on lui présentât nos axiomes dramatiques comme issus de lui, ne leur ferait-il pas le même accueil que fait M. de Pourceaugnac à ces jeunes Languedociens . . . dont on veut à toute force qu'il se déclare le père?"

notions, taken from a hint of the ancients and defended and practiced with no consideration for the conditions of the contemporaneous stage. The Renaissance critic failed to give the same regard to the exigencies of the Italian stage that the Greek gave to his own, and thus the true lesson of Aristotle's example was lost upon them. What is more, the sixteenth century theorists, having established their preconceived ideas, turned round to censure the errors of the very ancients upon whom they professed to found these ideas. This is a method familiar to the neo-classic mind. The *a priori* notion which really gave rise to the Italian unities is that of "verisimilitude."<sup>35</sup> This idea of producing plays that must be faultless in their approximation to reality, of writing so that the result will be veridical to the uttermost, is present in all Italian speculation on the unities, from its earliest mention in this connection by Bartolomeo Cavalcanti (before 1543)<sup>36</sup> to the very end of the critical period. As a matter of dogma, "verisimilitude" seems to spring directly from the Renaissance perversion of the Aristotelian notion of "imitation." Misleading as much of Italian reasoning on the doctrine of "imitation" is, its application to the drama is beyond a doubt one of the saddest instances of neo-classic misjudgment. In its tendency the principle of verisimilitude is narrowing and shackling in the extreme. Its reaction upon the dramatist and the spectator is most disastrous. It permits the former no free swing of fancy; while it represses and atrophies the imagination of the latter. This is perhaps its most baneful influence upon Italian and French dramatic writings. Such is the tendency that struggled in vain for firm foothold upon English soil. Such is the theory that Corneille had to avow with half-hearted allegiance and to defend with quibble and sophistry. Unfortunately there arose no clear thinker to point out that it was not the basic idea of "unity"—whether of action, or of time, or of place,—that called for defense; that what the three really needed was liberal interpretation and plain understanding. And thus the much-maligned doctrine of unity—wrongly derived from an eminently false notion—was to suffer

<sup>35</sup> The points of contact of this idea with "imitation," and "decorum," and perhaps "realism," might well repay working out.

<sup>36</sup> I am not certain as to this claim of priority.



the brunt of the attack that should have been aimed at the underlying misconception. In other words, I do not think it too much to say that the minor unities as interpreted through the medium of the verisimilar, are really a perversion of the unities as understood by Aristotle and the Greek dramatists. That the Greeks regarded them with the latitude of some of our dyed-in-the-wool "romanticists," can admit, I think, of no doubt.

The unity of action, however, fared differently at the hands of the Italians. Whereas they succeeded in so distorting the minor unities as to render them beyond recognition, they treated the major unity with wholly disproportionate neglect. Castelvetro sums up this second tendency—no less baneful than the first—by distinctly subordinating the typical Greek unity. Thus the Italian neo-classicists, while making a pretense of reverence for the so-called rules of Aristotle, begin by diverting them from their true significance, and finish by reversing their true and natural order. Here, undoubtedly, the exegesis is at fault,—and not the fundamental idea which the three unities hold in common.

With this necessarily brief summary of the earlier evolution of the unities, we are ready to investigate their progress as a theory of dramatic art in England.<sup>37</sup> As has been already suggested, the discussion of the question by English dramatists and critics is taken up at the point where the Italians leave off,—so that the effect of the neo-classic tradition is evident. It will be necessary, therefore, to keep constantly in mind the viewpoint of Italian reasoning, and note the extent and the cause of English departure from it.

Our subject divides itself into two parts: the first from the beginnings to 1650 approximately; the second from 1650 to the end of the seventeenth century. The latter date, it must be said, is chosen mainly for convenience and limitation.

In the first period, English speculation on the unities is, with the exception of the work of Ben Jonson, merely tentative and largely casual. There is no considerable body of criticism

<sup>37</sup> The only survey of the dramatic unities in England is that contained in the first three chapters of Professor Lounsbury's *Shakespearean Wars*, Vol. I, already mentioned.



on the subject coming from this era of literary creation. One must make one's gleanings from a mass of uncorrelated material, finding an allusion here, a reference there,—and at the end the material is all too scanty. Yet the trends revealed by this small volume of criticism are unmistakable. On the one hand, there is a tendency, not too pronounced or dogmatic, toward rigid interpretation of the rules; on the other, a triumphant disregard of the principle of unity and a complete severing from it. The first is essentially neo-classic in spirit; the second is English,—an assertion of native independence.

In the sixteenth century the classic tradition in England was by no means dead or moribund.<sup>33</sup> An instance of this is the desire to preserve "decorum" expressed by various dramatists,—a desire that Jonson was to repeat with characteristic emphasis. An early example is the words of Richard Edwards in the Prologue to *Damon and Pythias* (1565):

"If this offend the lookers-on, let Horace then be blamed,  
Which hath our author taught at school, from whom he doth not swerve,  
In all such kind of exercise *decorum* to observe." <sup>39</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Professor Lounsbury (op. cit.) is inclined to underrate the strength of the classic influence at this period. He says, for instance, that Lyly was unacquainted with the doctrine of the unities. The studies of R. Warwick Bond have made it possible to deny this. (Vd. his Ed. of Lyly's plays, 1902, Vol. 2, p. 267, seq.) Mr. Bond says: "All of Lyly's plays require the lapse of a considerable time, with the exception of 'Mother Bombie' and 'The Woman.' . . . Of place he is much more careful. In no play are we transported far from the spot at which it opened, save in 'Midas' and in 'Endimion.' Furthermore, Lyly endeavors fitfully to observe that continuity of scenes which is a corollary from the strict observance of Time and Place." And again (p. 270), "To sum up, Lyly in the matter of Time and Place balances between classical precedent and romantic freedom, obviously aware of the rules and sometimes closely observing them, at others pretending to observe while he really violates, at others frankly disregarding them and claiming licenses which the later romantics abandoned." Surely these views of Lyly's are important when we consider his great influence upon Shakespeare's formative period.

<sup>39</sup> In Hazlitt's Dodsley (1874), Vol. 4. Similar references to "decorum" are found in Nathaniel Woodes' *The Conflict of Conscience* (1581) (Dodsley, Vol. 6, p. 34), in Robt. Wilmot's *Tancred and Gis-munda*, prefatory Address, 1591, and in Florio's *Dialogues*. (Vd. below, p. 19.)

Another, and a more important passage, which is practically a plea for decorum rather than for the unities, is that contained in Whetstone's Dedication to *Promos and Cassandra* (1578):

"The *Englishman* in this qualitie (i. e., truth to Nature) is most vaine, indiscreete and out of order: he fyrst groundes his worke on impossibilities; then in three howers ronnes he throwe the worlde, marryes, gets Children, makes Children men, men to conquer Kingdoms, murder Monsters, and bringeth Gods from Heauen, and fetcheth Diuels from Hel."<sup>40</sup>

These words merit some attention as the first English statement of an idea that enjoyed surprisingly widespread currency,<sup>41</sup> and which Sidney thought fit to make the central point of his attack on the romantic playwrights. There is no play extant, as several scholars have pointed out, from which Whetstone could have drawn the ground for his charge. Professor Lounsbury describes it well as "a piece of rhetorical exaggeration to emphasize an opinion rather than a calm statement of fact."<sup>42</sup> It might with equal truth be urged that because of the wild extravagance of melodrama, all physical action on the legitimate boards should be unduly restricted. In pointing out the extreme of disregard of the rules, Whetstone must not be assumed as pleading for a conformity equally extreme. Moreover, this view gathers weight when it is remembered that the critic is no stickler, in his own practice, for adherence to the rules. As a matter of fact, he fails to observe them in any rigid acceptance in his *Promos and Cassandra*. We can hardly look upon him, then, as influenced to any appreciable extent by the Italian tradition.

The doctrine of the three unities enters English criticism with Sidney.<sup>43</sup> His contribution to the discussion is far and

<sup>40</sup> Given by Gregory G. Smith, *Eliza. Critical Essays*, Vol. 1.

<sup>41</sup> It is frequently reiterated in England, among others, by Sidney, Jonson, Fielding (*Tom Jones*, Ch. V) and by Gildon (see below, note, page 18); in Spain by Cervantes and Lope de Vega; in France by D'Aubignac, Boileau and Voltaire; and in Italy by Ingegneri (1598).

<sup>42</sup> Idem, p. 19.

<sup>43</sup> Spingarn, and others. Sidney's work was published 1595 and written c. 1583.

away the most important that antedates Jonson's, and comes, of course, in his *Apologie for Poetry*:

"Our Tragedies and Comedies (not without cause cried out against) observing rules neyther of honest ciuilitie nor of skilfull Poetrie, excepting *Gorboduck* . . . (yet) it is faulty both in place and time; the necessary companions of all corporall actions. For where the stage should alwaies represent but one place, and the uttermost time presupposed in it should be, both by *Aristoteles* precept and common reason, but one day, there is both many dayes and many places, inartificially imagined. But if it be so in *Gorboduck*, how much more in all the rest? where you shall haue *Asia* of the one side, and *Affrick* of the other, and so many other under-kingdoms, that the Player, when he commeth in, must ever begin with telling where he is, or els the tale wil not be conceiued. Now ye shal haue three Ladies walke to gather flowers, and then we must belieue the stage to be a Garden. By and by we heare newes of shipwracke in the same place, and then wee are to blame if we accept it not for a Rock. Vpon the back of that, comes out a hidious Monster, with fire and smoke, and then the miserable beholders are bounde to take it for a Caue. While in the meantime two Armies flye in, represented with foure swords and bucklers, and then what harde heart will not receiue it for a pitched fielde? Now, of time they are much more liberall, for ordinary it is that two young Princes fall in loue. After many trauerces, she is got with childe, deliuered of a faire boy; he is lost, groweth a man, falls in loue, and is ready to get another childe; and all this in two hours' space: which how absurd it is in sence euen sence may imagine, and Arte hath taught, and all ancient examples iustified, and, at this day, the ordinary Players in Italie wil not erre in." <sup>44</sup>

Sidney is evidently making a plea for greater polish in English dramatic performances. As a man of education and refinement his taste was displeased by the rudeness of the Elizabethan stage. Here we have a further indication of the fact that in

<sup>44</sup> Quoted from Smith's ed. (as above), v. 1, p. 196 ff. The critic enforces his plea for the unity of one day by instancing the practice of Plautus and Terence. "Let us hit with him [Plautus] and not miss with him," says Sidney.

England the "theatre" was for the populace and not for the privileged and cultured few.

It is well to note that the critic looks upon the minor unities as derived from "Aristoteles, and common reason," backed by the practice of the ancients and contemporary Italian "Players." It has been pointed out by several writers<sup>45</sup> that Sidney owes much in the general tone of his criticism and in his conclusions to Castelvetro, so that in respect to the unities he accepts the neo-classic view.<sup>46</sup> His is the first English statement of the doctrine—"one place and one day"; yet it is hard to imagine that Sidney was in sympathy with the Italian hair-splitting on the subject; his mind was certainly not of that construction. He is, however, undeniably in accord with the minor unities as a principle.

In at least one other respect is Sidney's statement of importance. His exposition of the scenic barrenness of the English stage touches upon a vital point in the discussion. I refer to the question of "imagination." Our critic is unintentionally amusing in his use of the expression "many places *inartificially* imagined";—the fact is that the Elizabethan dramatist and the Elizabethan play-goer did imagine "*inartificially*," and I have already suggested that the Italian critics refused to permit "*inartificial*" imagination, or any sort of imagination. This, as I shall attempt to show, is the crux of the question, as regards the Elizabethan dramatist. The latter's appeal is everlastingly to the imagination. He invokes it for his wonder-working; it is - for him the staff of Prospero, and the listeners must be Ariels, obedient to his wizardry and themselves dowered with the gracious gift of fancy. On it rests his unity and his effect.—It is this influence that Sidney was unwittingly decrying.

We have already noted the similarity of the strictures that both Sidney and Whetstone lay on the dramatist who trans-

<sup>45</sup> E. g., Spingarn, and Breitingen, *Rev. Critique*, v. 13, n. s. Vols. 7 & 8.

<sup>46</sup> Sidney's indebtedness to neo-classicism is summed up in his advocacy of the three rules. Cf. Hamelius (*Die Kritik*, etc., p. 14), "Nur eine einzige Regel der Neoklassiker nahm Sir Ph. Sidney an: er empfahl für das Drama die drei Einheiten des Ortes, der Zeit, und der Handlung."



gresses the unity of time.<sup>47</sup> The character of the passage must not be taken as a warranty, as in the case of Whetstone, that the later critic is not a thorough-going classicist in this matter. It must be remembered that Sidney began the latter part of his critique with a thesis in mind,—“that poetry is now despised in England,” and that the practice of the ancients must be revived. This fact is evident in his reference to the unity of action. True to his thesis he points out that Euripides does not begin his play “aboov,” hence English dramatists should likewise refrain from beginning too far back in their story. Sidney’s statement, it is well worth noting, is limited in application to the writers who “will represent history.”<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, he takes up the point at the tail-end of his discussion, and in the briefest possible manner. We see in this a subordination of the unity of action—certainly the result of Italian influence.

The next mention of the unities is but an indirect reference. It occurs in Florio’s *Dialogue in Italian and English*,<sup>49</sup> and is, in effect, a plea for decorum:

G. After dinner we will go see a play.

H. The plaies that they play in England are not right comedies.

T. Yet they do nothing else but plaie every daye.

H. Yea, but they are neither right comedies, nor right tragedies.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Chas. Gildon (*Laws of Poetry*, etc., 1721, p. 174): “Like Webster in his *Duchess of Malfi*, bring in a child just born in the beginning of the play, and before the end of it show him a man not only full-grown, but also in years, than which I think there can be nothing more absurd.” The similar absurdity of complete disregard of the unity of place is shown in a like strain by Angelo Ingegneri (*Discorso della Poesia Rappresentativa*, 1598). He takes a play having for its scenes some five or six places in different parts of the world. As the act ends every time there is a change of scene, says our critic, the play therefore has fifteen or twenty acts!

<sup>48</sup> Thus Sidney thinks that “histories” were most subject to the neglect of the unity of action, as he understood that unity. The critic links it certainly with Greek stage practice. Cf. the passage, “Lastly if they will represent a history, they must not, as Horace saith, begin ‘ab ovo,’ but they must come to the principal point of that one action which they will represent” (p. 49 Cook’s ed.). This connects with Professor Schelling’s “epic-unity” of the chronicle-play. See his *The English Chronicle Play*, 1902.

<sup>49</sup> Cited Malone: *Variorum Ed. of Sh.’s Plays*, 1821, Vol. 3, p. 41, note. The date of the dialogue is 1591.



G. How would you name them, then?

H. Representations of *histories*, without any decorum.

A far richer passage, though not a direct discussion of the subject, is found in Dekker's *Old Fortunatus* (pr. 1600). Its importance lies in the stress it places on the imaginative powers demanded of the spectators. In spirit, the lines cited below are singularly like those in Shakespeare's *Henry V*. Both dramatists express the same reliance on the "winged thought" of the spectator, and both evince a tacit but deep-seated antagonism to the rules as commonly accepted. This is truly Elizabethan and native,—its spirit is legitimately descended from the mysteries and miracle plays of the Middle Ages. The first *locus* is in the Prologue to Dekker's play:

"And for this small Circumference must stand  
For the imagind Sur-face of much land  
Of many Kingdomes, and since many a mile  
Should here be measured out: our muse intreats  
Your thoughts to help poore Art, and to allow  
That I may serue as Chorus to her scenes;  
She begs your pardon, for sheele send me forth,  
Not where the lawes of Poetry doe call  
But as the storie needes; your gracious eye  
Giues life to Fortunatus historie." <sup>50</sup>

Again, before the second "scene," the Chorus says:

"The world to the circumference of heauen,  
Is as a small point in Geometrie,  
Whose greatness is so little, that a lesse  
Cannot be made: into that narrow roome,  
Your quicke imaginations we must charme,  
To turn that world: and (turn'd) again to part it  
Into large kingdomes, and within one moment  
To carry Fortunatus on the wings  
Of actiue thought, many a thousand miles." <sup>51</sup>

In a similar strain the Chorus speaks at his next appearance:

"If your swift thoughts clap on their wonted wings,  
In Genoway may you take this fugitiue,  
Where hauing cozened many Jewellers,

<sup>50</sup>Thos. Dekker, *The Comedy of Old Fortunatus*, p. 54 (in *Münch. Beiträge*, etc., 1901, No. 21).

<sup>51</sup>Idem, p. 76.

To England backe he comes;  
 He clasps her [Agripyne] in his armes, and as a Rauen,  
 Griping the tender-hearted Nightingale,  
 So flies he with her, wishing in the ayre  
 To be transported to some wilderness.  
 Imagine this the place: see, here they come." <sup>52</sup>

We are now ready to examine the views of Shakespeare, whose attitude, as already hinted, is distinctly English and Elizabethan. He nowhere expresses in so many words an acquaintance with the unities. Professor Lounsbury has argued at some length to prove that the poet was not in ignorance of the doctrine,—certainly, it would appear, a view that can admit of little doubt.

The passage of special interest for our purpose is the lines already referred to, in *Henry V*:

“But pardon, gentles all,  
 The flat unraised spirits that have dared  
 On this unworthy scaffold to bring forth  
 So great an object: can this cockpit hold  
 The vasty fields of France? or may we cram  
 Within this wooden O the very casques  
 That did affright the air at Agincourt?  
 O, pardon! since a crooked figure may  
 Attest in little place a million;  
 And let us, ciphers to this great accompt,  
 On your imaginary forces work.  
 Suppose within the girdle of these walls  
 Are now confined two mighty monarchies,  
 Whose high upreared and abutting fronts  
 The perilous narrow ocean parts asunder:  
 Piece out our imperfections with your thoughts;  
 Into a thousand parts divide one man,  
 And make imaginary puissance;  
 Think, when we talk of horses that you see them  
 Printing their proud hoofs i' the receiving earth,  
 For 'tis your thoughts that now must deck our kings,  
 Carry them here and there; jumping o'er times,  
 Turning the accomplishment of many years  
 Into an hour-glass: for the which supply,  
 Admit me Chorus to this history.” <sup>53</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Idem, p. 112.

<sup>53</sup> Prologue, ll. 8 ff.

And again, the Prologue to Act II:

“Linger your patience on, and we’ll digest  
The abuse of distance, . . .  
The King is set from London; and the scene  
Is now transported, gentles, to Southampton;  
There is the playhouse now, there must you sit:  
And thence to France shall we convey you safe,  
And bring you back, charming the narrow seas  
To give you gentle pass.”<sup>54</sup>

The essential inadequacy of his stage for the representation of the “hugeness” of things is thus expressed by the dramatist:

“Of such as have [read the story]  
I humbly pray them to admit the excuse  
Of time, of numbers, and due course of things,  
Which cannot in their huge and proper life  
Be here presented.”<sup>55</sup>

It is in a precious passage such as this that the great dramatist, in a momentary indulgence of self-revelation, opens for us the guarded portals of his artistic consciousness. While, indeed, one gets no direct expression of Shakespeare’s knowledge of the unities, the implication is thoroughly convincing. Nor need we harbor doubts as to the master’s attitude. Addressing himself to the sophisticated and critical part of his audience, he begins with what is surely an interrogation of verisimilitude; and he goes on to reiterate, with insistence, Dekker’s abiding faith in the quickening imaginations of his spectators. One may find here, too, Shakespeare’s pronouncement on the essential irreconcilability between the vaguer unity of the historical or chronicle play, and the definite, classic unity that he must have known.

In addition to the passages already given, one or two others may be quoted from Shakespeare in connection with the dramatic unities.<sup>56</sup> In the *Winter’s Tale* the playwright expresses his

<sup>54</sup> Prologue, Act II, ll. 31 ff.

<sup>55</sup> Prol., Act V; ll. 2 ff.

<sup>56</sup> Professor Lounsbury (o. c.) believes that “scene individable, or poem unlimited,” refers to the unities. Vd. *Hamlet*, II, 2, 418. With this should perhaps be connected the lines in the *Spanish Tragedy* (IV, 1, 158):

consciousness of the fact that the story must jump an interval of sixteen years:

“Impute it not a crime  
To me or my swift passage, that I slide  
O’er sixteen years and leave the growth untried  
Of that wide gap.”<sup>57</sup>

And again, in *Cymbeline*:

“The swiftest harts have posted you by land;  
The winds of all the corners kiss’d your sails,  
To make your vessel nimble.”<sup>58</sup>

It may be added that allusions, similar to the last, to the quick flight of time are of frequent occurrence in the plays. This leads one to the conclusion that Shakespeare was at least conscious of the necessity to preserve a certain propriety, though not a verisimilitude of time. A play like *The Tempest* places this beyond peradventure.

Another independent is Marston. In the *Argumentum* to his *Dutch Courtezan*<sup>59</sup> he frankly confesses to having included a sub-plot. He further identifies himself with the romanticists by his statement in *What You Will* (1607):<sup>60</sup>

“Know rules of art  
Were shaped to pleasure, not pleasure to your rules.”

Marston implies here, it seems, that “rules of art” were being urged,—and indeed they were, forcibly and vociferously, for the urging was done by no other than “rare Ben Jonson,”—“Master Ben.” Jonson argued for the rules so often and at such

HIERONIMO: The Italian tragedians were so sharpe  
Of wit that in one houres meditation  
They would performe any-thing in action.

LORENZO: And well it may, for I haue seene the like  
In Paris, mongst the French tragedians.

On the relations between *Hamlet* and the *Spanish Tragedy*, consult the article by Professor A. H. Thorndike in *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass’n*, Vol. 17.

<sup>57</sup> Chorus to Act IV; ll. 4 ff.

<sup>58</sup> II, 4, 27.

<sup>59</sup> Printed 1605. Vd. Works of John Marston (Ed. Bullen, 1887).

<sup>60</sup> Induction to the play. Idem, v. 2, p. 323.

length, that the sum of his criticism on the question is the most considerable prior to Dryden. He discussed the issues within plays, and before and after plays, and in miscellaneous notes or *Timber*, and in conversation, we may believe, with Drummond, as well as, probably, with many another good listener. It was natural for such diligence to be rewarded and Jonson became the recognized champion of the "rules." The dramatist was not backward in asserting his position. In the preface prefixed to Brome's *Northern Lass* (1632), Jonson, addressing the younger playwright, says:

"the good applause,  
Which you have justly gained from the Stage,  
By observation of those Comick Laws  
Which I, your Master, first did teach this age." <sup>61</sup>

The authority of Jonson was acknowledged by a large number of his contemporaries in a volume of praise, *Jonsonus Virbius*, issued in 1638. In this work the Master is described by John Cleveland as

"The voice most echo'd by consenting men." <sup>62</sup>

And again, by Schackerley Marmion, as

"Knowing to move, to slack, or to make haste,  
Binding the middle with the first and last:  
He framed all minds, and did all passions stir,  
And with a bridle guide the theatre." <sup>63</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Brome (Richard) *Dramatic Works*, London 1873, Vol. 3. A reminder of "The War of the Theatres" (Vd. Penniman, *Penn. Studies in Phil.*, etc., v. 4, No. 3, 1897) comes in the lines that Richard West contributed to *Jonsonus Virbius*:

"Histrio-Mastix (lightning-like) doth wound  
Those things alone that solid are and sound."  
(Jonson's Wks., ed. Cunningham, IX, 472.)

Another contributor, R. Brideoake, is moved in his enthusiasm for Jonson, to heap violent epithets upon the devoted head of Brome:

"Though the fine plush and velvets of the age  
Did oft for sixpence damn thee from the stage,  
And with their mast and acorn stomachs ran  
To the nasty sweepings of thy serving man."

(idem, p. 470.)

<sup>62</sup> idem, p. 449.

<sup>63</sup> idem, p. 466.



Jonson's authority in exploiting the dramatic unities is conceded by Beaumont, who was, it should be noted, but little influenced by his fellow-poet in this matter:

"I would have shown  
To all the world the art which thou alone  
Hast taught our tongue, the rules of time, of place,  
And other rites." . . . <sup>64</sup>

Jonson first enunciates his views in his third comedy, *Every Man Out of His Humor* (1599). His earliest period, as has been pointed out by several critics,<sup>65</sup> is romantic. But in the play mentioned, the dramatist turns his attention, in a sort of running commentary on the work, to the problem of dramatic laws. Through his mouthpiece, Cordatus, he expresses repugnance for those "who are nothing but forme"—those who would wish in all things to follow unbendingly the "Terentian manner" of comedy. He is manifestly out of sympathy with devotees of "nice observation."<sup>66</sup> But on the question of the unity of

<sup>64</sup> Cunningham, Vol. I, p. ccxlv. Beaumont, *To My Dear Friend, Master Ben Jonson, upon his Fox*. Perhaps the completest avowal of Jonson's authority is that of Jasper Mayne:

"The stage was still the same, two entrances  
Were not two parts of the world disjoined by seas.  
There were land tragedies; no prince was found  
To swim a whole scene out, then o' the stage drowned;  
Pitched fields, as Red Bull wars, still felt thy doom;  
Thou laidst no sieges to the music room.  
Thy scene was free from monsters; no hard plot  
Call'd down a God t' untie th' unlikely knot."

(*Jonsonus Virbius*, idem, p. 451.)

This passage should be compared with Sidney's. It is, of course, Horatian in tone. Collate also the strikingly similar lines of Jonson's in *The Magnetic Lady*, end of Act I (Vd. below).

<sup>65</sup> By Lounsbury (op. cit.). Vd. also, Woodbridge, *Studies in Jonson's Comedy*.

<sup>66</sup>I append the passage under discussion:

M. Does he observe all the lawes of Comedie in it?

C. What lawes meane you?

M. Why the equall division of it into Acts and Scenes, according to the Terentian manner; his true number of Actors; the furnishing of the Scene with *Grex* or *Chorus*, and that the whole Argument fall within the compasse of a daies efficiencie.

C. O, no; these are too nice observations. . . . If those lawes

place his attitude is unmistakably classical, as an examination of the lines will show. The dialogue is between Mitis and Cor-datus, who are discussing the drama in an *Inductio*:

M. O, the fortunate Iland<sup>67</sup> masse, he has bound himself to a strict law there.

C. Why so?

M. Well, we will not dispute of this now; but what's his Scene?

C. Mary, *Insula fortunata*, Sir.

M. He cannot lightly alter the Scene, without crossing the seas.

C. He needes not, having a whole Ilande to runne through, I thinke.

M. No! howe comes it, then, that in some one play we see so manye Seas, Countries, and Kingdomes past over with such admirable dexteritie?

C. O, that but shewes how wel the Authors can trauaile in their vocation, and out-run the apprehension of their Auditory.<sup>67</sup>

Here Jonson undeniably commits himself to the doctrine of place; and from the time of this declaration dates his advocacy of the rules. He is willing, it is true, to permit the whole island to be the "place," but this allows the theory but little extension and is in keeping with classical tradition. Professor Lounsbury, in commenting on the passage, points out that it ends up "with the first statement in our tongue of the assumed incapacity of the auditor to comprehend change of scene,"<sup>68</sup> an idea that furnished a ready entrance to the doctrine of verisimilitude. The tendency here expressed grew with Jonson into rigor.

From this standpoint Jonson never departed. It is true he was compelled in *Sejanus* to deviate from "the strict laws of

you speake of had been delivered to us *ab Initio*, and in their present vertue and perfection, there had been some reason of obeying their powers; but 'tis extant, that that which we call Comoedia was at first nothing but a single and continued Satyre. . . . I see not then but we should enjoy the same Licentia, or free power to illustrate and heighten our invention, as they did; and not bee tied to those strict and regular formes, which the niceness of a few (who are nothing but Forme) would thrust upon us." (Quoted from G. G. Smith op. cit.)

Here we have Jonson in a completely liberal attitude,—even to the denying of the unity of time. He does not think it needful that the whole Argument fall within a "daies efficiencie."

<sup>67</sup> Vd. G. G. Smith, *Eliz. Crit. Essays*, where the entire passage is given.

<sup>68</sup> op. cit. p. 30.

time," but for this lapse he amply apologizes in the Preface to the play.<sup>69</sup>

"If it be objected that what I publish is no true poem in the strict laws of time, I confess it: as also in the want of a proper chorus; whose habits and moods are such and so difficult as not any whom I have seen since the ancients; no, not they who most presently affected laws, have yet come in the way of. Nor is it needful, or almost possible in these our times and to such auditors as commonly things are presented, to preserve the old state and splendor of dramatic poems, with preservation of popular delight."

In speaking of the "popular delight," Jonson unconsciously hit upon a vital point in the attitude of the Elizabethan audience toward the dramatic unities. It was a "popular" audience, of decidedly old-fashioned and conservative desires with regard to the theatre. But, though Jonson repeated the thought in *The Magnetic Lady*, he refused to be swayed by the demands of the "general." His habit of conformity grew upon him, until, in *The Alchemist*, he produced his ideal of regularity.

The Prologue to *Volpone* (c. 1605) expresses Jonson's determination to adhere unbendingly to the rules:

"The laws of time, place, person he observeth  
From no needful rule he swerveth."<sup>70</sup>

Repenting of early sins, Jonson, in the later version of his *Every Man in His Humor*,<sup>71</sup> is careful to call attention in the Prologue, to his change of heart, and casts ridicule, in the manner of Sidney, on the rudeness of the English stage and its failure to preserve decorum. The dramatist sees, he says, that you are inclined

<sup>69</sup> Acted 1603, pub. 1605.

<sup>70</sup> Note, *persons*, not *action*. This is, it would seem, another form of the "decorum" idea with relation to types. The poet says, in the words of Corneille, "Qu'il a suivi surtout une unité de personnages." Cf. with the excerpt in the text, the words of Lodowick Barry (*Vd. infra*), "Observing all those ancient streams . . . as *time, place, person*."

<sup>71</sup> Original (c. 1597) printed 1601 in quarto. The Prologue is added to the folio of 1616.

“To make a child now swaddled, to proceed  
 Man, and then shoot up in one beard and weed  
 Past threescore years; or with three rusty swords,  
 And help of some few foot and half-foot words,  
 Fight over York and Lancaster’s long jars,  
 And in the tying-house bring wounds to scars.  
 He rather prays you would be pleased to see  
 One such today, as other plays shou’d be;  
 Where neither Chorus wafts you o’er the seas,  
 Nor creaking throne comes down the boys to please.”

The reiterated censure of the defiance of the unities of time and place reaches the extreme of exaggeration in the lines appended to Act I of *The Magnetic Lady* (c. 1632):

Boy: . . . So, if a child could be born in a play and grow up to a man, in the first scene, before he went off the stage: and then after to come forth a squire, and be made a Knight: and that Knight to travel between the acts, and do wonders in the Holy Land or elsewhere: kill Paynims, wild boars, dun cows, and other monsters; beget him a reputation, and marry an emperor’s daughter for his mistress: convert her father’s country; and at last come home lame, and all-to-be-laden with miracles.

Dampley: These miracles would please, I assure you, and take the people: for there be of the people, that will expect miracles, and more than miracles from this pen.

Boy: Do you think this pen can juggle? <sup>72</sup>

The only other expression of Jonson’s that we need consider

<sup>72</sup> Again, at the end of Act III, the *Boy* refers to the time limit,—“made her fall into her throes presently, and within that compass of time allowed to the comedy.” The English audience continued their desire for change over a long period. Professor Lounsbury (op. cit. p. 48), speaking of a later time, says: “It (the party against the unities) may be said to have had the secret sympathy of most of the spectators; at least it never incurred their hostility. It was not, indeed, dread of the hearers that made the English playwright observe the unities; it was dread of the critics.” That the sympathy of the audience was not always a “secret” is demonstrated by the change of scene that Garrick introduced into the representation of Whitehead’s *School for Lovers*. In the Prologue to the play, Garrick says to the audience:

“Still he persists—and let him—*entre nous*  
 I know your tastes and will indulge them too.  
 Change you shall have; so set your hearts at ease;  
 Write as *he* will, we’ll act it as *you* please.”

(Cited by Pye, *A Commentary Illustrating the Poetics of Aristotle*, 1792, p. 135.)



here, comes in his collection of miscellaneous notes and thoughts on criticism, called *Timber* or *Discoveries*.<sup>73</sup> Its importance rests in the fact that it takes up the unity of action, which the dramatist treats here for the first time. He asks, "What is the utmost bound of a fable?" and answers the query in terms entirely Aristotelian:

"It behooves the action in tragedy or comedy to be let grow till the necessity ask a conclusion; wherein two things are to be considered: first, that it exceed not the compass of one day; next, that there be place left for digression and art." And again, "The fable is called the imitation of one entire and perfect action, whose parts are so joined and knit together, as nothing in the structure can be changed or taken away, without impairing or troubling the whole, of which there is a proportionable magnitude in the members."

This reads very much like a free rendering of the original which the author intended to keep in mind, though he did not think it necessary to follow it, with any amount of rigor, in practice.<sup>74</sup> Having examined Jonson's pronouncements on the dramatic unities, we may now with advantage deduce his position in the controversy, and in addition, consider first, his indebtedness to foreign sources, and then his influence upon the opinion and practice of his contemporaries.

I believe there need be no hesitancy in deciding that Jonson is a classicist in so far as the minor unities are concerned.<sup>75</sup> His practice tends to support this opinion. "Jonson's treatment of the unities is consistent with his theories as far as the circumstances of his age would permit,"<sup>76</sup> and this reservation was reluctantly admitted, as we have seen, by Jonson himself. In the main he is scrupulous in his observation of the unities of time and place, though in his tragedies,—all of them historical,

<sup>73</sup> Pub. 1640, written c. 1630. Ed. by F. E. Schelling, 1892. Vd. p. 85.

<sup>74</sup>On the construction of *Timber*, see the Preface to Schelling's edition; also Professor Spingarn's article, *Mod. Phil.*, Vol. 2, 1905.

<sup>75</sup> Professor Lounsbury says: "It is difficult to determine Jonson's precise attitude." Cf. Woodbridge (op. cit. p. 6), e. g., "His theories are . . . more satisfying though narrower than Dryden's."

<sup>76</sup> Schelling (o. c., note to p. 85).

it should be noted,—the impossibility of adherence to his principles was apparent even to him.<sup>77</sup> In one other respect can Jonson be identified with the neo-classic tradition,—in his disregard for the unity of action. Its place seems to have been usurped for him by the “unity of persons” to which I have already referred. In his subversion of the major unity Jonson falls in with the attitude of his contemporaries. Several of the greater plays of Shakespeare, and some of the lesser, are marred by a too general neglect of this unity. The causes for this disregard, common to the majority of the Elizabethan playwrights, will be suggested below.

A few words will suffice to sum up Jonson’s indebtedness to earlier critical thought. The only other Englishman with whom we can institute comparisons is Sidney. That Jonson knew *The Apology* appears likely enough, and we have already called attention to the reiteration by the dramatist of Sidney’s fault-finding with the rudeness of the stage.<sup>78</sup> Jonson’s foreign rela-

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Woodbridge (p. 17): “The noteworthy thing is that in thus setting at naught a rule he had himself enunciated, Jonson was conforming to a higher law, founded on a fundamental distinction between tragedy and comedy.” Miss Woodbridge goes on to develop this fundamental distinction. Tragedy is a clash between will and law, “essentially grounded on time.” It demands movement, struggle, development. Comedy, on the other side, deals with “the fleeting aspect of things.” While this distinction appears warranted in a way, there is danger of over-emphasizing it. Our notion of “tragedy” is no longer Elizabethan; to the modern mind the tragic in *The Merchant of Venice*, for example, is so accentuated as virtually to demand the fifth act for recovery from painful sensations. Then, too, the Elizabethan tragedies are, in a broad sense, historical, and, as a Restoration dramatist asked, “Where can Brutus die but in Philippi field?” The chronicle play, the historical tragedy, can not be brought within the rules, whereas our tragedies of to-day, though the theme be Elizabethan and universal, present no difficulty to classical adherence. We are not plot-ridden to the extent that Shakespeare and Jonson were, and the modern dramatist who chooses to borrow an historical or literary tale, is enabled to depart from his source to a degree as far beyond the Elizabethan as the latter went beyond the Greek. The Greek audience knew the story, the Elizabethan demanded little but the story, and the modern theatre-goer is content to let the story take second place, in the interest of watching the revealing of character and “the clash of wills.”

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Spingarn: *Seventeenth Century Critical Essays*, Vol. 1, Intro. p. XIV.

tions are not so evident. What Professor Spingarn says in this connection seems probable,—“His (Jonson’s) knowledge of critical development on the continent was limited by his small French and less Italian,” and perhaps this fact would account for the wide disagreement in the reasoning on the unities, between the dramatist and the Italian neo-classicists. We hear nothing in our poet of the Italian “verisimilitude,”<sup>79</sup> or the wire-drawn arguments on the length of the theatric day,—and we may speculate on the proneness of our critic to such thinking, even had it been familiar to him. How far Jonson is indebted to Dutch scholars, the present writer is unable to judge.<sup>80</sup>

There remains but one point to cover in connection with Jonson, namely, his influence. From the fact of the widely recognized leadership of the critic, would naturally follow the inference that he did not preach in vain. At the very least, a greater consciousness of the rules is revealed after and during the period of his sway. There was, of course, no widespread eagerness to observe the unities, nor was such a result to be expected. Many who showed a disposition to praise, showed none to follow. As a matter of fact, Jonson’s outspoken disciples in this principle are but few, and none too faithful. Of these, the first in date (as far as I have discovered) is Lodowick Barry, who, in his play *Ram-Alley* (1611) says:

“Home-bred mirth our Muse doth sing;  
The satyr’s tongue and waspish sting,  
Which most do hurt when least suspected,  
By this play are not affected.  
But if conceit with quick-turn’d scenes,  
Observing all those ancient streams,

<sup>79</sup> The only thing that can be construed as a possible form of this is the allusion to “the apprehension of their Auditory” (see above).

<sup>80</sup> Professor Spingarn (*17th Cent. Crit. Essays*, Vol. 1, Intro. p., XVI ff.) makes much of this influence, nor is it unlikely. Of the Dutch he says: “While Italian critics were losing themselves in the quagmires of ‘metaphysical’ wit, the Dutch continued the earlier traditions of Italian classicism, inherited from the Aristotelian commentaries of Robortelli and Vettori and the systematic treatises of Scaliger and Minturno.”

Which from the Horse-foot fount do flow,  
As time, place, person, etc." <sup>81</sup>

This, of course, is strict Jonsonese. Another dramatist, Thomas Heywood, reveals a knowledge of the agitation for the unities. In his Preface of 1615 to the play *The Four Prenzices of London*, written "some fifteene or sixteene yeares" earlier, Heywood thus expresses himself:

"It (the play) comes short of that accurateness both in Plot and Stile, that *these more Censorious dayes with greater curiosity acquire*. . . . That as Playes were then some fifteene or sixteene yeares agoe it was in the Fashion." <sup>82</sup>

This statement is of special interest in that it points out the growing desire for classical "decorum,"—a desire which is to be credited entirely to Jonson. Heywood again defends his refusal to join the standard in a later play, *The Iron Age, Part I*.

"this Poem: Which as it exceeds the strict limits of the ancient Comedy in form, so it transcends them many degrees; both in fulness of the Scene, an grauity of the Subject." <sup>83</sup>

Still another general reference to rules is found in the Prologue to Middleton's masque, *The World Lost at Tennis* (1620):

"This our device we do not call a play,  
Because we break the stage's law to-day  
Of acts and scenes." <sup>84</sup>

One of those dramatists who were unstinting in their praise of Jonson, but were unable or unwilling to follow his precept and his example, was Ford.<sup>85</sup> In the Prologue to *Perkin Warbeck* he gives voice to his consciousness of the difficulty that Jonson had already conceded in *Sejanus*. He knows of "limited scenes," would fain not "outrun the apprehension of his Auditory," but is helpless, as

<sup>81</sup> Prologue to *Ram-Alley or Merrie Trickes* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, Vol. 10, p. 269). The passage has already been compared with the one from Jonson's *Volpone*.

<sup>82</sup> Wks., London, 1874, Vol. II, p. 162.

<sup>83</sup> Idem., Vol. 3, p. 261. The play was printed in 1632.

<sup>84</sup> Wks., ed. Dyce, Vol. 5, p. 161.

<sup>85</sup> Ford wrote one of the commendatory verses in *Jonsonus Virbius, On the Best of English Poets, Ben Jonson, Deceased*. (Cunningham, IX, p. 467.)



“We cannot limit scenes, for the whole land  
Itself appeared too narrow to withstand  
Competitors for kingdoms. . . .”

The most thorough-going of Jonson's disciples is Richard Brome, whom we have already had occasion to notice. The younger dramatist always acknowledged the desirability of laws, though he was not in all instances faithful in observance to the rules of unity.<sup>86</sup> In the Epilogue to *The Love-Sick Court* he cries out against all errors of the theatre:

“Wishing as y’are judges in the cause  
You judge but by the antient Comick Lawes.  
Not by their course who in this latter age  
Have shown such pleasing errors on the stage,  
Which he [the author] no more will chuse to imitate  
Then they to fly from truth, and run the state.”<sup>87</sup>

It is well here, having reached the termination of the first part of our survey, to sum up the Elizabethan attitude. The main heads of this summary have already been indicated. It may be said that, in general, the position of the dramatist or critic of this age is one of indifference to the question of the unities; it is never a vital issue with him; so much so, that he is sometimes suspected, without warrant, surely, of having been in utter ignorance of the laws. Jonson's is the only sustained voice in defense of regularity, and even he falls far short of the invincible rigidness of the Italian or the later French attitude. We must ask ourselves, therefore: How is it that the English stage failed to come under the restraints to which the Italian and the French drama succumbed with such ease and servility? The answer seems to lie in the fact that the English tradition, still alive, still active, and as yet unconquerable, clashed with the foreign neo-classic tendency, and the latter went down to defeat. The mediæval miracle plays, mysteries, and interludes, crude, earth-born and acknowledging no restraints, were still rejoicing in much of their early vigor. The Elizabethan dramatist, even if he had wished, dared not turn his back upon them. They had long reigned the favorites of the

<sup>86</sup> E. g., in *The Sparagus Garden* (pr. 1640). Even here, Brome, in the Prologue, refers favorably to the “Lawes of Comedy.”

<sup>87</sup> Wks., Vol. 2, p. 86.

populace and the latter were steadfast in their allegiance. In France the peasantry had been compelled to give up this form of pleasure; but in England they had never surrendered their ancient performances;—neither the Black Death nor their Great War had made them forget. Thus, the crude dramas, born within the sacred portals of the Church, seemed to be endowed with something of its wondrous vitality. But, apart from the people, the purely literary tradition was discouraging to the foreign restrictions. As Professor Saintsbury puts it, “The huge mysteries of the Middle Ages, which ranged from Heaven to Hell, which took weeks to act, and covered millenia in their action, did at least this good to the English and some other theatres—that they familiarised the mind with the neglect of their verisimilitude.”<sup>88</sup> So that the imagination, that “sovereign quickener,” was left uncurbed, and under the wizard influence of such as Marlowe and Dekker and Shakespeare, it continued ranging, ever farther, seeking new lands and strange sights and novel experiences. No better illustration of this is needed than Shakespeare’s reply—*The Tempest*—to the challenge of the critics,—and we can but hope that there *was* a challenge and that “*The Tempest*” is his reply.<sup>89</sup> Here the unities of time and place are intact, but the Poet has given Prospero a magic wand, and so the storm, and the shipwreck, and the whole fairy fabric are entirely credible, entirely possible and natural. As one commentator<sup>90</sup> says, “If a writer puts his hero on a magic courser that can

‘Put a girdle round the earth  
In forty minutes,’

<sup>88</sup> *Hist. of Crit.*, Vol. 2, p. 88. Professor Saintsbury, in stressing this idea, forgets to mention the seemingly contradictory fact of the French miracle plays—coeval in origin with the English, of the same structure (sometimes even to minutiae) yet—and in this lies the distinction—without the vitality. This is due entirely to the difference in the social conditions of the lower classes of the two countries. For a fine statement of the case see Morandi, *Voltaire contro Shakespeare*, p. 8.

<sup>89</sup> We should not forget, of course, the influence of the romantic plays of Beaumont and Fletcher. See, for this, the admirable and convincing study in literary affiliation by Professor A. H. Thorndike, *The Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on Shakespeare*, 1901.

<sup>90</sup> Pye (op. cit., p. 133).

it is no offense against the rule; but it would be a great one to make an army march from London to Edinburgh in one night."

How distressing this unbridled fancy, this insatiable "curiosity" was to Jonson we have already seen. He represents the reactionary spirit, and, indeed, it may be permitted us to think that there was a certain need for some such restraining influence. Not that it had been well if a check of censorship had been imposed upon the wonder-working flights of fancy. Indeed, I echo cordially the sentiment of the Marquise who wrote to Horace Walpole, "But for the failure of the three unities, far from being shocked by it, I approve of it, there result from it such grand beauties."<sup>91</sup> Yet it has been too customary, in our worship of these beauties, to lose sight of the desirability in all things of the eminently Greek virtue of measure,—and the unities are nothing if not a principle of measure.<sup>92</sup> Viewed from the standpoint of modern stage-craft, the Elizabethan plays are assuredly not above criticism for their defiance of the unities of place and action. As regards the remaining unity, the accusation so often repeated from Whetstone to Jonson, of the violent transgression of the time limit will hardly apply to the dramas under discussion. But I venture to say that, considered as plays for the stage, many of the finest Elizabethan dramas are marred by the continual and unsystematic changes of scene. They give one the impression of "moving pictures," of things seen through a kaleidoscope; they compel our curtain of to-day to rise and fall endlessly, and the intervals for scenic change prolong the work to disproportionate lengths. For us, the best of Shakespeare's tragedies—if we wish to know them in their entirety—must remain great closet-dramas, inimitable, gripping and Titanic, with the supreme perfection and the higher unity of a work of nature. Their poetry, endowed with a universality and an imaginative power truly sublime, reached the height of Elizabethan effort. Add to this their unfailing suggestiveness—

<sup>91</sup> The Marquise du Duffand in Letter of June 28, 1768. Her *Letters* 1810, Vol. 1, p. 244. Quoted from Lounsbury, *Sh. & Voltaire* (*Sh. Wars*, Vol. 2, p. 265).

<sup>92</sup> Vd. Professor Butcher as quoted on p. 2.

"Age cannot wither, nor custom stale their infinite variety"—and we know, partly, the wherefore of our awe. It is not necessary to believe, even if we were so disposed, that Shakespeare was free from the limitations of his age; and we know that, happily, a lack of restraint and measure,—an abandon to the new-born might of the imagination, to the craving for the novel and the miraculous, is characteristic of the time. That the bent was native and had been early instilled and carefully nurtured, served but to give it the greater strength.

The striking instance, however, of the tendency under consideration is that evinced by the Elizabethan treatment of the unity of action. It has been customary with critics to hold that this unity was generally assented to and preserved by dramatists as well as theorists. We have watched the subordination of the unity of action, beginning with Italian critical speculation and running through Elizabethan theory and practice.<sup>93</sup> That this disregard of Aristotle's prime law is a marked feature of many Elizabethan plays, including several of the best of Shakespeare's, can admit of no doubt, it appears to me. Nor is it difficult to find the causes that brought about the change. They are two-fold. In the first place, the unity of action in its strict Aristotelian acceptance, is far from the unity of a Shakespearean play as two things can possibly be.<sup>94</sup> The former springs from the controlling exigencies of the Greek theatre, as is universally admitted. The latter has the "loose unity" of a romantic work, for, as Professor Moulton says, "The Romantic Drama reproduces the whole of the Classical Drama without its limitations."<sup>95</sup> The Greek idea is, in the nature of things, definite, exclusive and centralized; the Elizabethan, equally in the nature of things, vague, unrestricted and irregular.

<sup>93</sup> Jonson is a good example for praxis as well as theory. To have included in this paper a detailed discussion of tragi-comedy—a broad highway leading to the transgression of the unity of action—would have led us far afield.

<sup>94</sup> Vd. L. Horton Smith, *Ars Tragica Sophoclea cum Shaksperiana comparata*, 1896.

<sup>95</sup> *The Ancient Classical Drama*, 1890, p. 433. This phrase must be taken with reservations in both its terms.



The second cause can now be looked into. Professor Lounsbury points out that the rise and development of the "love" motive had been perhaps most prominent in freeing the English drama from the tyranny of the unities. With this view I can hardly agree, for it seems to me that the theme of the natively independent love, so unlike the early French dramatic love-element, is but one of the concomitants of "romanticism."<sup>96</sup> For the Elizabethan neglect of the unity of action, or at the very least its sweeping departure from the Greek notion, we have already partly accounted, as one of the natural results of the tendencies of the age.<sup>97</sup> But, more definitely, may we not consider that the sources of the plays in the golden age of our drama would result in a natural and insuperable tendency to subvert the unity of action? The influence in this direction of the chronicle, of the English tale, of the Italian *novella*, must not be minimized.

We may sum up then by saying that, in all the three unities, the dramatists of our first period had drifted away from the Greek ideal—certainly not one of neo-classic rigor—in both spirit and letter. Nor, more happily, had the Italian tradition been able to sap the vigor and early might of our drama. The second period, however, was to be one of general conformity, under the more successful inspiration of French example and precept.

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(To be continued.)

<sup>96</sup> It might be added that the love system in Spain was, as in France, thoroughly under parental direction, yet the fact seems to have exerted no influence on the romantic drama of the former country.

<sup>97</sup> The thought that Professor Saintsbury emphasizes—that of the fundamental difference between the French and the English people with regard to submission to authority—must not be forgotten.

## EDWARD III.

(A study of the Authorship of the Drama in the Light of a New Source).

The authorship of the anonymous Elizabethan play entitled "The Raigne of King Edward the Third", and the material from which it was derived have been subjects of much varied discussion. These problems have been of perennial interest partly because of the undoubted merit of the drama itself, but more especially because many distinguished critics have contended that Shakspeare was the author of parts of the play, if not of the whole of it. Before a discussion of the authorship and sources can be approached, however, or the present status of criticism be clearly comprehended, it will be necessary to give a brief review of the drama's history since its first publication.

## I.

The chronicle play, *Edward the Third*, was entered on the Stationers' Register, and licensed for publication on December first, 1595.

"*primo die decembris (1595), Cuthbert Burby entred for his copie under the handes of the wardens A booke Intitled Edward the Third and the Black Prince their warres with King John of France . . . . . vjd*". This record is the first evidence that we have of the existence of such a play: but nowhere has been found in the dramas or annals of the stage any information as to where, when, and by whom it was either written or acted. The first quarto appeared in the following year with no signature, but bearing the title:—

"*The Raigne of King Edward the Third; As it hath bin sundrie times plaied about the Citie of London. (London, Printed for Cuthbert Burby, 1596.)*

Three years later appeared a second anonymous quarto also

printed for the brother of Richard Burbage, the title of which reads:—

“The Raigne of King Edward the Third, as it hath bene sundry times played about the Citie of London. Imprinted at London by Simon Stafford for Cuthbert Burby; and are to be sold at his shop neere the Royall Exchange, 1559.”<sup>1</sup> Three anonymous quartos were entered on the Stationers’ Register for the years 1609, 1617, 1625, but none of them have been preserved. In the list of transfers of copyright plays Edward III was assigned with other plays by Mrs. Burby to Welby on October sixteenth, 1609; on March second, 1617 by Welby to Snodham; on February twenty-third, 1625 by Mrs. Snodham to W. Stansby; and on March fourth, 1638 by Mrs. Stansby to Bishop. This long record shows that Edward III was undoubtedly popular and must have been acted many times during these years. Never throughout this period, however, was the name of Shakspere connected with the drama. The play found no place in Heming and Condell’s First Folio of 1623 and consequently formed no part of the Second Folio of 1632. The Third Folio of 1664 included, besides the plays of the Second Folio, seven of the so-called Doubtful Plays, but Edward III was not one of them, nor did the Fourth Folio include it. External evidence, therefore, is wholly lacking to support any arguments for Shakspere’s authorship, with the exception of one of Mr. Fleay’s ingenious speculations.

In 1654 the drama reappeared, now for the first time coupled with Shakspere’s name by T. Goff in “an exact and perfect Catalogue of all Plays that are Printed” prefixed to the *Careless Shepherdess*. This testimony is rendered worthless, however, by the reckless ascription also of Edward the Second and Edward the Fourth to Shakspere. Langbaine, in 1691, included the play in his “Account of the Dramatic Poets” and

<sup>1</sup>Three copies of the first quarto are extant—one in the British Museum, one at Trinity College, Cambridge, and one incomplete copy in the Bodleian. Both the British Museum and Bodleian have a copy of the second quarto.

suggested many possible sources. It was mentioned again in the Catalogue of English Plays published in London in 1726. Finally in 1760 Capell re-edited and published the play in his "Prolusions, or Select Pieces of Ancient Poetry". He modestly considered it as a drama "thought to be writ by Shakspeare"; an opinion, however, based upon purely aesthetic considerations, and upon the strange notion that at the time the drama appeared, 1595, there was no known writer equal to such a play. Like the majority of the eighteenth century editors Capell followed strictly neither quarto, but relied often on his own judgment as to the meaning of passages. He constructed the first table of *Dramatis Personae*, divided the play into acts and scenes, and corrected many passages that were unintelligible in the quarto. He introduced, however, a unique system of editing, which he explained in a preface. This preface all the editors of the play previous to 1886 evidently did not read, an oversight which caused the text to become hopelessly confused. Capell placed together in a list of original readings of A and B a number of his own conjectural readings. The editors after him accepted the whole list as original readings of the quartos; hence the drama went in this mutilated form through the editions of Tieck, 1851; Delius, 1854; Moltke, 1869; Collier, 1874; and all others previous to 1886. In this year Warnke and Proescholdt discovered the error and edited the first reliable text. Recent editions of the play have been based upon the text of the German editors. The latest text appeared last year admirably edited in C. F. Tucker-Brooke's "Shakspeare Apocrypha".

The critics with their various theories can be divided conveniently into three classes:

1. Those who believe that Shakspeare wrote the entire play. To this class belong Tieck, Capell, Collier, Teetgen, Ulrici,<sup>2</sup> and Hopkinson, none of them wholly reliable.

2. Those who believe that an early play, Edward III., was

<sup>2</sup> Ulrici retracted this opinion after reading the play in an English version.



revised by Shakspeare, who added the Countess Episode; or that Shakspeare had at least a hand in the play. To this class belong Tyrell, Von Vincke, Halliwell-Phillips, Tennyson, Fleay, Ward, Brandes, G. C. Moore Smith and Schelling.

3. Those who believe that Shakspeare had nothing to do with the play. To this class belong Stevens, Delius, Knight, Von Friesen, G. Liebau, Warnke and Proescholdt, Furnivall, Symonds, Saintsbury, Swinburne, Rolfe, and Tucker-Brooke.

1. The contention of the first class that Shakspeare wrote the entire play can be dismissed at once. None of them offer reasons other than aesthetic to support the theory. Aesthetic tests in the absence of other evidence are largely matters of personal taste and opinion.

2. F. G. Fleay is the only member of the second class who offers evidence for the support of the contention that Shakspeare had a hand in the play. He has constructed with his customary ingenuity the following bit of external evidence. He states that *Edward the Third* was written by Marlowe about 1589, and was acted in 1590; that the play was revised by Shakspeare who inserted the Countess episode (Act I, 1. Act II); and was acted in this form by Lord Strange's men in 1594 after May 9th.<sup>\*</sup> The dates 1589, 1590 are purely conjectural. The date 1594 Fleay tries to establish by quoting three coincidences: first the phrase "their scarlet ornaments," which occurs in Act II, Sc. 1, 10, and in Shakspeare's sonnet 142 line 6; second, "Lillies that fester smell far worse than weeds," a line appearing in Act II, Sc. 1, 451, and in Shakspeare's sonnet 94 line 14. As the sonnets were at that date (1594) still unpublished, Fleay argues that only Shakspeare could have made these repetitions. But Meres shows in his *Palladis Tamia* (1598) that Shakspeare's "sugred Sonnets" had been circulated "among his private friends", and this fact renders the evidence untrustworthy. That the date of the play must have been after May 9 in 1594, he maintains by the third

<sup>\*</sup> *Life of Shakspeare*, pages 119-120.

coincidence, namely the following allusion in Act II, Sc. 2, 194-197 to Shakspeare's "Rape of Lucrece", which was entered in the S.R. on that day:

"Arise, true English Ladie; whom our Ile  
May better boast than ever Romaine might  
Of her, whose ransact treasurie hath taskt  
The vaine indeavor of so many pens."

The four lines quoted may or may not refer to Shakspeare's Lucrece; Shakspeare may or may not have called his work the vain endeavor of his pen. Such vague external evidence can hardly be considered as proof either of the date or of the revision of an old version.

For proof of the existence of an old version of Edward III written by Marlowe, Fleay offers the following argument:

"In the Address prefixed to Greene's Menaphon, in a passage in which Nash has been satirising Kyd and another as void of scholarship and unable to read Seneca in the original, he suddenly attacks Marlowe, whom he has previously held up as the object of their imitation and asks what they can have of him? In Nash's own words, 'what can be hoped of those that thrust Elysium into Hell and have not learned, so long as they have lived in the spheres, the just measure of the Horizon without an hexameter?' Marlowe in I Tamburlaine v. 2 has confounded Hell in Elysium, and in Edward III horizon is pronounced hórizon. . . . ."

But Mr. F. S. Boas has shown<sup>4</sup> that this satirical passage applies throughout to Kyd (not in the least to Marlowe), because the references of "thrusting Elysium into Hell" and "the just measure of Horizon without an hexameter" refer to Kyd's adaptation from Virgil of the description of the lower world for his Spanish Tragedy.

To quote another of Fleay's passages in support of Marlowe's authorship:

<sup>4</sup> Introduction to Edition of Kyd, XXIX.

"In Greene's *Never Too Late* we find Tully addressing the player Roscius, who certainly represents R. Wilson, in the words: 'Why, Roscius, are thou proud with Aesop's crow, being pranked with the glory of other's feathers? Of thyself thou canst say nothing: and if the Cobbler hath taught thee to say 'Ave Caesar', disdain not thy tutor because thou pratest in a King's chamber'. Unless another play can be produced with 'Ave Caesar' in it, this must be held to allude to Edward III., in which play Wilson must have acted the Prince of Wales (Act I, 1, 164). The 'Cobbler' alludes to Marlowe as a Shoemaker's son."

This evidence is too indefinite to be given great weight, because it is based upon three suppositions:

1. That "Ave Caesar" occurs in no other play.

2. That Roscius is R. Wilson.

3. That the cobbler refers to Marlowe. Granted that Roscius is R. Wilson, is it not more likely that the Cobbler refers to Wilson's *Cobbler's Prophecy* (before 1593, 1594) rather than to Marlowe?

Fleay offers the word test and the metrical tests to support his theory that Shakspeare added the Countess Episode (1, 2, 90; II).<sup>\*</sup> In this episode the proportion of rhyme lines to verse lines is one to seven; in other parts of the play one to twenty; in the episode, the proportion of lines with double endings to verse lines is one to ten; in the rest of the play it is one to twenty-five. This test like the others is insufficient, because a comparison of scene with scene reveals that some scenes of the principal play have as many rhyme lines and double endings as those of the episode.

The word test consists of "horizon" (Act V, Sc. 1); "Ave Caesar" (Act I, Sc. 1); "whinyards" (Act 1, Sc. 2); "Baryard" (Act III, Sc. 1); "Nemesis" (Act III, Sc. 1); "Martialist" (Act III, Sc. 3); "plate", in the Spanish sense of

<sup>\*</sup> For this suggestion I am indebted to Professor A. H. Thorndike, of Columbia University.

<sup>\*</sup> Shakspeare Manual, pages 303-306.

silver (Act I, Sc. 2; Act IV, Sc. 4); "solitariness" (Act III, Sc. 2); "quadrant" (Act V, Sc. 7); "ure" (Act I, Sc. 1), all words foreign to Shakspeare's vocabulary.

If Mr. Fleay, as Warnke and Proescholdt show, had applied his test to the Countess scenes themselves, he would have found many words such as "decline" (I, 2, 104); "oriental" (II, 1, 11); "persuasive" (II, 1, 54); "to sot" (II, 1, 81); "to fly" (transitive) (II, 1, 87); "summer-leaking" (II, 1, 107); "flankers" (II, 1, 185) and others such as "wantonness" that are equally un-Shaksperian.

### III.

There are far stronger arguments, however, against the double authorship theory than those offered above for the refutation of Mr. Fleay's contentions. These will become evident after the new sources have been considered. Critics have hitherto supposed that Holinshed's *Chronicles* furnished the material for the main play (Acts I, Sc. 1; Acts III, IV, V), and Painter's "Palace of Pleasure" the material for the Countess Episode. Warnke and Proescholdt in support of this theory, included in the introduction to their edition, passages from Holinshed and Painter to match the play from beginning to end. The difficulties, however, with their laborious work are:

A. That the main play is derived not from Holinshed's *Chronicles*, but from the chronicles of Froissart.

B. That the Countess Episode itself is made up of material taken not wholly from Painter, but a large part also from Froissart.

#### A.

The contention that Froissart and not Holinshed is the source of the main play is based upon several facts:

In the first place, everything in Holinshed pertaining to Edward III is included with much greater detail in Froissart.



Secondly, Holinshed provides no sources for several episodes in the play; Froissart has material for them all. Some of these episodes are the siege of the castle of Roxborough (I, 2, 1-72), the account of King Edward's love for the Countess of Salisbury (Act II); also other details such as the attack upon the cities Berwick and Newcastle (I, 1, 134); but more notably the Villier's Episode in Act IV.

Thirdly, Warnke and Proescholdt in their endeavor to make Holinshed cover every line of the play, have quoted several excerpts that have nothing whatever to do with the events in the drama beyond a far-fetched resemblance; as for example, the siege of Lochindoris, the attack upon the castle of Black Agnes of Dunbar, and the founding of the Knight of the Garter.

Fourthly, a comparison of Warnke and Proescholdt's selections' from Holinshed with those listed below from Froissart, will clearly show that the dramatist got his material from the French chronicler. It is impossible on account of length to quote the passages selected from Froissart for the main play (Acts I, Sc. 1; Acts III, IV, V). Therefore, a tabulated list of references following the play from beginning to end is given<sup>\*</sup>:

Act. I, Sc. 1, lines 1-5. Froissart I Chap. XXV, XXVI.

Act I, Sc. 1, lines 5-50. Froissart I Chap. V.

Act I, Sc. I, lines 52-56. Froissart I Chap. XXIV.

Act I, Sc. 1, lines 67-120. Froissart I Chap. XXXV.

From line 121, Act I, Sc. 1, to the end of Act II is the Countess Episode, a discussion of which will be taken up by itself.

Act. III, Sc. 1, lines 1-61. Froissart I Chap. CXXIII, CXXV.

Act. III, Sc. 1, lines 62-189. Froissart I Chap. L.

<sup>\*</sup> Warnke and Proescholdt. *Pseudo-Shaksperian Plays*, 1886.

<sup>\*</sup> These listed selections are from Sir John Froissart's *Chronicles*; translated by John Bourchier, Lord Berners. Reprinted from Pynson's Edition of 1523-1525. London 1812, 2 vols.

Act. III, Sc. II. Froissart I Chap. CXXII.

Act III, Sc. III, lines 1-10. Froissart I Chap. CXXVI, CXXVII.

Act III, Sc. III, lines 18-45. Froissart I Chap. CXXII.

Act III, Sc. IV. Froissart I Chap. CXXX.

Act III, Sc. V, lines 1-60. Froissart I Chap. CLVIII.

Act III, Sc. V, lines 61-85. Froissart I Chap. CXXXI.

Act III, Sc. V, lines 95-114. Froissart I Chap. CXXXII.

Act IV, Sc. I, lines 1-18. Froissart I Chap. LXVIII.

Act IV, Sc. I, lines 19-43. Froissart I Chap. CXXXV.

Act IV, Sc. II, lines 1-35. Froissart I Chap. CXXXIII.

Act IV, Sc. II, lines 36-60. Froissart I Chap. CXXXIX.

Act IV, Sc. II, lines 61-85. Froissart I Chap. CXLVI.

Act IV, Sc. III. Froissart I Chap. CXXXV.

Act IV, Sc. IV. Froissart I Chap. CLXI.

Act IV, Sc. V, lines 1-55. Froissart I Chap. CXXX.

Act IV, Sc. V, lines 56-126. Froissart I Chap. CXXXV.

Act IV, Sc. VI. Froissart I Chap. CLXII.

Act IV, Sc. VII. Froissart I Chap. CLXII.

Act IV, Sc. VIII. Froissart I Chap. CLXV.

Act IV, Sc. IX, lines 1-17. Froissart I Chap. CLXIV.

Act IV, Sc. IX, lines 18-64. Froissart I Chap. CLXV.

Act V, Sc. I, lines 1-7. Froissart I Chap. CXXXIX.

Act V, Sc. I, lines 8-63. Froissart I Chap. CXLVI.

Act V, Sc. I, lines 64-96. Froissart I Chap. CXXXIX.

Act V, Sc. I, lines 97-243. Froissart I Chap. CLXXIII.

Throughout the play the elaborate descriptions of Froissart's Chronicle supply many details which are omitted in the mere narrative outlines of Holinshed's Chronicle. Furthermore, critics have been unable to find a source for the Villiers-Salisbury Episode, which forms parts of Act IV (Scenes I, 19-43; III, 1-56; V, 55-126). Warnke and Proescholdt found no source in Holinshed. Mr. C. F. Tucker-Brooke states:<sup>9</sup> "the Villiers-Salisbury Episode is not found either in Holinshed or

<sup>9</sup> Shakspeare's Apocrypha XX.

Froissart and is of uncertain derivation". These critics are right in regard to Holinshed. Froissart's Chronicle Chap. CXXXV, however, gives a complete account of this episode, a fact which alone would prove that Froissart and not Holinshed was the source of the drama.

The following Villiers-Salisbury episode is given in Froissart with the names "Gaultier" of "Manny", and a "Knight of Normandy", the dramatist having substituted respectively "Salisbury" and "Villiers":

It was nat long after, but that Sir Gaultier of Many fell in comunycation with a Knyght of Normandy who was his prisoner, and demaunded of hym what money he wolde pay for his ransome; the Knight answered and sayd, he wolde gladly pay three M crownes; well quoth the lorde Gaultyer. I knowe well ye be kynne to the Duke of Normandy, and well beloved with him, that I am sure, and if I would sore oppresse you, I am sure ye wolde gladly pay X thousand crownes, but I shall deale otherwyse with you. I woll trust you on your faythe and promise; ye shall go to the duke your lorde, and by your means gette a save conduct for me, and XX other of my copany to ryde through France to Calys, payeng curtesly for all our expenses; and if you can get this of the duke, or the Kynge my maister, nor I wyll lye but one nyght in a place, tyll I coe there; and if ye can nat do this, retourne agyn hyder within a moneth and yelde yourselfe styll as my prisoner. . . . . The Knyght was content, and so went to Paris to the duke his lorde, and he obtayned this passport for sir Gaultier of Manny and XX horse with hin all onely. . . . and ther he quytte the Knyght Norman of his ransome. Than anone after, sir Gaultier toke his way, and XX horse with hym, and so rode through Auvergne and whan he taryed in any place, he shewed his letter, and so was lette passe, but whan he came to Orleunce for all his letter, he was arrested, and brought to Parys, and there put in prison in the Chatlet; whan the duke of Normandy knewe thereof, he went to the Kynge his father, and shewed

him how sir Gaultier of Normandy had his save conduct wherefore he requyred the Kynge, as moche as he might, to delyuer him, or else it shulde be sayd, howe he had betrayd hym: the King answered and sayd, howe he shulde be put to defthe, for he reputed hym for his great enemy; than sayd the duke, sir, if ye do so, surely I shall neuer bere armour agaynst the Kynge of Englande nor all such as I may let; and at his departyne, he sayd, that he wolde never entre agayn into the Kynges host; thus the mater stode a certayne tyme. There was a Knyght of Heynalt called Sir Mansart de Sue; he purchased all that he myght to helpe Sir Walter of Manny, and went often in and out to the duke of Normandy; finally the Kynge was so counselled, that he was delyuerd out of prison and all his costs payd—Thane he (Sir Walter) toke his leaue and departed, and rode so long by his journeys that he came into Heynalt and—so from thens he went to Cales, and was welcome to the Kynge. . . . .”

## B

The Countess Episode for the strength and beauty of its characterization has often been called the Shaksperian portion of the play. The sources of the Episode present difficulties on account of the complicated fusion of two versions of the story, one from Froissart and the other from Painter's "Palace of Pleasure". The episode, which deals with the love affair of King Edward and the Countess of Salisbury, was first described in detail by Froissart, Vol. 1, Chap. LXXVII. The chroniclers after Froissart, namely Fabyan (1516), Stow (1565) and Holinshed (1577, '78) considering the story spurious, omitted it from their histories. The story was reproduced from Froissart by Bandello, who, however, made various additions notably Italian in character, for the purpose of heightening its dramatic effectiveness. The most characteristic of these additions is "the dagger" scene where the Countess refusing to yield to King Edward's will, threatens to take her



life with a dagger, unless he grant her freedom. From Banello the story was reproduced by Painter in his *Palace of Pleasure*.

Many critics, who insist that the Countess episode interrupts the main play, urge this fact as proof that the episode was thrust into an earlier version by Shakspeare. But this episode holds in the French chronicle the same position which the dramatic version of it holds in the play. It is evident, therefore, that the dramatist merely followed the order of events that Froissart had established, and selected only certain details from Painter for the Countess scenes.

The author's indebtedness to Froissart and to Painter is shown more exactly by the following table of outlines:

COUNTESS EPISODE.  
(not found in Holinshed)  
Act I, Sc. 2, lines 120 to Act III.  
Froissart

			Bandello
Froissart			Painter <sup>10</sup>
	Act I, Sc. I.		
lines 121-131 Froissart Chap. LXXVI, LXXIII.	{ Sir William Montague. Siege of the cities, Berwick, etc.		
lines 133, 134 Fro. I Chap. LXXVIII.	{ Planting of Lord Mouneford in Brittayne.		line 132 Warwick as father of the Countess. (Painter Vol. 1, pg. 342).
lines 135-169 Fro. I Chap. LII.	{ Expeditions of embassies and the gathering of allies.		
	Act I, Sc. II.		
lines 1-18 Fro. I Chap. LXXVI.	{ Siege of the Castle of Salis- bury by the Scots under King David at Rox- borough.		
lines 18-39 Fro. I Chap. XXXIII.	{ League of France and Scotland.		
lines 40-93 Fro. I Chap. LXXVII.	{ Flight of the Scots at the ar- rival of Edward.		
lines 94-166 Fro. I Chap. LXXVII.	{ Meeting of King Edward and the Countess of Salisbury.		

<sup>20</sup> Passages listed from Painter's "*Palace of Pleasure*" are taken from the edition of Joseph Jacobs (Vol. I, Pgs. 334-363), London, 1890.

## Act II, Sc. I.

lines 1-183 Painter I pgs. 343-343	{ Edward sends a letter to the Countess.
lines 184-292 Painter I pgs. 238-342	{ Meeting of King Edward and the Countess.
lines 293-346 Painter I pgs. 344-353	{ The King confers with Warwick, father of the Countess.
lines 347-459 Painter I pgs. 353-355	{ Conference of Warwick and his daughter.

## Act II, Sc. II.

lines 1-38 Fro. Chap. XXXII.	{ Emperor of Al- magne joins King Edward.	
lines 200-211 Fro. Chap. I. LXVII.	{ Countess remains a true wife and repulses the King's suit. King Edward returns to war.	lines 39-199 Painter I pgs. 359-362
		{ Feigned consent of the Countess and the following "dagger" scene.

According to Painter's account of the story, King Edward, overwhelmed with admiration for the virtue of the Countess, immediately asks for her hand in marriage. The story closes with the tinkling of marriage bells. The writer of the drama, however, rejected with many other parts<sup>14</sup> this most significant ending (which is Bandello's complete perversion of history), and accepted Froissart's account of Edward's return to war.

The tabulated results as a whole, then, show that Act I, Sc. I, II, Acts III, IV, and V are derived from Froissart: that Act II (the countess episode) is made up of a complicated fusion of Froissart and Painter. What light do these facts shed upon the double authorship theory, namely, that Shakspeare inserted the Countess Episode in an old version of the play? Simply the impossibility of such a theory. The whole drama, as the tables indicate, must have been written

<sup>14</sup> Details from Painter rejected by the dramatist: I. Departure of Countess to her father's house. II. King Edward's departure for London where he continues his suit. III. Desire of the Lords to aid King Edward in his advances to the Countess. IV. Edward's successful appeal for aid in his suit to the mother of the Countess.

at one time by one playwright; nor could the Countess Episode have been inserted later. Further evidence which bears these facts out lies in two passages in Act III, which refer to events in the first two acts:

Act III, Sc. III, 155-7

"For what's his Edward but a belly god

A tender and lasciuious wantoness

That thother daie was almost dead for love?"

Act III, Sc. V, 100-3

"Now John of France I hope,

Thou knowest King Edward for no wantonesse

No loue sick cockney....."

Again, it has been reasonably argued<sup>12</sup> that the countess scenes are hardly superior to those of the rest of the play, for the characters, high and low, from the countrymen and citizens to the King and Countess, all speak the same high flown eloquence.

Many dramatists have been proposed by various critics for the authorship of King Edward III. That Shakspeare could have been responsible for the whole of the play would be, indeed, a rash judgment, after one has considered the weight of opposing criticism of Class III, in addition to the facts that have been brought out here. Most members of Class II, who contend only for certain scenes by Shakspeare, if asked to support his composition of the entire play, would immediately join Class III, e.g., Ward, Brandes, Halliwell-Phillips and possibly Mr. Fleay, and certainly G. C. Moore Smith who says<sup>13</sup> "It is not to be thought of, that Shakspeare wrote the whole play". The whole drama is by no means up to Shakspeare's level. There is an absence of comedy, and a general want of characterization. Furthermore, the drama was never considered Shakspeare's until the eighteenth century, nor is there any external evidence in favor of his authorship. Finally, the

<sup>12</sup> Shakspeare Apocrypha.

<sup>13</sup> Temple Dramatists. Edward III.

whole play was written at one time, by one dramatist who took nearly all of his material from Froissart's Chronicles; and Shakspeare probably never consulted Froissart for chronicle history plays.

It is equally difficult to believe that Marlowe wrote the play. Aside from the Marlowesque blank verse and bombast which were employed in all drama after the appearance of Tamburlaine in 1587, Edward III bears none of that dramatist's well known characteristics. There is no protagonist, no attempt at such plot construction as is found in Edward II; nothing, but the presentation of an interesting chronicle narrative taken almost wholly from one source. Furthermore, the portrayal of such a woman character as the Countess was totally foreign to Marlowe's genius. These facts, with others, make it probable that the whole drama was written by one playwright three or four years earlier than Mr. Fleay's date 1594, perhaps 1590, before Marlowe had put his final stamp upon Chronicle History Plays.

Greene, Peele and Lodge have also been suggested, largely from unconvincing internal evidence, or from personal aesthetic tests.

This monograph does not offer a new dramatist for the play, nor does it attempt to defend the names already suggested. If it has established the true source of King Edward III, and offered the hitherto undiscovered source of the Villiers-Salisbury Episode, and has proved the double authorship theory untenable, the paper has accomplished its purpose. Let us say with Capell, to whom we are indebted for the play, as regards Shakspeare's authorship:

"It must be confessed that its being his work is conjecture only and matter of opinion, and the reader must form one of his own, guided by what is now before him and by what he shall meet with in perusal of the piece itself."

ROBERT METCALF SMITH.

*University of Minnesota.*



BOCCACCIO AND HIS IMITATORS IN GERMAN, ENGLISH, FRENCH, SPANISH, AND ITALIAN LITERATURE. "THE DECAMERON." By Florence Nightingale Jones, Instructor in Romance Languages, University of Illinois. IV+46 Pages. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1910. Price \$.53 Postpaid.

Interest in the *novella* is distinctly in the ascendancy. The name of Boccaccio is fundamentally and inseparably connected with all that bears on this subject—is almost synonymous with it. Any publication dealing with, or calculated to throw light upon, the Decameron is therefore peculiarly timely. Untold volumes have been written on Boccaccio and his Decameron; many and minutely searching studies have been published about all possible phases of its influence on national literatures, on individual authors, and on single literary productions. But never before has any attempt been made to garner—to gather together under one roof, as it were—all the influences of Boccaccio on *all* the great literatures of the Western world, as Dr. Jones does in the present work, tracing in minute detail and cataloguing all the borrowings from every one of the hundred stories of the Decameron.

Under promise (p. 42) of giving later "a more detailed discussion," which will no doubt be a fuller and more scientific monograph, Miss Jones publishes in this pamphlet—which, incidentally, has all the earmarks of being a by-product—several very handy tabulations showing the translations and imitations of Boccaccio in Germany, England, France, Spain, and Italy. The list gives the stately grand total of over 850 titles. If those found in Scandinavian Literature, which were intentionally omitted from consideration, had been added, Boccaccio's progeny would number more than a thousand.

The pamphlet consists of a preface, an introduction of nine pages, three tables of statistical compilations, a full list, with date, of every imitation of each of the 100 *novelle*, beginning with the first story of the first day and continuing in order through the whole Decameron (this constitutes, of course, the main body of the work), a bibliography, additions, and an index of principal authors. Table A gives, tabulated by day and *novella*, the number of imitations of each of the 100 stories, and adds a list of the ten most popular ones (i. e., those of which most imitations were found) in the order of their popularity. This list is instructive as well as interesting; it runs as follows: X, 10; IV, 1; VII, 7; X, 8; II, 9; IV, 2; VII, 6; V, 9; VI, 4; II, 5. Table B, again arranged by day and *novella*,

gives a summary of the stories imitated by ten authors, two from each of the five countries treated. It is intended to show the wide geographical distribution of the borrowings from the Decameron Tales. An addition to this table gives a list of the imitators of each of the ten most popular tales, as cited under Table A. (It might be added, in passing, that a line or a space between the two parts of Table B would greatly facilitate the intelligibility of page 11.) Table C gives a summary, by days, of the total number of adaptations found in each of the five countries under discussion. These tables show the interesting fact that Germany has the lion's share in the Boccaccio imitations. This Dr. Jones tries to explain, p. 9 of the Introduction, on the ground of Germany's geographical proximity to Italy, of Hans Sachs's influence, and of the indefatigable activity of German scholars in ferretting out "these metamorphosed *Novelle*"—not, it seems to me, with good reason or much plausibility, for the greater geographical proximity of Germany is not a fact, and, besides, on that ground Italy herself ought greatly to preponderate; and, as for German scholarship, that has ferretted as assiduously and with as much vigor in foreign literatures as it has in its own. The true explanation is rather to be found in Germany's strange and extraordinary fondness of, and remarkable capacity for imitating and assimilating, things foreign. Besides this general explanation, a more specific reason for the borrowings, in the later period, is found in the intense and widespread interest German literary men showed for Italy and its art and literature toward the end of the eighteenth century. Winckelmann, aflame with passion for classic art, had gone to Rome as early as 1755, never to return to Germany. In 1780, Heinse went to Italy where he remained several years, and became thoroughly imbued with Italian culture. He translated Tasso and Ariosto, and wrote on their lives; his own *Ardinghello* plays on Italian soil. Heinse was followed in this yearning for Italy by Goethe. H. Pröhle calls his migration to the South "die eigentliche Vorläuferin von Goethes Flucht nach Italien." Lessing was not permitted to satisfy his long-standing wish to see the classic land till 1775. Then he visited all the larger cities of Italy and made a careful inspection of their libraries and a study of Italian scholarship. Bürger, in 1789, writes with enthusiasm of his renewed daily study of Italian authors, like Ariosto, Tasso, Petrarch, and in his fragment 'Bellin' he imitates the Italian verse-form. The German Romanticists, of course, cap the climax of this return to the Middle Ages, Southern Climes, and the Roman Catholic Church. But more of this presently.

In passing now to an estimate and criticism of the work, it

must be borne in mind that the author has attempted to cover a vast, well-nigh limitless field, and, viewed merely as a compilation, the work deserves unstinted praise. Miss Jones has for the first time brought together within a small compass and for comparative study a vast deal of information, which hitherto has been scattered in the most remote places. She has given a bird's-eye view, and angles of view, that are most interesting, at times fairly startling. On the other hand, she has covered so very large a field, that perfect accuracy, scientific dependability, and anything resembling independence of attitude is all but out of the question. Lest I expose myself to my own criticism, I shall limit my observations practically to that part of the work dealing with German Literature. Even so, it will not be possible to do more than give a few suggestions, showing lines along which a later edition may be enlarged and improved.

The most pronounced defect of Dr. Jones's compilation, as a whole, is that she has deliberately refused to "locate" the titles in her long list of imitations. She says, to be sure, in the Preface (p. IV) that "it has seemed best not to encumber the following list with detailed references to the work in which the imitation occurs. . . . references to editions, volumes, pages, would defeat the object aimed at." The reviewer feels constrained to take decided issue with the author on that point. If the work in question designs to be anything at all, it certainly means to be a reference-book. And it is an excellent reference-book—but with the references left out. And yet, what an admirable reference-book it could be made to be, if the references were added! It is most exasperating, for example, to read among the imitations of X, 10, Simrock: *Volksbücher*, 'Eine schöne anmuthige Historie,' and then have to haul down from the shelves all the 12 volumes of the *Volksbücher*—only to find that they contain no such title, when the simple addition of VI, 119, would at once have located the story in question and at the same time have corrected the title erroneously quoted; or, again, to find IX, 6, Von der Hagen: *Gesamtabenteuer*, 'Von zwain studenten,' and have to thumb through the 2500 odd pages of Von der Hagen's 3 volumes—again to be disappointed, when the mere addition of III, 43, or, simpler still, of only LV would have "placed" the story and have enabled an immediate correction of the misquoted title; or to see among the imitations of IV, 2, Bülow: *Novellenbuch*, 'Der Genius', and then be obliged to search through the 4 volumes of Bülow to locate the story in question, when the addition of III, 111, or III, VII, would have obviated the whole difficulty. The same is true of the references to Ayrrer, all 5 volumes of which are, indeed, paginated consecutively, without regard to volumes, so that the mere



page would be sufficient; of Martin Montanus, Kirckhoff, Pauli: *Schimpf und Ernst*; and of practically all the German works cited, of each of which there either *is* only one edition, or only one edition is likely to be consulted. The absence of these references is particularly annoying in the case of Hans Sachs, as his works are at once so numerous and printed in such scattering volumes of the publications in which they appear. I fully realize that the addition of full data of editions, with dates, places of publication, editors, etc., would have been an encumbrance, but with proper bibliography and judicious references, one or at most two numerals added to these titles would have been a very great help. It seems a great pity, that, after having had in her hands and verified the quotations from all these books, many of which are very difficult of access, Miss Jones did not go this one step farther and give us the full benefit of her laborious task.

Of omissions from the Bibliography, the most conspicuous is that of the awkwardly arranged, clumsy, and unscientific, but fundamentally important book of Rudolf Fürst, *Die Vorläufer der modernen Novelle im achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, Halle, 1897, a veritable mine of information on the subject under discussion. A perusal of this book, which treats not only of German literature, but of English, French, Spanish and Italian as well, would have greatly enlarged the horizon of Miss Jones's studies and have been of great advantage to her compilation.

In Dr. Jones's Introduction, German literature conspicuously fails to come to its own. On p. 3, mention is made of the influence of Boccaccio as the prototype of the *Rahmenerzählung*, Bülow's *Novellenbuch* being cited as owing its framework to the Decameron. The *Novellenbuch* (the dates of which should be 1834, 1835, 1836, and 1836 for the 4 volumes) is not, in point of fact, a *Rahmenerzählung* at all, while 'Die sieben weisen Meister' (Simrock's Volksbücher XII, p. 115'), Schnabel's 'Die Insel Felsenburg' (1731-43), Goethe's 'Unterhaltungen deutscher Ausgewanderten' (1795), Wieland's 'Das Hexameron von Rosenheim' (1805), Achim v. Arnim's 'Der Wintergarten' (1809), Tieck's 'Phantásus' (1812-16), and E. T. A. Hoffmann's 'Die Serapionsbrüder' (1819-21) might have been given at this point as conspicuous examples of the framework story in German literature.<sup>2</sup> On the same page, the Romanticists of England and France are discussed, no mention being made of the profound influence which Boccaccio exerted

<sup>2</sup>Cf. also Bibliothek der deut. Nationalliteratur, Quedlinburg u. Leipzig, 1841, Vol. 22.



on the German Romantic School. The most marked example of this is the important and fundamental essay of Friedrich Schlegel: 'Nachricht von den Poetischen Werken des Johannes Boccaccio', 1801, *Sämmtliche Werke*, Wien, 1825, X, p. 3. His brother August Wilhelm makes repeated references in his 'Vorlesungen über schöne Litteratur und Kunst' ('Berliner Vorlesungen') to Boccaccio and the Decameron, and in the third volume (*Deutsche Litteraturdenkmale des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts* in Neudruck herausgegeben von Bernhard Seuffert, No. 19), p. 231, he had inserted the beginning of a translation of the Decameron, which was later removed, cf. Minor's Introduction, p. IV. This is followed by a translation from Fiametta. The influence of Boccaccio on Ludwig Tieck was nothing short of vital. He goes so far as to say, "Boccac, Cervantes und Goethe sind die Muster in dieser Gattung (Novelle) geblieben" (Tieck's *Schriften*, Band 11, Berlin, 1829, Introduction, p. LXXXV<sup>3</sup>)—and how great his own influence in this field was, may be seen from the fact, that after 1820 he made the *Novelle* the vehicle for the expression of his whole view and philosophy of life—the *Träger*, as a *Kunstprodukt*, of his *Weltanschauung*. His 'Phantasmus' has been referred to above. Sophie Mereau contributed a translation of Decameron I, 3, the Ring-story, to Schiller's 'Horen', 1796; and in her book 'Spanische und Italienische Novellen.' Herausgegeben von Sophie Brentano (she had meanwhile been married to Clemens Brentano), Penig, 1804-05—really the work of Clemens Brentano, cf. Goedeke, *Grundriss* 2 VI, p. 64<sup>4</sup>—there is every reason to suspect Boccaccio material, though I was unable to obtain the book.<sup>5</sup> What an overpowering domination Boccaccio attained in later German literature is seen by the fact that Paul Heyse, himself the conceded master of short-story writing in Germany, makes the Falcon Story, Dec. V, 9, the type and model by which he and Heinrich Kurz measured, and according to which they selected, the stories to be included in their

<sup>3</sup> Arnim had originally also planned his 'Das Landhausleben' as a framework story. Cf. Max Koch's introduction to Vol. 146, I, *Kürschner, Deut. Nat. Lit.*, p. CXXVII.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also 'Deutscher Novellenschatz', herausgegeben von Paul Heyse u. Hermann Kurz, Band I, München u. Leipzig, 1871, Introd., p. VIII.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. also R. Steig, 'Arnim und Brentano', pp. 158 and 356.

<sup>6</sup> A new edition is just announced, as I am writing these lines: 'Spanische und italienische Novellen übertragen von Cl. Brentano'. 2 Bde. Dreililien-Verlag. XIV, 212, 274 S. Mk. 10, Karlsruhe, 1910.

'Novellenschatz', a collection of 86 German short stories in 24 volumes, already referred to in a previous foot-note.

We come now to the list of imitations. In a literary study of this kind, there must inevitably be left considerable latitude for personal opinion and feeling, and individual interpretation, especially where "no attempt is made to discuss the sources of these stories, nor to settle disputed questions" (Preface, p. III). Differences of opinion between author and reviewer may therefore be expected. Before attacking the long lists in detail, I shall select two titles which, it seems to me, should be omitted. Under IV, 2 (p. 21), Dr. Jones includes, Bülow: *Novellenbuch*, 'Der Genius,' which is found in Vol. III, p. 111 of Bülow, and the date of which should be 1836. This story is, as a matter of fact, taken from the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* of Madame de Gomez, as Bülow tells us in his Introduction, Vol. III, p. XII, and not from the Decameron. It should not, in my opinion, be identified with the Boccaccio tale. The only similarity between the two is the intercourse—would-be in 'Der Genius' and supposed in Boccaccio—between a woman and a celestial visitor.\* Otherwise the plan, purpose, plot, dénouement, and tone of 'Der Genius' is wholly different from the Decameron story. Much more akin to Decameron IV, 2 (if Bülow is to furnish an example), it seems to me, is 'Der Chevalier auf den Knien', Bülow II, p. 568. Here, as in Boccaccio and unlike 'Der Genius', the would-be heavenly visitor himself is the one who gives rise to, and encourages, in his fair dupe the belief in his heavenly origin; then, too, the tone of this tale is entirely Boccacciosque; and finally, while taken from the *Nouvelles toutes Nouvelles* (cf. Bülow, Introduction, Vol. II, p. XXI) constitutes only an episode in the story there, and *may*, therefore, quite well have its provenience directly from the Decameron. Surely the would-be *Apothekergeist* of this story in his delicate situation has a much better right to rank with Boccaccio's Angel Gabriel than Bülow's innocent Silamont.†

\* A case of actual relations between mortals and superhumans is found in the story 'Belfagor', the arch-devil, former archangel, Bülow, *Novellenbuch*, III, p. 291.

† It is a singular fact and an interesting commentary that the four volumes of Bülow's 'Novellenbuch' and all eight volumes of the 'Straussfedern', edited by Musäus, J. G. Müller and Tieck successively, both containing just such translations and reproductions as would lead one to expect Boccaccio tales, should fail to contain a single story taken directly from the Decameron. Possibly it was thought that Boccaccio was already well enough known in Germany; or, possibly, it was

Another inclusion that I find fault with, is Von der Hagen: *Gesammtabenteuer*, 'Die drei münche von Colmar' (more accurately quoted, 'Die drî münche von Kolmaere') III, 163, under VIII, 8. This story is not identical with the 'Eighth of the Eighth.' Von der Hagen mentions Boccaccio VIII, 8, in his Introduction, not as indicating identity, but simply in connection, with a comparative genealogical study of the history and the sources of this whole cycle and of other versions connected with these stories of would-be seduction. On page XLII, he himself points out the dissimilarity. As a matter of fact, the *Gesammtabenteuer* tale falls into two entirely distinct parts: a) The lustful passion of three monks,\* who, for money, seek the love of a woman, but with the connivance of her husband are cheated out of both, and lose their lives into the bargain; and b) The removal of their dead bodies by an intoxicated *fahrender Schüler*,\* who believes after the removal of each corpse, and finding another in its place in the house, that it is the same one returned. These two parts, neither of which occurs in the Decameron, are so distinct, that each has repeatedly been treated independently of the other by subsequent authors without any apparent knowledge of their coherence. So Langbein (1757-1835), for example, has two separate stories based one on the first part and one on the second. In other versions both parts occur, but one part so greatly predominates as to make the other almost superfluous. The point of Decameron VIII, 8, is the community of wives, and only stories in which the retribution is 'in kind' should be identified with the Boccaccio story, though in a very large way all belong to the same cycle. If these, however, were all to be included, Miss Jones's list would have to be doubled in length, and would have to include items as remote as Wieland's *Die Wasserkufe* (Vol. 12, p. 225, Works, Hempel ed.) and Ayrrer's *Die ehrlich Beckin*.

due to the influence of Nicolai upon Tieck in the case of the "Straussfedern", of which the term 'Nicolaische Lohnschreiberei' is used. Nicolai, the publisher, for business reasons had a preference for French originals and expected them of Tieck, cf. Köpke, Tieck, I, p. 201. Bülow's Novellenbuch, in turn, was greatly influenced by Tieck, and thus a tendency away from Boccaccio may have been established in these two works.

\*In other versions the number is two or four and licentious persons are judges, magistrates, priests, prelates or others.

\* Often it is a half-witted man, or a drunken guard, or a sleepy night-patrol.



Under II, 8, Ayrer: *Der Graf von Angiers* is given. I failed to find such a title either in Keller's edition or in Goedeke's Grundriss.

The following titles are incorrectly quoted: Under II, 9, p. 16, Hans Sachs, 'Die undultig frau Genura' should read 'unschuldig', and Von der Hagen, 'Von zwein Kaufmonnen', should read 'Koufmannen' (III, 357), under III, 8, p. 19, Von der Hagen, 'Der begrabene Edelmann' read 'Ehemann' (II, 357), under IV, 1, Simrock: *Volksbücher*, the title should read 'von des Fürsten—Gismunda (VI, 153), VII, 8, Von der Hagen: 'Der vertreute Wirth', read 'verkehrte' (II, 333); VII, 9, Sechtesgesäng read 'Sechster Gesang'; IX, 6, Von der Hagen: *Gesammtabenteuer*, 'Von zwain studenten' should read 'Irregang und Girregar' (III, 37)—the *Gesammtabenteuer* contain no such title as the one quoted; X, 10, Simrock: *Volksbücher*, 'Eine schöne anmuthige Historie' should read 'Markgraf Walther', (VI, 119). The title quoted by Miss Jones is a very blind abbreviation of the 5-line-long title: 'Schöne anmuthige Historie von Markgraf Walthern, etc.' given in the Table of Contents at the end of Vol. VII, top of page 480.<sup>10</sup>

The entry under X, 10, p. 40: 'Arigo (Steinhöwel): Griselda' seems to imply adherence on the part of Miss Jones to the old theory<sup>11</sup> of the identity of Dr. Heinrich Steinhöwel with this mysterious Arigo who appears in German literature contemporaneously with him. Philipp Strauch<sup>12</sup> has proved conclusively, it would seem, in Z f.d. A. 29 (1885), p. 432, and also in his article on Steinhöwel, *Allgem. deut. Biographie*, 35 (1893), p. 728 that this supposed identity is untenable. In this same list, Miss Jones omits to mention the alleged 'Griseldis' of Niclas von Wyle, to which Goedeke devotes a page and a half (Vol. I, pp. 364 and 365)—whether inadvertently or intentionally and in conscious agreement with Strauch's findings (A.f.d.A. 14 [1888], p. 249 f.) I do not of course know. At all events, we have here a most puzzling confusion. As the books of reference usually consulted are

<sup>10</sup> It is curious that the author should have verified the Gismunda story above (IV, 1, p. 20), as the asterisk shows, and have left this tale, which occurs in the very same volume of Simrock, uncomparred, and so misquoted the title.

<sup>11</sup> J. Grimm, DWB, Vol. I, p. LXXXVIII; A. v. Keller, *Bibl. d. Litt. Vereins in Stuttgart*, No. 51 (1860), p. 681; Koberstein, *Deut. Nat. Lit. I*, p. 339; Goedeke *Grundriss*<sup>3</sup> I, p. 368.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. also F. Vogt, *Paul's Grundriss der germ. Philologie II I* (1893), p. 405 and p. 408; and Z.f.d.Ph. 28 (1896), p. 448, esp. p. 474; also *Göttinger Gelehrten Anzeigen*, 1895, p. 325 ff.



doing their best in helping to perpetuate these errors, it may not be out of place briefly to review the situation. The facts are as follows: A certain somebody, calling himself Arigo, wrote, or possibly *copied* (cf. Z.f.d.A. X. [1856], p. 260) a translation of Boccaccio's Decameron—the one published under the name of Heinrich Steinhöwel by A. v. Keller (Stuttg. Lit. Ver. No. 51, 1860). In 1531, nearly a hundred years after Steinhöwel's death, Jacob Köbel, Stradtschreiber zu Oppenheim, in dedicating a new edition of another work of Steinhöwel's, his 'Deutsche Chronik', to the Mainzer Chorherrn Heinrich Steinhöwel, a relative of the original author, enumerates the works of our Heinrich Steinhöwel as: Fabeln Esopi, Boccacci, von den Erleuchten Frawen der Chronica, von Gotfrids hörfort etc. (Goedekes<sup>2</sup> I, p. 370). Now, then, Jac. Grimm in his DWB, I, p. LXXXVIII (Mhd. Quellenverzeichnis), without knowledge of Köbel's statement, attributed Arigo's Decameron to Steinhöwel solely on the ground that Arigo is Italian for Heinrich. Later A. v. Keller in his edition of the Decameron (Stuttg. Lit. Ver. No. 51), referring to J. Grimm, also identifies H. Steinhöwel with Arigo. Quoting from Arigo's introduction, he says, p. 681: 'und damit die beschwerten und betrübten frewlein..., hab ich Arigo (*d.i. Heinrich Steinhöwel*) in das werke machen...wöllen.' Goedekes<sup>2</sup> I, 368, speaking of the Decameron says, "Dass Stainhoewel der Übersetzer ist, steht durch Koebels Zeugniß seit 1531 fest." This testimony of Köbel, Strauch, Z.f.d.A. 29, 432, Footnote 4, shows, should be punctuated 'der fabeln Esopi, Boccaccii von den Erleuchten Frawen, der Chronica von Hertzog Gotfrids hörfort etc.' E. L. Rochholz, in Germania 14 (1869), p. 411, also published, from the family chronicles, the list of Heinrich Steinhöwel's works, which accords exactly, even to the order of enumeration, with Strauch's punctuation of Köbel's list. Strauch says, accordingly, ADB, 35, 735: "Arigo, der Verfasser des deutschen Decameron...ist auf keinen Fall mit Heinrich Steinhöwel zu identifizieren." Thus, then, Arigo's Decameron was erroneously ascribed to Steinhöwel.<sup>13</sup> Steinhöwel's Griseldis, in

<sup>13</sup> The last and perhaps definitive word on this question was spoken by Karl Drescher. In No. 86 of Quellen u. Forschungen (1900) he publishes an investigation of 225 pages on 'Arigo, der Übersetzer des Decamerone und des Fiore di Virtu', in which he makes a most minute and exhaustive study of the whole subject. He not only arrives at the same conclusion as Strauch, but in addition, with extraordinary erudition and a masterly handling of his facts, ends by identifying Arigo with Heinrich Leubing, Pfarrer von St. Sebald in Nürnberg (p. 208).

turn, has almost equally persistently been ascribed to Niclas von Wyle,<sup>14</sup> Goedeke I, 364 f., A.f.d. A. 14 (1888), p. 249, etc. The reason for this, I believe, is not far to seek. Steinhöwel was born in Weil (Wyl, Wyle) der Stadt an der Wirm. He was therefore 'von Wyl', and signed his name, e.g. 1473, in the dedication of his translation of Boccaccio's 'De claris mulieribus', as Hainricus Steinhöwel *von Wyl* an der Wirm,<sup>15</sup> which easily gave rise to this confusion of names. So then these errors are at once explained and corrected.

The fact, thus, is that this translation, the title of which, incidentally, is Griseldis instead of Griselda, a confusion also found elsewhere, is by Steinhöwel, while Arigo, whoever he may be, is the translator of the entire Decameron (published in 1471, but completed in MS. as early as 1460<sup>16</sup>), and if mentioned at all, should be inserted under the caption of each of the Decameron stories.

Of Decameron imitations not found in Miss Jones's list, I subjoin the following: 'Die Wette', Langbein VI, 29 (I quote throughout from 'A.F.E. Langbein's Sämmtliche Schriften', Stuttgart, 1835-37, 31 Vols.) is based on Dec. II, 9. The first episode of this *Schwank*, p. 32, the 'Vexierscheibe', is Dec. VII, 9, the deceiving pear-tree being much more naturally and with more plausibility replaced by a magic window-pane of the house; the third one, p. 41, is Dec. VII, 3. Langbein, IV, 27, 'Der steinerne Freund', is Dec. IV, 2. Langbein's 'Die neue Sündfluth', VI, 74, is Dec. III, 4. 'Des Lentulus Beispiel', Chapter 12 of 'Die Sieben Weisen Meister', Simrock, *Volksbücher*, XII, p. 142, is Dec. VII, 4. 'Wie Andolosia um eine edle Frau buhlt', Simrock, *Volksbücher*, III, p. 154, is Dec. VIII, 4; and the tale 'Falsche Liebe', p. 160 of the same, is taken from the first adventure of Dec. II, 5. Simrock, *Volksbücher*, XII, p. 222 ff., is Dec. II, 4. The magic transfer to Braunschweig of Heinrich der Löwe (Simrock, I, p. 18 ff.), just before the marriage of his wife to another man, is taken from Dec. X, 9. The same episode occurs also in 'Pontus und Sidonia' (Simrock XI, p. 1). The edition of the *Volksbücher* by G. O. Marbach and O. L. B. Wolff, Leipzig, Otto Wigand, without year, in 53 numbers, shows an even greater number of Decameron stories than Simrock's. It contains the following

<sup>14</sup> This name, strangely, has been overlooked in the Allgemeine deut. Biographie, in spite of the fact that under Nicolaus von Wyle the reader is referred to Wyle, which, however, he seeks in vain.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Bibl. Stuttg. Lit. Ver., No. 51, p. 676.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. K. Drescher, loc. cit., p. 188.

list, which attests the unusual popularity of Boccaccio even among the traditions of the common people:

Vol. I, p. 3, Geschichte von Griseldis und dem Markgrafen Walther, Dec. X, 10.

Vol. I, p. 30, Geschichte von der Ghismonda, Tochter des Fürsten zu Salerno, Dec. IV, 1.

Vol. I, p. 42, Geschichte von Costanza und Martuccio, Dec. V, 2.

Vol. I, p. 49, Geschichte von der Dame Roussillon, Dec. IV, 9.

Vol. I, p. 53, Geschichte von Girolamo und Salvestra, Dec. IV, 8.

Vol. I, p. 61, Geschichte von der Lisabetta, Dec. IV, 5.

Vol. I, p. 66, Geschichte von Federico, Dec. V, 9.

Vol. VIII, p. 53, Geschichte von dem tugendhaften Ritter Gentile Carisendi, Dec. X, 4.

Vol. XLIV, p. 3, Geschichte von dem Prinzen Gerbino und der Prinzessin Rosina, Dec. IV, 4, but with a happy ending.

Simrock's 'Italienische Novellen', Heilbronn, 1877, contains 15 Boccaccio stories in translation.

'Der schwangere Mönch', Von der Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer*, II, p. 49, is Dec. IX, 3 (Calandrino) even to the verbal identity that 'der unten liege' is the one to bear the child. Other imitations of this story are a tale by Giraldo Giraldis, toward the close of the 15th century and one by Baudius, cf. Von der Hagen II, Introduction, p. X. Poggio also has it in his *Facetiae*. Hans Sachs, besides the *Schwank* mentioned by Miss Jones, also has a Fastnachtspiel, 1544, which she fails to quote. Whether Marie de France's brief tale bears close enough a resemblance to warrant its inclusion may be an open question. 'Minne zauber', Von der Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer*, II, p. 619, is, if not identical with Dec. X, 9, certainly very closely akin to it. Cf. also Sebastiano Erizzo's novel on the same subject, *Altitalienische Novellen*, ausgewählt und übertragen von Paul Ernst, Leipzig, 1907, Vol. II, p. 14, and Friedrich Schlegel's Romanze 'Frankenberg bei Achen', Werke, Wien, 1825, Vol. IX, p. 107. A Latin translation of Dec. IX, 6, 'De duobus studentibus qui hospitem cum uxore et filia inebriarunt' is also found in 'De generibus ebriosorum et inebrietate vitanda', which is appended, among other things, to the 1624 ed. of the *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*. Francof. ad. Maen. octavo, 381 and 143 pp. (cf. Von der Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer* III, Introd. p. XXI, and *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*, ed. Ernst Münch, Leipzig, 1827, Introd. p. 74). Exceedingly great care must be taken with references to the *Epistolae obsc. vir.*, as the numerous editions show very marked differences in con-



tents. This story, for example, is not found in the standard edition of the *Epistolae* by Böcking, nor in the one by Münch just quoted, while this 17th century edition includes it.—‘Saladin,’ Von der Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer*, II, 643, is Dec. I, 3. To Dec. I, 3, should be further added: Novella 72 of the *Cento Novelle antiche*, Milano, 1804, p. 190; Ramler’s metrical treatment of the tale, *Berliner Monatschrift*, April, 1794; W. A. Paulli, ‘Versuche in verschiedenen Arten der Dichtkunst’, 1750; the version by Des Ormeaux in 1760; and finally we cannot pass in silence by the satire of Heine, that Mephistopheles of German literature—*der Geist, der stets verneint*. His ‘Disputation’ in the ‘Romanzero’ (Works, ed. Elster Vol. I, p. 464) ends in true Heinesque style with the words:

‘Welcher recht hat, weiss ich nicht—  
Doch es will mich schier bedünken,  
Dass der Rabbi und der Mönch,  
Dass sie alle beide stinken.’

Nothing could better characterize the noble, large-souled, constructive optimism on the one hand and the narrow, destructive pessimism of the cynic on the other, than the treatment of this motif by these two men, Lessing and Heine. I should feel inclined to add to Dec. X, 10, Bürger’s ballad ‘Graf Walter’ (ed. Sauer, *Deut. Nat. Lit.*, p. 261), together with its well-known English source. The treatment of the story has suffered considerable change, to be sure, but the subject is identically the same, and it shows its kinship even to the name and title. To the imitations of Dec. VIII, 8, should be added the Schwank ‘Von der Rache eines betrogenen Ehemannes’, published by Johannes Bolte in *Zeitschrift für vergl. Litteraturgeschichte*, N.F. XV (1904), p. 164, as well as the titles mentioned there: *La pêche de l’anneau*; Alarcon: ‘Der Dreispitz’ and Hugo Wolf: ‘Der Corregidor’ (Opera). ‘Frauenbeständigkeit’, Von der Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer*, II, 105, is Dec. VII, 7. ‘Der Ritter unterm Zuber,’ Von der Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer*, II, 293, is Dec. VII, 2. ‘Des Gänselein’, Von der Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer*, II, 37, is Dec. Introduction to Fourth Day. ‘Frauenlist’, Von der Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer*, II, 83, is Dec. VII 3. ‘Der Reiher’, Von der Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer*, II, 153, is Dec. VII, 8. The second story of ‘Straussfedern’, Vol. I (1787), ed. Musäus, bears a similarity to Dec. VIII, 10, though the end is different. Langbein’s tale ‘Sieben Hochzeiten und keine Brautnacht’ (Vol. 23, p. 113) is an inverted version of Dec. II, 7; and his ‘Klärchen’ (Vol. VI, p. 100) shows some similarity to Dec. VIII, 7. Langbein’s ‘Die Freunde’ (Vol. I, p. 272) is Dec.



VII, 6. A very similar situation is also found in Simrock's *Volksbücher* Vol. IX, p. 6, Chap. II. To Dec. VIII, 4 should be added Ayser, 'Comedia von zweyen Fürstlichen Rätthen, ed. Keller p. 2279. 'Die Birne, die der Vater isst etc.', Bülow, *Novellenbuch*, II, p. 501, reminds one very strongly of Dec. III, 8, as does his 'Die Errettung aus dem Grabe', Vol. II, p. 133, of Dec. X, 4. 'Balduin, der eiserne von Flandern,' Bülow, *Novellenbuch*, III, 324, is Dec. V, 1; 'Der belehrte Liebeschulmeister', Bülow, *Novellenbuch*, IV, 27, is Dec. VII, 8, and the 'König in Wochen', Bülow III, 52, is, of course, Calandrino of Dec. IX, 3, while the 'Sperber' that is killed in Bülow III, 155, is the Falcon of Dec. V, 9. In addition to 'Die Teufelsacht' for Dec. III, 10, 'Das Höselein' and 'Der Sperber', Von der Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer*, II, pp. 1 and 19 resp., might be mentioned as similar. Fürst, 'Vorläufer der modernen Novelle', p. 128, mentions Mirabeau, 'Contes et nouvelles imitées des anciennes', 1793, one of which is Dec. IV. 2. It should be added in passing that Langbein's 'Schmolke und Bakel',<sup>11</sup> Vol. I, p. 256, is not taken from Boccaccio IX, 6, as Fürst says, p. 157; Langbein's treatment of that Decameron story is 'Die Wiege', Vol. I, p. 198, which Dr. Jones has correctly quoted under that head. As I was unable to obtain a copy of the 1792 edition of his *Schwänke*, and "Affe" Langbein in subsequent editions disowned and omitted some of his stories previously published, I could not verify these. Among them is 'Stille Rache', cited by Miss Jones under Dec. VIII, 8. Hermann Ullrich refers this schwank to Boccaccio VIII, 8 in *Archiv für Litt. Gesch.* XI. (1882) p. 557, but in Vol. XV (1887) of the *Archiv*, p. 449 publishes a different source for it. Another such Langbein story, referred to in Fürst, p. 159, as: 'ein Pärchen lässt den unbequemen Ehemann arretieren, um ungestörter dem Vergnügen zu leben', sounds as though it might be an adaptation of Dec. III, 8.

To Dec. X, 10 the following titles should be added: Jac. Philippus Bergomensis, *De plurimis claris selectisque mulieribus*, 145: 'De Griselde Salutii marchionissa' (cf. *Z.f.d.A.* 29 [N.F. 17], p. 432, Note 1), Anon. *Mitteldeutscher, Griseldis* (cf. *ibid.*, p. 433; Zingerle, *Kinder- und Hausmächen aus Süddeutschland*, 1854, p. 291, *Griselde*; Görres, *Teutsche Volks-*

<sup>11</sup> The motif of this story, with all sorts of variations, is exceedingly popular in Germany, especially in oral tradition. Among others, Hebbel gave it literary expression in his 'Eine Nacht im Jägerhause', *Werke*, Ed. R. M. Werner, Vol. VIII, p. 262, though his version differs somewhat from that of Langbein.

bücher (1807), No. 20, p. 148-151, and also Schwab's edition of Deutsche Volksbücher (1836) contain the Griseldis story (the Griseldis in the Marbach edition of the Volksbücher has already been referred to in another connection), Ottmar F. H. Schönhuth, 'Historie von der geduldigen Griseldis', Reutlingen, 1847; Ign. Chr. (or Joh. Georg) Schwarz, 'Dr. I. Rion, Die Gräfin Griseldis, ein Muster der Demut und Geduld, etc.', 1836; Adolf Steppes, Griseldis, Darmstadt, 1839; Agnes Miegel, 'Griseldis', 1901; Christian Martin Winterling, 'Markgraf Walther von Saluzzo', Tragicomödie, 1844; 'Schau-Spiel von der Gräfin Griseldis', Tiroler Volksdrama, Cf. Archiv für das Studium der Sprachen, 1898, p. 241; Anon., 'Grysel'. Ain schöne Comedi (cf. R. Köhler, Kleinere Schriften II, p. 525); though we do not possess the texts, this review would not be complete without at least a reference to the *Schuldramen*, both Catholic and Protestant, on this story cited by Köhler, loc. cit. p. 526 f., to the *Puppenspiel* of Max Möbius (cf. Köhler, p. 528 and G. Widmann, Euphorion, 14, p. 109), and the *Haupt- und Staatsaktion* (cf. Euphorion 14, 110 and Köhler, p. 526), as they are the most striking evidence of the deep popular hold the Griseldis subject had gained in Germany. So much for additional titles of what seem to me to be genuine Decameron adaptations. Without expecting full assent to every one of them, I trust the list will be found to be in substantial agreement with the judgment of other students of the subject. A careful search in the works of the more obscure authors like Meissner, Heydenreich, Grosse, Sander, Giseke, etc., would no doubt reveal many more cases of borrowing from Boccaccio.

The Index of Principal Authors is altogether unsatisfactory. In the first place, it is professedly incomplete, which an index should never be; and secondly it is guilty of many omissions under the names of the authors it does include. One is furthermore quite at a loss to understand on what basis the *principal* authors were selected. Simrock's *Volksbücher* with their two listed imitations are not included, while Bülow with his one title (and that doubtful) is given; Bürger with one imitation is included, while Goethe with two references is not found; Lam-bel's three adaptations find no place, Heyse's one is indexed. As I had occasion to go through the German list pretty carefully with an occasional excursion into the other fields, I shall sub-join the omissions I noted: Under Bebelius, add I, 2; VIII, 1; under Burkhard Waldis (spelled Waldeis in the Index), add VII, 1 (the insertion on p. 43); under Barry Cornwall, add IV, 8; under Dryden, V, 1; under Estienne, IX, 2; under Greene, II, 6; II, 9; V, 1; V, 2; VI, 10; X, 8; under Von der Hagen, III, 3; III, 10; IV, 8; V, 4; under Ben Jonson,

III, 5; under Kirchhof, 1, 2; III, 8; IV, 8; VIII, 2; X, 10; under Langbein, IX, 6; under Lessing, V, 5; X, 3; under Mahrold, VII, 3; X, 8; under Pauli, I, 2; V, 8; VI, 4; VII, 4; VII, 5; VIII, 6; IX, 1; X, 1; X, 10; under Poggio, VII, 6; VIII, 1. Of the 60 German names listed but not indexed, the following at least should have been added: Albrecht von Eyb IV, 1; X, 10; Steinhöwel X, 10; Lambel III, 9; IV, 9; VII, 8; Gellert I, 3; Goethe II, 8; V, 9; Arnim X, 10; Gerlach VI, 4; VI, 10; Gast VII, 2; VII, 6; VII, 7; Schwab X, 10; Hagedorn V, 9; VII, 6; Lange VI, 4; VI, 10; Hulsbusch VI, 10; IX, 1; Sommer VII, 2; IX, 2; Uhland X, 4; Rosenblüt VII, 7; VIII, 8; Simrock IV, 1; X, 10; Niclas von Wyle IV, 1. To these additions should, of course, be subjoined the omissions cited earlier in this review.

The following errors and misprints were noted: The statement, "England comes next", at the beginning of the Preface, p. III, is misleading. From the context, one would interpret that England possessed the greatest number of adaptations next to Germany. This, however, is not so, as Table C, p. 12, shows; p. 1, second last line, for "Kirchof's" read "Kirchhof's", and, last line, for 'Schuman's', read Schumann's; p. 3, top, the dates of Bülow's *Novellenbuch* should be 1834, 1835, 1836, and 1836 for the four volumes, respectively; p. 3, middle, read Hauptmann; p. 4, middle, Albrecht von Eyb's 'Ehebuch' is spoken of as a treatise *sometimes ascribed* to Albrecht von Eyb. I have never heard any question raised as to Eyb's authorship; p. 9, top, for 'cento novella' read 'novelle'. Under II, 9, Kongehl, strike out comma after *unschuldig* in the title; under the same caption, the date for Durfey should read 1632 instead of 1682, for Hawking read Hawkins, and the date for Garrick should be 1770 instead of 1759; under IV, 1, the date of Niklas von Wyle should be 1478 instead of 1470, if I can trust my notes; under IV, 2, the date of Bülow's *Novellenbuch* should read 1836 instead of 1834 (as it is the third volume), under IV, 8, Von der Hagen, strike out the first "r" in *Gesammtabenteurer*; under VI, 4, (p. 27), read Bidermann; likewise Förstemann under VI, 10, Luther; Pauli: *Schimpf und Ernst*, under VIII, 6, should be asterisked, at least all other occurrences of the 1522 edition of this work are, the 1563 edition not having been consulted (cf. first note p. 44); under VIII, 8, the date of Langbein's *Schwänke* should be 1792, as it is on p. 30 (VII, 7); under IX, 1, for Hulsbach, read Hulsbusch (cf. sub VI, 10, p. 28); under IX, 6, the date for Langbein's *Gedichte* should be 1788 instead of 1785; under X, 4, Gräffen, strike out last "n" of *Romantischen*; under X, 10, read Lüdemann, the date of Bechstein: *Märchen* should be



1863, for v. Nicolay's ballad 'Griselde', the date of its first appearance, 1778, would be better than the later date, 1810, of the *Vermischte Gedichte* (cf. Goedeke<sup>2</sup> IV, 230 and 231), and the full title of Petrarca's translation is *De obedientia ac fide uxoria mythologia*; on page 42, under Westenholz, read 'Die Griseldissage' instead of Grieseldis-Sage; change Kirkhof to Kirchhof and add comma; under Martin Montanus read '*Schwankbücher*' for 'Schwanbücher'; read Neudrucke Deutscher Litteraturwerke for Deutschen; Hans Sachs—Fastnachtspiele for Fastnachspiele; it is not quite clear why on p. 43 a list of Additions should be separately printed on the ground that they are "merely translations or adaptations". Many titles in the preceding lists are "merely translations" and all are adaptations; p. 44, the date of Pauli, *Schimpf und Ernst*, should read 1563 instead of 1863.

In conclusion the reviewer wishes again to express his appreciation of the very satisfactory manner in which Dr. Jones has completed this huge undertaking. The mass of material is really of too large a scope for one person to master in all its details. It would seem that a collaboration of several specialists, for the several literatures included, would have yielded richer results. In any task of so comprehensive a character, errors and omissions are well-nigh beyond control, and it is no reflection that the present one is not an exception. Disagreement as to inclusions and exclusions is, of course, inevitable, but it is hoped that the review will be found helpful, and may be of service when the time comes for preparing a new edition of the work.

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SIGMUND FEIST, ETYMOLOGISCHES WÖRTERBUCH  
DER GOTISCHEN SPRACHE. Halle a. S. 1909. Pp.  
XV+380.

This book certainly will be welcomed by every student of Germanic philology. It is the most complete etymological dictionary of Gothic that exists at present and supplants the well known work of Uhlenbeck which up to this time has been of invaluable service. Of course, it goes without saying that the author has made conscientious use of the work of his predecessors, but he has amplified and revised the material that he found ready at hand. To appreciate the character and extent of this revision it is but necessary to turn to such a word as *aflinnan* 'to go away', where not only all the cognates found in



Uhlenbeck are given, but Latin *lino*, *livī*, O. Irish *lenim* and Lith. *leju* are added, while a number of other cognates, adduced by Uhlenbeck as doubtful, are suppressed. In fact, the author's soundness of judgment is shown as much in the rejection of what is doubtful as in the addition of what is new. Thus under *arbaiþs* connection with Lith. *dárbas* 'work' (the absence of initial *d* explained by reference to the parallel between Skt. *aśru*, Gk. *δάκρυ*) is rejected. Meringer's explanation of the word as a compound is mentioned but dismissed, as Uhlenbeck had done before, as improbable, and the etymology of the word remains uncertain. The author explicitly states in the preface that he does not feel obliged to offer an etymology for each and every word and for good reasons. The pre-Germanic, as well as every other Indo-Germanic language, through contact with pre-historic non-Indo-Germanic languages, must have taken into its vocabulary a number of words of non-Indo-Germanic origin and it is therefore not surprising that for many even of the most common Germanic words no cognates can be found in any other Indo-Germanic dialect. Such is the case with Gothic *kalkjō*, *siponeis*, *ufta*, *stilan*, *swiltan*, *leik*, *waihts* and many others. For other words a cognate may be afforded by but one Indo-Germanic dialect; thus for *qipān* 'to speak' the only acceptable cognate is Old Irish *bél* < \**betlo-* (written *bét* by mistake, p. 211). Kinship with Latin *veto* is denied. Of course it is not possible to exclude all doubtful etymologies. Such a procedure would be too radical. Nor would it be desirable, for it would defeat one of the chief purposes of the book, to give an adequate survey of our knowledge of Gothic etymology at the present time by presenting the results that may be regarded as firmly established and thus to indicate the problems still awaiting solution and the lines along which future investigation must follow. Of the thoroughness with which this purpose is carried out the material given under *pūsundi* affords a good illustration. All the current etymologies are given, but the author has his doubts about the common explanation of the word as a compound of *pūs* and *hund*, though he has nothing definite to offer. It seems probable (as Hirt has suggested in his 'Etymologie des Neuhochdeutschen') that the word is a participial formation from a root \**tu*, found in Latin *tumēre* 'to swell' with a suffix -*nt-*, reduced grade of -*ent-*. How the discoveries concerning *Ablaut* that have been made since Uhlenbeck's book appeared have been used is shown under the word *lamb*, which is not cognate with Skt. *lambhatē*, *rambhatē*, but with Gk. *ἐλαφος*, being formed from an Indo-Germanic dissyllabic base \**elen*, \**elŋ* with suffix \**-bho*. These examples show how admirably the book fulfills the purpose mentioned above.

In the matter of deriving words from roots the author shows commendable caution. As the Indo-Germanic had more than one root for one concept, so also it had sometimes one root for several concepts. Words of originally different form may in the course of linguistic development assume the same form; compare the case of French *louer* 'to let' (from *locare*) and 'to praise' (from *laudare*). Thus the author assumes two roots *\*ues* to explain Gothic *wisan* 'to dwell' and 'to feast' (p. 318).

It would have been desirable if the author under each word would have given the place or places where it occurs in the text, but that would have considerably increased the size of the book. The copious indices of Germanic cognates at the back constitute a most valuable feature of the work. They are all the more important in view of the fact that good etymological dictionaries of the ancient Germanic dialects do not yet exist.

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Columbia University, September 25, 1910.

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DEUTSCHES WÖRTERBUCH von Dr. Richard Loewe.  
*Sammlung Göschen*, Nr. 64. Leipzig, G. J. Göschen'sche  
Verlagshandlung, 1910.

There was a time, broadly speaking, when etymologies meant everything to comparative philology. The fact that certain languages were related had to be confirmed, the nature of the relationship determined, the divergencies from original unity described. Every correspondence, 'sound for sound,' of words in different languages was then a valuable acquisition. The realization that as the style is the man, so the language is the nation, that 'the origin of speech' occurred at no fixed date, but is constantly going on around us, is slow in coming. It is preceded by an era when the code of sound-laws, paradigms, and rules of syntax, plus a few obvious cases of 'false analogy,' seems to need but one complement: a lexicon quoting for each word of a language the 'sound for sound' cognates or the nearest available thing. The historical grammar and this book (ah, why had no one written it?) would constitute a complete guide to the facts of the language.

It is reminiscent of this period when one reads in the publisher's announcement of Loewe's little book: 'Das vorliegende Bändchen will ein kurzgefasstes Nachschlagebuch sein, das über die Herkunft der neuhochdeutschen Wörter, soweit diese eine Erklärung benötigen, die notwendige Auskunft gibt.' To discuss such a book fully may not be breaking butterflies

on the wheel: for the little volume is a backward force and may, considering author and publisher, be a powerful one. The idea seems to be this: You have Loewe's *Germanische Sprachwissenschaft* (*Sammlung Götschen*, Nr. 238), which gives with admirable succinctness the rules for the derivation of Germanic words and forms from the Indo-European,—perhaps you have even Meringer's *Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft* (Nr. 59)—all you need now is the *Wörterbuch*: you can now take the German language apart like a clock.

The *Wörterbuch* is a model of condensation. The German word, its MHG., OHG., or LG. ancestor, a cognate from the most distant Germanic dialect possible to quote, and finally an Indo-European cognate—that is the scheme of each laconic item. The thing, as Dr. Loewe's name implies, is excellently done: the derivations with few exceptions represent solid standard views and the typography shows minute care. Of all this more below,—but now let us ask: For whom is this 'information' 'necessary'?

For whom, indeed, can it be of the least possible use? For the scholar or student the information is far too brief to be useful; the sources of the compilation, moreover, are too well known to need proxy—most of the data are from Torp and Falk's fourth edition of the third volume of Fick's *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch*. We must suppose the book intended for the layman, for the general educated public of the *Sammlung Götschen*. Alas for the layman's idea of linguistic science! Suppose him ever so attentive and ever so willing to look up in Meringer and in Loewe's *Germanische Sprachwissenschaft* all necessary points—even then, what value could this book have for him? It would give him no idea of Indo-European and of the Germanic in particular, as compared with the homely solidity and sweetness of the High German. It would give him no idea of the wonderful creative vigor of Germanic, of the fact that a vast part of its words are new formations or new creations—certainly no idea as to the nature and means of such creation. Of this and of all else that science teaches about the German language, he would get not the faintest notion. Except for a few hints in the preface the book is not only uninformative about these matters, but positively misleading. Again and again, for instance, we meet, instead of cognates, the abbreviation for 'Schallwort,' the implication being that such words are a creation ex nihilo. Now, if there is one thing the layman should have explained to him, it is the nature of such new formations: the association (unconscious in the speaker) of well-accustomed words to form, under some special stimulus, a new and expressive word. Nothing for beginner or layman could be more instructing as to



the processes of speech, and nothing could be better or more immediately illustrated from the mother tongue. Only once did I find anything approaching illumination—alas, at the very end of the book—s. v. ZWIRBELN:....‘w. vermischt aus zirben u. werben “sich drehen.”’ This item, if only the general reader’s attention could be drawn to its significance, would be worth all the rest of the book put together—except for two features to be spoken of later.

Even from the point of view which the book represents, it cannot but be misleading to the reader. It is not conceivable that the general reader will know or look up his elements so well as to understand aright items like the following:

‘AMSEL *ahd.* amsala F, *ags.* ósle, w. *lat.* merula.’

‘EIS *ahd.* is N, *aisl.* íss z. *abktr.* isav-’ (The Av. word represents a derivative containing IE. *k̑*.)

‘GESTERN *ahd.* gesteron z. *got.* gistra-dagis “morgen,” *lat.* heri “gestern,” *gr.* χθές.’ (Lat. *hesternus* would have made this more intelligible.)

‘HORNISSE *ahd.* hornaz M, *ags.* hyrnet F, z. *lat.* crābrō.’

‘KITTE *ahd.* quitu M, “Leim,” *ags.* cwidu “Baumharz” z. *aisl.* kváoa “Harz,” z. *lat.* bitumen.’ (Kitt is a So. German form for *küt*, hence the lost *v.* *Bitūmen* is a loan-word from the Osc-Umbr., with *b-* for Lat. *v-*.)

‘KRIEG *ahd.* krēg M “Hartnäckigkeit,” *msl.* krich “Streit” v. z. *air.* brīg “Kraft,” *gr.* βριαρός “stark.”

‘LANG *ahd.* lang, *got.* laggs, *lat.* longus, v. *gr.* δολιχός.’

‘TRÄNE eig. Pl. z. *ahd.* trahan M (*as.* trahni Pl.) z. ZÄHRE.’ (Which reads: ‘ZÄHRE *ahd.* zahar M, *got.* tagr N, *gr.* δάκρυ, *alat.* dacruma.’)

The above are only a few cases: of course nearly every item shows some divergence from the obvious. The lay reader, confronted by such statements without explanation, can be affected only in one of two ways. Either he will conclude that linguistic science is correctly described by Voltaire’s epigram and that chance similarities or the vague hypotheses of cranks underlie the ‘etymologies,’ or—and this is more likely—he will turn away, too little interested even to form the above conclusion.

Except for this obscurity the book—speaking, of course, strictly from the point of view it represents—is very well compiled. The following derivations struck me as wrong,—the number includes a very few of those lapses from sound and strict principle which mar (though in equally small number) Loewe’s other booklet. As most of Loewe’s etymologies are taken from Torp and Falk’s mentioned work, I refer to this source whenever the author has to my mind injudiciously departed from it.



'BANN *ahd.* ban...*aisl.* bann "Verbot," *dän.* band; dazu *ahd.* bannan, \*bandjan....*z.* BINDEN (der Bann band die Willensfreiheit).' It looks as if Dan. *Band* were quoted on account of the spelling with -d, which is of course a mere orthographic ornament. This is most improbable.

'BETT....*v. z. ai.* bādhātē "drängt, drückt" als das, worauf man drückt oder liegt.' The connection with Lat. *fodio* (given by T. & F., s. v. *badja*) is semantically much more probable.

'BRÜLLEN....*v. z. lit.* bliāuti.' In spite of MHG. *blüegeln brüllen* is probably a relatively new word. Some words to whose association its origin may have been due are OHG. *bremān, brestan, brastōn*, MHG. *brusen* on the one hand, and on the other hand such words as Gic. \**gōljan* (ON. *gōla*), OHG. *gellan, bellan, scellan*, MHG. *grellen*. Words are not animals that physically beget young: in so far as words can be called related G. *brüllen* is related to some or all of these and other words. This is not the place to trace the word *brüllen* more closely or to enter into similar digressions about other words. Let the example suffice.

'BUHLE *mhd.* buole M, "Verwandter, geliebter," *mnd.* bōle "naher Verwandter, Bruder," urspr. v. Kinderwort für BRUDER.' The Ofris. *bōle* 'Buhlerin' and the verb MLG. *bōlen* (and probably Norw. *bøl* 'brünstig') show the modern meaning to be the original one. Cf. F. & T., s. v. (*bel*) 2.

'FARZEN....*lat.* pēdere, *gr.* πέρδευ'. The Lat. word cannot belong here, but goes with FISTEN (\**pezd*); where it is also given.

'FEILE....*aisl.* pēl.' Even if this were possible it would be better to quote *fēl* (ἄπ. λεγ.) or OSw. *fæl*. *pēl* should not be quoted unless explicitly as a rime-word. An IE. cognate of *Feile* should also be given, cf. T. & F. s. v. (*fi*) 2.

'FINSTER *ahd.* finstar, dinstar, *as.* finistar *z. as.* thimm *z. lat.* tenebræ "Finisternis." For OS. *thimm* Sk. *támas-* would be a clearer cognate. *Finstar* cannot, so far as is known, be a form of the same word: the two OHG. words are rime-words. *Dinstar* <\**þemstra-* (MD. *deemster*) <\**tem* (a) *sro-* (Sk. *támisra-*); after it *finstar* was spoken, owing to what word or what parallel word-pair is unknown.

'FLAU: *nd.* flau: *afrz.* flau: *ahd.* \*hlāo (lāo) "lau." Whether G. *flau* is a loan-word or not, its source can certainly not be OHG. \**hlāo*, but is OHG. \**flāo* (ON. *flōr*, CSI. *poleti*), cf. T. & F., s. v. (*flē*).

FOLGEN.—Loewe inverts the actual process: as ON. *fylgja* shows, *folgen* is the old form; OHG. *folā gān*, OE. *fulgangan* are associations with the verb 'go.' Cf. T. & F., s. v. *felh*.

FREI.—Loewe gives the old explanation, 'frei' < 'lieb.' Better with Lat. *privus*, cf. T. & F., s. v. *frija*.

'GEDEIHEN...*lit.* tèkti "hinreichen." This is the one form that will not, by itself, explain the Gic. word: Lith. *tenkù, tinkù, tiki, tikes* would any of them have been more appropriate.

'GRELL...*w. z. nd.* schrel "schrill".—These words may be rime-words, but they cannot be otherwise related. Even if we assume IE. \**krel-* beside \**skrel-* the latter would give Gic. \**hrel-*, not \**grel-*.

GROSZ.—'*aisl gróa*' if at all connected is a very distant relative.

HAMMER.—'*ai. ašman*' etc. cannot, at the present state of our knowledge, be thrown together with '*abg. kamy*' and G. *Hammer*.

HEIDE.—Schulze's notion, which is here adopted, is not convincing, compared to the usual explanation which adduces Lat. *pagānus*.

'HEIKEL *v. z. häckel* "wählerisch," *v. z. Ekel*.'—*heikel* may be a dialect form of *häkel* (so read), which is probably connected with OE. *haca* E. *hook*. *Ekel* has no phonetic connection with these words, but belongs to E. *ache* MD. *akel* or to Goth. *aiwiski*, MLG. *egelen* or unites the two.

HEUCHELN.—If '*ags. híwian, híw*' are related it is very distantly. A cross-reference to HOCKEN would have been better.

KAMPFER.—Reference should not be to '*ind. kapūr*' but to Sk. *karpūra-*, the first *r* of which explains the *n* in It. *canfora* and the G. word, by the regular dissimilation.

KLEID.—It is not quite fair to quote '*aisl. klápe*' without explaining that it is not a genuine Norse form.

'MEISTE *ahd.* meist, *got.* maists, *v. z. got.* mērs "berühmt". If this is to be the whole story, at least a cross-reference to MÄRCHEN, where the etymology of Goth. *mērs* is given, might be useful. No reference is here made to MEHR, the very nearest word of all, under the heading of which, moreover, nearer cognates than Goth. *mērs* are given. The whole difficulty seems due to a careless use of T. & F.'s statements under (*mē ma*).

NEST.—To quote Lith. *lizdas* without comment between the word NEST and its derivation is worse than misleading: it forces the suspicion that Loewe believes the Lith. word identical with the G. Impossible: Lith. *lizdas* is connected with G. *liegen*, *Lager* and Pruss. *listis* 'Lager,' cf. Brugmann *Gr.* I<sup>2</sup>, pp. 546, 569. Formation and meaning of the Lith. word were probably influenced by IE. \**nizdo-*, but as the item stands Loewe can hardly have meant only this.

REIF<sup>1</sup>.—ON. *reim* is a loan-word from the LG. and does not belong here; ON. *reip* should have been quoted, and a cross-reference to REFF added.

REIGEN does not belong to Goth. *reiran*, but to G. REIHE.

RIEMEN.—ON. *reim* is a loan-word from the LG., cf. T. & F., s. v. *ru* 1.

‘ROCKEN . . . v. z. ROCK, der auf ihm gesponnen wird.’—This is misleading, as neither word is derived from the other: one means ‘spinner,’ the other ‘thing spun.’ Some mention of Gr. *ἀράχνη* should be made.

RÜTTELN is not an iterative of *räuten*, but belongs to Lith. *krutù*, cf. T. & F., s. v. *hrud* 1. RIET may also belong here.

‘SCHAUM . . . lat. *spūma* (partielle Assimilation des *k* an *m*).’—Even if there were any earthly reason for such a supposition, it would here be unnecessary to mention, as a cognate with *sk-* (e. g. Lat. *obscurus*) might just as well have been quoted. This case throws a bad light on passages like the one under FEILE, where one might otherwise suppose that the author were quoting rime-words.

SCHALE<sup>2</sup> belongs to SCHALE<sup>1</sup> and SCHELLE<sup>2</sup>.

SCHENKEN.—The semantic development was probably as suggested in T. & F., s. v. *skenk*.

SCHICKEN ‘*aisl.* *skipan* (Dissimilation)’ is the same sort of thing as *Schaum*: Lat. *spūma* above. Why, for instance, was there no dissimilation in ON. *skeika*? Dissimilation and the like are not nostrums for the difficulties of the etymologizer, but actual processes, which must be observed and explained.

SCHIER<sup>2</sup>.—ON. *skærr* ‘hell’ belongs to SCHIER<sup>1</sup>. Secondly, of course, SCHIER<sup>2</sup> and its nearer cognates also belong there, and corresponding reference should have been made. Cf. Noreen, *UG. Lautl.*, p. 31. ON. *skýrr* (not *skýr*, as here printed) has Gic. *eu* and should not be quoted.

‘SCHLINGEN<sup>2</sup> “verschlucken” *ahd.* *slintan*, *got.* *-slindan*.’—Again, these are not actually the same word, but rime-words. So are also SCHLINGEN<sup>1</sup> and Older D. *slinderen* G. *schlenderen*. The two words with *g* may be identical and the two words with *d* as well, the two pairs exhibiting a similar semantic development: ‘crawl’ > ‘throw’ > ‘swallow,’—the latter step by way of a compound like G. *verschlingen* or Goth. *fraslindan*.

‘SCHLÜRFEN . . . w. lat. *sorbēre*, gr. *ῥοψεῖν*.’—This would be poor information to give inquiring laymen or beginners, even if it were information. IE. *\*sr̥bh-* or *\*sr̥gũh-* is only one of the words whose association formed Gic. *\*slurp-*. Another is IE. *\*shurg-*, cf. T. & F., s. v. *slurka-*. No one of them—and least of all the one quoted—would suffice for an etymology.

SCHURZ might be a loan-word < Lat. *excurtus*, but in that case it cannot be joined to ON. *skyrta*.

SEIFE.—The semantic development suggested is unnecessarily malodorous.

'SPÄHEN... gr. σκέπτεσθαι.' If this metathesis \*σπεκ- > σκεπ did take place it was not purely a metathesis, but due in part to association with other words, such as \*σκοF- in *θνοσκόος*, cf. Brugmann *Gr.* I<sup>2</sup>, p. 873. σκέπτομαι is as much related to \*σκοF- as to \*σπεκ-. This is the process that his given birth to a great part of the Gic. vocabulary, but Loewe only once (cf. above) explains a case of it:—he prefers as a rule to quote without comment some phonetically divergent word, or, more often, to write 'Schw.' (='Schallwort')—und damit basta! ma non basta.

SPATZ.... Koseform z. SPERLING'—For the etymology of this word cf. T. & F., s. v. (*spatt*).

SPILLING.—Here is a real case of dissimilation passed with no mention of the word, which seems reserved for such matters as occasional changes of *k* to *p* in Latin or Old Icelandic.

STOFFEL.—Perhaps the present meaning of the word is just as original as its use as 'Koseform' of Christoph, cf. Lat. *stupeo* and MLG. *stüf* 'stumpf.'

TATZE cannot belong to 'anhd. tappe' except associationally: it was probably due to *tappe* and some word akin to LG. *dott* 'Büschel, Haufen, Zotte,' cf. T. & F., s. v. (*dud*).

TRAMPELN.—If the word is to be taken with Goth. -*trimpan* it obviously cannot go with Gr. *τραπέω* etc. For the probable etymology of the Gic. words cf. Feist *Et. Wb. d. got. Spr.*, s. v. *anatrimpan*.

TÜTTEL.—The HG. and LG. words cannot be put on a basis of equality. Either they are phonetically unrelated or borrowing has occurred.

VERDERBEN may ultimately be related to STERBEN, but instead of this doubtful reference the certain etymology of Gic. \**perb-* might have been quoted.

WAMME, if to be connected with Sk. *gabhá-* has IE. *guh-* (*gu-* in Feist *Et. Wb.*, s. v. is a misprint or mistake) and hence cannot be in Lat. *vulva*.

'WOLF... w. *abg.* vlükü, gr. *λυκος*, lat. *lupus*.'—quis hoc credat nisi sit pro teste vetustas? *Wolf* belongs to Lat. *volpes*. Gr. *λυκος* etc. is represented by ON. *ylgr*. There may have been (and probably was) an associational relationship between Gic. \**wulf-* and \**wulg-*.

In a very many cases where there is a well-known IE. cognate this item is for no discernible reason omitted. The author seems, for instance, to have a principle of not giving the IE. cognate wherever a G. word is borrowed from some other Gic.



language, or where a Gic. word is otherwise called in to explain the G. In many cases a simple cross-reference to some word already explained would have sufficed. My list of such omissions covers more than two closely written pages: I mention only a few. Under ARBEIT Meringer's explanation (\**arba-* -*aīdi-*) is given and ON. *ið* quoted, but no explanation of the ON. word offered. BEI is referred only to '*ahd* um-bi', which is not only meagre but misleading. BIN and the other forms of that verb are not given, except only SEIN. DUCKEN could easily have been referred to TAUCHEN. LENKEN is explained by OHG. *hlanca*: this word is supplied with an IE. cognate under GELENK, but there is no cross-reference. Under SCHLEUNIG, again, dissimilation as it really occurs could be pointed to, cf. Brugmann *K. vgl. Gr.* § 334 A 2, a & b. SCHLOSZE—if ON. *slydda* is to be quoted, reference to SCHLOTTERN is in place. Under TAKEL... 'md. takken "heften"' Gr. *δάκνω* should be mentioned: it exhibits exactly the same present formation as the Gic. word (\**tagné/ó-*). WABERN is referred to WABELN, which, however, is not given.

Typography and arrangement are excellent. By a clever use of type and punctuation admirable brevity is attained without sacrifice of neatness and without the ill-mannered effect often produced by extreme concision. Revision must have been exceedingly careful: in the first part of the book I noted a few typographical errors: punctuation or type are wrong s. vv. AAR, ALABASTER, BANN, DARAUS, FANT, FAUL, GIPFEL; verbal errors occur under ACHSEL (for '*ags.*' read '*aisl.*'), GEBÄREN (for '*got gabáran*' read '*got gabairan*'), GENIESSEN (for '*lit. naudyju*' read '*lit. naūdyju*'), GESCHEHEN. (for '*ags. zescéon*' read '*ags gescéon*'), GRIND (for '*lat. freudere*' read '*lat. frendere*'), SCHIER (for '*aisle. skýr*' read '*aisle skýrr*').

The best feature of the book is the introduction, which quietly and only too briefly sketches the history of the German vocabulary. This sketch should have been expanded to the limits of the whole volume; with quotation of examples and cognates and supplemented by a full index it would have been as useful for reference as the present compilation, and would have been an interesting and informing book for the lay reader—instead of a source of dead knowledge and wrong impressions.

The other valuable phase of the little book is the treatment of loan-words, which are very skilfully and clearly dealt with. There are, however, enough popular treatments in German of this subject—and only too few of the German Wortschatz in general.

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E. K. BLÜMML. Zwei Leipziger Liederhandschriften des 17. Jahrhunderts. Als Beitrag zur Kenntnis des deutschen Volks- und Studentenliedes herausgegeben. (Teutonia, hrsg. von Wilh. Uhl. Heft 10.) Leipzig. Ed. Avenarius, 1910. XXIII, 117 pp.

During the last decade much valuable material on German student songs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has been made accessible. The manuscript song collection of Petrus Fabricius (1603/8) was edited by Joh. Bolte and Arthur Kopp, that of Freiherr von Crailsheim (1747/9) by Kopp; chronologically between these two fall the collections just edited by Blümml and a few others of less importance. Blümml has planned to edit two other similar manuscript collections, the *Musikalische Rüstkammer* (Leipzig, 1719) and an anonymous song-book (Salzburg, ca. 1785). A treatise by the same scholar on a printed song-collection of the seventeenth century, *Tugendhafter Jungfrauen und Jungengesellen Zeit-Vertreiber*, is also in preparation as No. 15 of the "Teutonia" series.

Blümml describes these two manuscripts and discusses the date and questions relating to the compilers. He furnishes full references to other collections or to reprints for every song, if possible, but does not give the full text of the less important numbers even though they may occur in no other source.

The *Literatur über das ältere deutsche Volkslied* on pp. IX-XXIII and 115sq. apparently omits nothing of importance and will be found valuable indeed to anyone working in this field, even after John Meier's recently revised bibliography in the second edition of Paul's *Grundriss* (vol. 2).

I. Die Liederhandschrift des Leipziger Studenten Christ. Clodius (Klöde), 1669. The MS. is in Berlin; there nearly twenty years ago W. Niessen prepared an excellent dissertation on the music accompanying the texts of this collection (in *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 7, 579-658). Many of the texts are by known authors: Simon Dach (1), Georg Greflinger (4), H. von Hofmannswaldau (1), Joh. Rist (1), Philip von Zesen (1), Chr. Weise (certainly 3), J. G. Schöch (3), Jak. Schwieger (6), etc. Of contemporary composers Ad. Krieger, Martin Colerus, H. Albert and others are represented. This collection contains a considerable amount of worthless and coarse rimes, but Blümml defends it as reflecting clearly after all characteristic features of German student life of that period. Blümml reprints the music of twenty of the songs.

II. Die Liederhandschrift dreier unbekannter Leipziger Studenten (1683/95). The MS. is in Vienna. It is in the handwriting of three persons, who must have been students in Leipzig. The second scribe turns away from the student songs

in the strict sense, even introducing receipts (for making ink, etc.) and other prose pieces, while the third writer includes no genuine student songs at all among the pieces he added to the manuscript. This collection lacks the tunes entirely and from the literary standpoint also it is less interesting than that of Clodius. Known authors represented in it are Chr. Weise (3 numbers), Adam Krieger (2), J. G. Schoch and Paul Thymich (each 1).

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ABLAUTSTUDIEN von Heinrich Schröder Beiträge zur germanischen Sprach-und Kulturgeschichte II. Heidelberg 1910. Carl Winter. (*Germanische Bibliothek* herausgegeben von W. Streitberg, zweite Abteilung: Untersuchungen und Texte. 1, 2.)

It is not quite fair of the publishers to give us these studies as a book and charge 3M for them: in extent and in lack of unity they resemble the matter that is ordinarily published in journals under such headings as *Etymologisches*,—bar only the Preface and Introduction: which, let us say at once, should both have been omitted. The former emphasizes vehemently the need of studying the life of language in the living language,—an already well established principle, to which the present volume, moreover, bears no unusual relation. The Introduction contains a brief summary, with reference to Hirt's *Ablaut* and Noreen's *Abrisz*, of the facts of the Idg. ablaut. These paragraphs contain a piece of illustration which seems to me to illustrate only a fallacy. The author refers to Brugmann's statement, *K. vgl. Gr.* § 211, to the effect that in order to explain cases of ablaut (N. B.: ablaut as manifested by single words) we must often keep in view the cadence and emphasis of entire clauses and sentences. Now, with an insidiously faulty transition Schröder goes on: 'Wir haben es also nicht nur mit ablautsbasen zu tun, die nur aus einem worte oder gar nur einem wortteil bestehen, sondern auch mit solchen, die ganze wortgruppen umfassen.

'Eine solche basis ist z. b. nd. *datisēn* in dem satze *dat is ēn gōd pērd* "das ist ein gutes pferd." He then cites the forms in which this 'basis' actually occurs, as, for instance, *dasn* in *dāsn-gōd pērd* and *tisn* in *nē, tīsn gōd pērd* (*ōk hūt noch*). This illustrates, in fact, the phonetic result of emphasizing now one, now another of the various concepts in a *sentence*, and could be adduced to explain the double forms LG. *da: t, is: s*, etc., should any explanation be necessary; it could also



serve as a parallel instance wherever we assume changes in the form of an entire word due to unemphatic (or emphatic) position in the sentence, as in OHG. *mir*: OS. *mī* (or OS. *mī*: *mī*). It is, however, a decidedly different process from that which is believed to have given rise to the Idg. ablaut doublets,—namely, accentuation now of one, now of another part of a word. In a sentence, emphasis now of one concept, now of another, with corresponding phonetic results, is to us moderns a fairly well understood process: the apparent pre-Idg. emphasis now of one part of a word, now of another, has not yet been explained,—why, for instance, the word for ‘Nabe, Nabel’ was now *ónobh* (Lat. *umbo*), now *onóbh* (G. *Nabe*),—and until it is explained the Idg. ablaut will be wrapped in mystery. To explain and illustrate, as does Schröder, the former process is neither necessary, nor, as regards our understanding of the latter process—Schröder, p. 5, to the contrary—helpful. Of course, if it should appear that the Idg. ablaut bases were at one time not single concepts, but groups of concepts whose emphatic relations could vary, then Schröder’s example could come before court, together with a great many others which can easily be collected from every-day speech, Low German and other. In general, it may be remarked that Schröder’s tone in these preliminary paragraphs is too masterful for the occasion, and may consequently prejudice many readers into an adverse opinion.

Ours, however, shall not extend beyond the preface and introduction, for the real matter of the ‘Studies’ is not only interesting but exceedingly valuable. Whether the etymologic connections are agreeable or not, everyone who has dealt at all with the German vocabulary will recognize here a clear, suggestive summing up of certain characteristic and troublesome word groups.

Schröder’s method is the application of Hirt’s ablaut principles to Germanic words,—in the present study to words with inner nasal and words with inner *u*. By this method he can connect, for instance, in the first part of the essay, under a base ‘Germ. *hanaf*,’ words like E. *hump*, G. *Humpen*: E. *nub*, G. *Napf*; under a base Gic. *kenab*, E. *comb*: *knob*, *knave*; under Gic. *hanak*, E. *hunk*, G. *Henkel*: E. *neck*; under Gic. *kenak*, E. *kink*: *knag*, *knight*, *knuckle*; under Gic. *skenab*, E. *shamble*, G. *schimpfen*: Sw. *snarva*, G. *schnappen*. It is evident that this affects wide ranges of Germanic words,—perhaps not so radically as the author believes, but at any rate uniting, pair by pair, hitherto unconnected groups of the types *kump*: *knup*, *skamp*: *s(k)nap*.

This method has its weakness. There is no need of pointing



out, after the illuminative essays of my teacher, Francis Wood, how almost any sound-law may be assumed and then proved by collocating words that *can* be semantically connected — the Skandinavian method. In the present instance a counter theory may be mentioned, namely, that of the nasal infix. Tense formations of the infix type were generalized in Germanic and formed parallels to words without the infix. Thus one may oppose Schröder's base Gic. *hanak* with the infix theory by setting up Idg. *ke-n-g*, which gives Lett. *kégis* 'Krucke,' E. *hook*: Lith. *kéngé* 'Haken,' G. *Henkel*. Thus Gic. *hnak*, E. *neck*, which Schröder attaches to his base, must be cut off. Or again an etymologist might seek to discredit Schröder's base Gic. *skenab skenap* by setting up an infix stem Idg. *ska-m-p*, giving Gr. *σκάπτω* 'behacke,' Lith. *skapóti* 'chaben,' *skabú* 'schneide,' G. *schaben*: Gr. *σκαμβός*, E. *shamble*, etc. That leaves G. *schnappen* out in the cold. Such, for instance, is the standpoint represented by Torp and Falk in Fick III<sup>4</sup>, cf., e. g., s. v. (*hēk hak henk*). Not being an etymologist, I shall not try to support either view, but shall only reaffirm that almost any process of derivation may be set up and illustrated by a wealth of cases. In the present instance it may be that both processes,—varying forms from *enek* bases as well as generalizations of the nasal infix,—occurred in early Germanic and served as models for further formations. Most probably neither process underlies all the cases to which it might be applied. What we seek is the actual, historical truth.

This brings us to another danger besetting Schröder's method. When Hirt unites Idg. *ombh* (Lat. *umbo*) and *nobh* (G. *Nabe*) it is a matter of indifference just how this particular doublet arose, whether by actual phonetic process or by one of the words affecting the other, perhaps under the influence of some previous doublet. Consequently, though few of us are daring enough to follow all of Hirt's leaps and bounds, he has none the less led us a good distance along new paths. So we may agree when Schröder similarly sets up an Idg. base *amār* 'scharf von Geschmack' and connects Idg. *amār* (Lat. *amārus*) and Idg. *amr* (Sw. *amper*, G. *Sauerampfer*) and Idg. *mār* (G. *Moor*) and Idg. *mer* (Lat. *mare*, G. *Meer*, *Meerrettig*) — a splendid and convincing piece of etymology. On the other hand, when Schröder assumes some 'Germanic base,' e. g., *hanak*, so as to connect two Germanic word groups like E. *hunk*, G. *Henkel*: E. *neck*, the matter is very different. We at once ask, 'Is it true? Are the E. and G. words actually the result of different modifications of an old Gic. *hanak*? Or are they descendants, respectively, of a pre-Gic. (Idg.) *keng-* and *kneg-*? And if there were such Idg. words, can they be connected into an Idg. base *keneg*? Or, on the other hand, is one of the Germanic

words perhaps a comparatively new formation on the model of some other word?' and so on, ad inf. In short, we have a perfect right to inquire into the actual history of Germanic words and need not accept them dished up, course by course, as ablaut bases, even though fate has forced us so to accept our Idg. words.

Whether we approve or not of the particular results, Schröder's mastering of certain much-neglected Germanic word groups,<sup>1</sup> his ever ready semantic parallels, and his originality cannot but be encouraging. There is a healthy tone in his work.

By way of conclusion a few of his ideas may be cited. In § 4, adducing Gr. *ἡμερος*, etc., Schröder sets up Gic- *samōp* (he would have done better to call it by its Idg. name) and connects G. *sanft*, E. *soft*: E. *smooth*: Goth. *samjan*, ON. *sama*, E. *seem*.<sup>2</sup> With a root-meaning 'flock, stock, block' Idg. *onobh enobh* gives 'Gic. *enab*,' which joins G. *Nabe*, *Nabel*: *Imme* ('\*hohler Stock, Bienenstock, Bienenschwarm, Biene'): *Eimer*, which last, Schröder shows, cannot be borrowed Lat. *amp(h)ora*, as Lat. *p* never becomes *b* in Gic. Here also OE. *umbor* '\*Pflock, Knabe,' where Schröder translates *Beow.* 46 *umbor wesende* into his own dialect: '*as he noch 'n lütten pluck wör.*' In the second part of the book '*euek*' and '*keuek*' bases are taken up. The former give what is probably the real explanation of the G. words in *j*-. They are due to a change of initial *iu*, *ia*, *io*, *ie* (<Gic. *eu*-) to *ju*, *ja*, *jo*, *je*. Thus G. *Gicht* is connected with Dutch *wak* 'feucht' and G. *Ochs* (hence with Gr. *ὕψος* 'flüssig,' Sk. *uksan*- 'Stier') by a base 'Gic. *euaku*,' or Schröder should perhaps say an Idg. base *eyogu* 'tröpfeln, fliesen,'—semantic parallels being G. *Schlagflusz*, *Flusz*; *Rheumatismus*; MHG. *tropfe*; Fr. *goutte*; E. *gout*. Similarly are explained E. *jerkin*; OHG. *jehan*; G. *jäten* and a number of other words. In the '*keuek*' bases a similar change

<sup>1</sup> Schröder's §§7 and 13, 8 and 14, 9 and 12 should respectively have been united, and the treatment of these §§ and 10, 11, 15, 16 made more uniform. The many cases of parallelism among the different bases do not seem to have struck Schröder's eye.

<sup>2</sup> In quoting G. *sanft* E. *soft* Schröder derives Westg. *\*samftu* from Gic. *\*samþu*-, comparing OHG. *kumft*: Goth. *-qumþs*. This, Brugmann's view, cf. *Gr.* I<sup>2</sup> §423 Anm., leaves the *t* of the Westg. forms unexplained. More probably Idg. *m+t* gave, by assimilation, *nt* > Gic. *nþ*, as in Lat. *con-ventio*, ON. *sam-kund*. The influence of words without the *t* suffix, however, gave rise to pronunciations *mt* > *mpt*, Gic. *mft* as in OHG. *kumft*. The Gothic had originally the same form as the Norse, but for *\*qumþs* analogically spoke (or wrote?) *-qumþs*. So in the word under discussion the base Idg. *samōt* with VI. gives Idg. *\*sant*-, Gic. *\*sanþ*-, which actually occurs in E. *soothe* (which Schröder does not mention), and, with restitution of the *m* from some related word without the dental suffix, Idg. *\*sampt*-, Gic. *\*samft*-, OHG. *samft*, G. *sanft*, E. *soft*..

is assumed for the Gic. *eu* and dropping of the initial consonant before the resultant *j*. Thus G. *jetzt* (MHG. *iezuo*, Kärnt. *hietz*, Tirol. *hiez*) is explained as <\*hiu-tō, the *hiu-* being the pronominal stem in *hiu- tagu* > *heute*. Some additional explanation will of course be necessary. Under the *keuek* bases Schröder also unites, int. al., G. *geschwind*: G. *gesund*: G. (<LG.) *süd*, also G. *Sturm*: *Schwarm*, also Goth. *sniumjan* (and hence G. *schleunig*?): G. *schwimmen*.

A final note promises a further volume: *Anlautsstudien*. It is to be hoped that this will throw better light on a few initial sound changes which Schröder in the present volume rather freely postulates,—and yet that it will deal with something besides sound laws,—which will not and cannot, by themselves, account for the Germanic Word-treasure.

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NORDISCHE PERSONENNAMEN IN ENGLAND IN  
ALT- UND FRÜHMITTELENGLISCHER ZEIT. Von  
Erik Björkman. Halle, 1910. Max Niemeyer.

This work appears as *Heft XXXVII* of Professor Morsbach's *Studien zur Englischen Philologie*. No doubt the author's investigations have a definite interest to the philologist, but it is likely that a more substantial service has been rendered to the cause of research in Old English history. It is a well-known fact that the Anglo-Saxon sources, especially those of the tenth and eleventh centuries, are full of Scandinavian names; some of these are unmistakably Norse, but in the greater number of instances the origin has been held doubtful. Frequently a conclusion rests, in part, at least, on considerations of race and nationality and often errors have arisen through regarding some historic actor as a Saxon when he was in reality a Dane or of Danish parentage. Still, though the importance of the subject is evident, Dr. Björkman's work is the first serious attempt to make a complete list of Scandinavian names found in the Old English sources.

The study makes a volume of about 225 pages and is divided into two principal divisions: a list of names, and a discussion of the principles applied in determining what names are truly Northern. The larger part of the volume is given to the discussion of individual names; the arrangement is alphabetical, each name being given separate treatment. The list is quite large, more than five hundred names are found to be presumably Scandinavian and entitled to a place in the discussion. Most



of these are clearly Northern, but in many cases the author feels that, while the presumption is strong in favor of Scandinavian origins, conclusive proof is wanting. In many instances, the anglicising process has been carried so far as to make identification extremely difficult, if not impossible.

To a large extent, the author bases his conclusions on phonetic considerations, such as the occurrence of characteristically Norse consonant combinations (*gg*, *ʒn*, *nn*, *dd* may be mentioned as typical), the final *r*, Norse diphthongs (*öy*, *ey*, *ou*, etc.), and other phonetic facts that seem to point to Northern origins. He is, however, fully aware that these are not safe criteria in every instance, as in the spelling of proper names the Old English scribes exercised great freedom. Much more does he depend on certain native peculiarities that are traceable in the composition of the more common names in use among each of the two peoples. Each has its own favorite set of nouns and adjectives that are used in forming names. There is, therefore, no difficulty in the case of a name that has the Old English adjective *Æthel*, *Ead*, or *Beorht* as the first part of the compound. The same is true where we find such distinctly Norse endings as *-finn*, *-ketel*, or *-grim*. Of course, hybrid forms are possible and do occur; the author believes that *Durmod* is an example of such formations, the first syllable being Norse, the second English.

Dr. Björkman also calls attention to the prominent part that the nickname carried in Old Norse times. This fact has no parallel among the Anglo-Saxons. The nickname frequently grew out of some peculiarity of personal appearance: *Skialgr* (squint-eyed) may serve as an illustration; but *Skialgr*, in time, became a "Christian" name and in one of the aristocratic families of Norway it seems to have been regarded as an honored family possession to be transmitted to sons and grandsons. For names that are traceable to some appellation of this sort, the author claims Scandinavian ancestry.

So far as the reviewer is able to judge, the work has been done with thoroughness and care. An effort has been made to make the list of names as complete as possible and in his researches the author has consequently been compelled to study materials of the most diverse character,—Domesday, obituaries, charters, runic inscriptions, chronicles, registers, and the like. Whether he has been able to find all the Norse names that occur in these sources is, however, doubtful; but the number of possible additions will probably not be large. In the statement of his conclusions the author has employed cautious terms and has shown a proper appreciation of historical canons; still, it is not likely that the English philologist will permit all his conclusions to pass unchallenged.

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LEIGH HUNT'S RELATIONS WITH BYRON, SHELLEY AND KEATS, by Barnette Miller, Ph.D. New York. The Columbia University Press. (The MacMillan Company.) 1910. \$1.25, Pp. 169.

As a center from which radiated influences of many kinds Leigh Hunt needs no introduction to students of English literature. Before there arose the true prophet of culture, he purveyed much sweetness and light of a somewhat Philistine variety. The circumference of his circle has never been properly plotted, although everyone knows that his friendships constitute one of his chief titles to fame. These friendships, to be sure, did not always run smooth. His personal relations with Shelley best deserve, perhaps, reverent commemoration, but his influence upon literature was strongest in the case of Keats. Moreover, if Keats, as has been said, is the father of Tennyson, then Hunt, in spite of his many infirmities, must be regarded as the ancestor of an illustrious line.

To trace this ancestry through its many ramifications, much attention must be given to the details of style. For this reason we regret that Dr. Miller has not given more space to an analysis of Cockney rhetoric. The word-lists that she furnishes are short, and no adequate account is given of the independent influence of Spenserian style in the case in which Spenser's influence was most potent. Some such account is necessary if we are to appreciate the degree to which Hunt's standards of style and taste affected Keats. It is somewhat tantalizing to be told simply that "Keats used peculiar words with so much greater felicity and in so much greater profusion than Hunt. . . . that one is forced to believe that Spenser's influence rather than Hunt's was dominant here" (p. 61). And further on the same page, speaking of "ordinary words used peculiarly," the writer says only that "these devices likewise cannot be credited to Hunt without reservation, since both Spenser and Milton used them." This lack of precision and fullness is very unfortunate, because one of the clearest questions raised by Dr. Miller's thesis is how far Hunt in affecting contemporary's standards of literary composition was simply emphasizing already strong influences.

In its biographical and historical as apart from its more purely stylistic interest, Dr. Miller's monograph seems to us highly creditable. By ample quotations and judicious comment she has reconstructed a period of conflict to which the histories of literature have done scant justice. In these days of temperate criticism it seems incredible that Hunt's suburban tea-cup cheer and insipid prettinesses should have provoked to wrath such worthy journals as the *Quarterly* and *Blackwood's*; and that a

number of the prominent litterateurs of the day should have stooped to billingsgate unexcelled in any previous school of abuse. This is, of course, largely because we have nowadays divorced politics and literature. The conditions in the early nineteenth century were wholly different; and it is partly because Dr. Miller has made clear this difference and has interpreted the political implications and prepossessions of the literature of Hunt's time that we congratulate her upon her work. But she has done much more than this. She has given us sketches of character and interpretations of conduct that seem to us excellent in their sanity. This will not appear to be an inconsiderable achievement to those who remember the ethical complex presented by the biographies of Byron and of Shelley.

In the main we may say that Dr. Miller's dissertation is of a kind of which we have many examples from the Columbia University Press. It seeks not so much to break new ground, to precipitate or enter controversy, as to survey minutely a territory whose limits and main character are known. It cannot be said that Dr. Miller has discovered anything in particular. On the other hand, she has put together more or less easily accessible data in such helpful form, she has exercised in most cases such excellent judgment, she has in general made her work so vitally interesting that her monograph will be of high value to students of nineteenth century literature.

We have noted the following misprints: Grude for grudge (p. 35), entomological for etymological (p. 81), Hazlett for Hazlitt (p. 129), ever for even (p. 138), errotic for erotic (p. 141). On page 119 the text and a continuation of a note from the preceding page are run together.

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THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE MOTHER TONGUE,  
AN INTRODUCTION TO PHILOLOGICAL METHOD.

By Henry Cecil Wyld, Saines Professor of the English Language and Philology in the University of Liverpool. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1906. 8vo, pp. ix, 412. \$2.00 net.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF STANDARD ENGLISH  
SPEECH IN OUTLINE. By J. M. Hart. New York:  
Henry Holt & Co. 1907. Small 8vo, pp. vii, 93. \$1.00 net.

In connection with the present day activity in the direction of spelling reform there should be an increased interest in the sound changes in the history of English, which, since they are responsible for the unphonetic character of English orthography,

are the ultimate causes of the present agitation. The two books whose titles are given above offer a fresh discussion of the history of English pronunciation.

Of the two books, that by Professor Wyld is the broader in its scope. In his introduction the author sets forth certain broad principles of linguistic research which form the distinctive tenets of the German school of *Junggrammatiker*, Leskien, Osthoff, Brugmann, Paul, and Sievers, to which he adheres. Chapters two to seven inclusive, which occupy 114 pages, deal with the science of speech sounds, the acquisition of language, the causes of sound change, the origin of dialects, the influence of languages on one another, and the influence of analogy. In his classification of speech sounds, Professor Wyld in general follows the method of Sweet, of whom he is a disciple. One notable exception is the substitution of *tense* and *slack* for *narrow* and *wide* in reference to the position of the tongue in the production of vowel sounds. A distinct gain in the direction of simplicity comes from the abandonment of the visible-speech signs which, to one not specially trained in the methods of Sweet, add so much to the difficulty of reading the "History of English Sounds."

The discussion of the causes of sound change is interesting, but somewhat disappointing. The results are negative, agnostic. The author concludes with M. Paul Passy, whom he quotes, that "En somme, ce que nous savons sur les causes premières des changements phonétiques est bien peu de chose." Sound changes are dependent upon the 'speech-basis' of a community, a phrase which the author uses somewhat too complacently; the factors that determine the precise nature of the 'speech-basis' are not to be accurately defined. The influence of climate on speech sound is dismissed with scant attention. On page 83 he says, "At any rate, so far, no specific sound change has ever been related, with certainty, to any definite conditions of climate, and it seems as if the most that we can say is, that climate may contribute to produce a speech basis which inherently tends to vary along certain lines, although the connection between the two has never been shown." The importance also of the explanation of sound change emphasized by Hirt and by Wechsler, namely, contact with foreign speakers, is minimized. This conservatism in view is carried decidedly too far when the author entirely neglects the important theory advanced by H. B. Tarbell (*Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc.*, vol. XVII., 1886) in opposition to the theory of Paul, namely, that sound change advances from word to word. This theory was adopted by W. D. Whitney (*Indogerm. Forschungen*, IV 32 ff.) and has more recently been amplified by President B. I. Wheeler (*Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc.*, vol.



XXXIII). A theory supported by such distinguished names certainly deserves to be considered.

Chapter five, which deals with differentiation in language, contains some timely remarks on the subject of *Esperanto*. Professor Wyld's statements on this subject are interesting but extreme. "If *Esperanto*," he says, "ever becomes a living language, it will change, and change in different ways among different groups of human beings. In this case it will no longer serve as a means of international communication." Assuming the premise that *Esperanto* becomes a living language, this opinion is undoubtedly sound, but the reviewer is not aware that it is proposed that *Esperanto* should become more than an artificial, secondary language to be acquired in addition to the living vernacular and to be used only for the special purpose of international communication. Such an artificial language would not be a living language and would be protected by conservative forces from the influences that tend toward differentiation.

Chapters 8-10 (64 pages) deal with the position of English among kindred languages. They contain a brief exposition of the methods of comparative philology, followed by an account of the Indo-Germanic mother-tongue and of the Germanic family. In these chapters the author has compressed much information, and he has succeeded in presenting clearly in a brief space the most significant facts.

It is only the last half of the book (pp. 204-381) that is devoted to the direct study of English. One chapter deals with the English of the O. E. period. The author gives a very clear presentation of the modifications undergone by the Germanic sounds in the differentiation of English from the parent Germanic, also an account of the more significant differences in the pronunciation of the different O. E. dialects. He gives also a discussion of the vocabulary, particularly interesting concerning the Latin element. The inflections are not so fully discussed.

The chapter on the M. E. period, dealing as it does with the time when the English language underwent complete transformation, is naturally full. Particularly to be commended is the discussion of the changes in the sounds of the native element in the language. The author treats this feature of the M. E. period *con amore*, and his treatment, though concise, is remarkable relatively for clearness and simplicity. He seems, however, to shun the effort of treating the Norman-French element in the language of this period, contenting himself with reference to the works of Skeat, Behrens and Bradley and giving merely a summary occupying little more than a page. The declensions, too, are treated with a brevity that betrays the fact that they are not the principal object of the author's interest.



Chapter 14 contains perhaps the most convenient existing account of the striking changes in English pronunciation during the Mod. Eng. period. The material is in the main that used by Ellis and by Sweet, but is well digested and in availability for the general reader the handling of the material is an improvement over that in the two earlier works. To Americans the chapter might have had greater interest if more account had been taken of the illustrative material supplied by the history of American pronunciation as treated notably in the writings of Grandgent and Hempl.

In his concluding chapter, on Present-day English, Professor Wyld is particularly happy. In dealing with the subjects of standard speech, right and wrong in speech, and the like, he dissipates many prevalent errors and upsets many false standards; at the same time he maintains a respect for so-called Standard English, and in his remarks the reader does not detect the anarchistic note so noticeable in the writings of some Americans in recent times.

On the whole, this book is a remarkably well rounded treatment of a broad subject. The expression throughout is admirably clear. Most important of all, the discussion of sounds, which forms the most important contribution of the work, is based on the study of living speech. As a text-book perhaps the ground covered is somewhat too broad; as a reference book the work will be found generally useful. The bibliography will prove convenient and the whole work in general a clear exposition of up-to-date knowledge.

Professor Hart's book, "Standard English Speech," deals exclusively with the subject of pronunciation. It is a very modest book containing, besides the preface and index, only seventy-nine pages. We believe that the author has intended it as a preliminary sketch to be amplified later into a volume of larger proportions.

The first chapter is introductory in character. The second chapter deals with vowels. An account is given, first of the lengthening and shortening of vowels, then of the changes in vowel quality which have come about particularly in the Mod. Eng. period, and which explain many of the distinctive and peculiar features of English pronunciation. The third and last chapter deals with consonant changes and is chiefly concerned with the perplexing changes due to palatalization.

Probably the most distinctive feature of this book is the revolt from the leadership of Orm. In his preface the author remarks, "Next, in nearly all phonological discussions there is too much Ormulum; the work of Brother Orm is viewed as if it were the norm of twelfth-century speech. This is to overlook

the patent fact that it represented only one small district." He might have added that the vocabulary of the *Ormulum* contains a large Norse element that has not survived in modern English, and it is possible that the pronunciation also may not have been perfectly representative of the current English.

Shaking, as he does, our faith in the authority of the *Ormulum* in matters of pronunciation, Professor Hart quite upsets and disarranges many of the explanations of M. E. sound change which have until now obtained universally. Take, for example, the lengthening of vowels before certain consonant combinations, *ld*, *mb*, *nd*, *ng*, *rd*, *rl*, *rn*, *rth*. A very definite law holds for the *Ormulum*, but did it hold for all Middle English? Professor Hart concludes in the negative. If this general change indicated in the *Ormulum* took place, then in order to explain the quantity in many modern English words, it is necessary to assume a return (*Rückkehr*) to the original quantity. It is exactly this German idea of the *Rückkehr* that Professor Hart objects to. He, therefore, sets up rules of change less general than those based on the *Ormulum*, but corresponding more closely to the quantities in modern English and involving, therefore, no assumption of *Rückkehr*. This protest against the authority of Orm may perhaps be exaggerated, but it certainly is important in order to arrive at a more exact knowledge of the changes in English pronunciation. It is not entirely safe to use the *Ormulum*, as Kluge is inclined to do, as the infallible guide in matters of M. E. pronunciation.

The statements in this book are in the main sound. There are, however, two or three points concerning which the reviewer is in doubt. On page 22 appears the statement concerning Middle English, "The distinction between *æ* and *a* in O. E. ceased to be maintained." This is certainly true of the M. E. writing. The written character *æ* did cease to be used, but have we certain proof that the distinction between the sounds ceased to exist? Does this not involve the assumption of *Rückkehr* in order to explain the pronunciation in America at present and that in eighteenth century England? Further, on page 35, reference is made to the "late diphthonging of *either*, *neither*." Does not this diphthonging belong to the M. E. period? Is it not true that the modern *ai* pronunciation in *either* is the outgrowth of the old diphthong, while the *i* pronunciation springs from a simple sound, developing in the order  $\text{æ} > \text{ē} > \text{i}$ , as, for example, in "read." (Cf. G. Hempl, *Amer. Jour. of Phil.* XXI, 441, 442.) On Page 37 we read, "O. E. *æ*, M. E. *a*, before *g*, produced (*ai*). . . . In Chaucer, however, and in modern standard English since Chaucer, the (*ai*) has been levelled to (*ei*)." Does this not involve the assumption of *Rückkehr* to which the author

objects? The natural development of O. E.  $\alpha + i$  (from vocalization of  $g$ ) would be, in one direction,  $ai$ , in another  $ei$ . The "levelling" of  $ai$  to  $ei$  would involve an intermediate stage  $ei$ . The change from  $ai$  to  $ei$  would be a *Rückkehr*.

In general availability this book loses somewhat on account of its condensation. The reader is frequently left in the dark concerning the processes by which the author has reached his conclusions or the authority upon which his statements are based. Our knowledge of many of the matters treated is too unsettled to admit of dogmatic statement. It is to be hoped that Professor Hart will carry out his plan of expanding this work, and supplying it with bibliographical references and with a discussion of processes by which conclusions are arrived at.

As the work stands, however, it offers the most concise statement of the principal facts in English sound change and affords either a brief statement for those who have not the time to go more deeply into the subject or an admirable summary for the student who has been studying the sources of knowledge of sound change.

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THE PROBLEM OF HUMAN LIFE: AS VIEWED BY THE GREAT THINKERS FROM PLATO TO THE PRESENT TIME. Rudolf Eucken. English translation by W. S. Hough and W. R. Boyce Gibson. New York; Scribner. 1909. Pp. xxv-582.

The character and purpose of this work is indicated in the author's preface to the English translation as follows: "The present book forms the essential complement of all my other works. It is designed to afford historical confirmation of the view that conceptions are determined by life, not life by conceptions. Under the guidance of this conviction the book traverses the whole spiritual development of the Western world, in the hope that the several phases of the development, and, above all, its great personalities, will be brought nearer to the personal experience of the reader than is customarily done. Particularly in an age of predominant specialization, when the pursuit of learning too often endangers the completeness of living, such an endeavor is fully justified."

What life means, when viewed as a whole, is a question not to be answered by the labor of the unaided intellect. Professor Eucken believes, with Fichte, that our philosophy is determined by what we are; and, furthermore, that to those who have eyes to see, the meaning of life is revealed most



clearly from the vantagepoint of a comprehensive survey of reflective thought in its historical development. When regarded from the right standpoint, the history of man's endeavor to solve the riddle of existence is seen to be the progressive revelation of a spiritual life, of a self-dependent, spiritual cosmos, which envelops the whole being of man. To trace the course of this larger life, welling up in the generations, and particularly in its great leaders and representatives, is not the province of learned specialization, however valuable the latter may be in its own way. Minuteness and mass of detail can not adequately portray a great personality, for "what really makes the Thinker great is that which transcends mere historical explanation: it is the power of original creation, the Unity which animates and illuminates everything from within. And to this, mere learning and criticism are necessarily blind. It reveals itself only to an Intuition whose mode of apprehension is sympathetically creative". (p. xxiv).

Characterized somewhat roughly, the book is a review of the history of philosophy from a limited standpoint. It inquires into the details of particular theories and doctrines only in so far as this is necessary in order to ascertain what place and purport a given thinker assigns to human existence. The author's presentation of philosophical systems, consequently, touches but lightly upon many things which would ordinarily be considered important, and, again, it emphasizes more than is usual the *Weltanschauungen* of men like Augustine and Luther. Beginning with Plato, the author points out the delight in life and in activity that is exhibited in the wisdom of antiquity, and dwells upon the intimate union of truth and beauty, of penetrating knowledge and artistic creation, which characterizes the Greek view of life; but he likewise brings out its lack of inner life. It affords no basis for growth through agitation and suffering, a passing through negation, a resurrection through self-abnegation. In revealing its ultimate inadequacy, the period of antiquity prepared the way for Christianity. The latter, while furnishing a foothold for the inner life, established irreconcilable oppositions between flesh and spirit, between the here and the hereafter, between authority and freedom,—oppositions which inevitably led to the modern period. The chief characteristic of this period is its interest in the world and its vigorous appropriation of its resources. This interest implies a more intimate union of soul and world; a union, however, which may be interpreted in either of two radically different ways. "It may be held, on the one hand, that the soul absorbs and assimilates the world; on the other, that the world absorbs and assimilates the soul. Hence



arise two fundamentally different systems of reality: the idealistic and the realistic. Each is profoundly influential, and modifies essentially the whole aspect of existence" (p. 305).

These two systems or standpoints present the fundamental issue of the day. The ability to see the shortcomings of realism is determined by the nature of our inner life. The most dangerous foe of realism is "the fact of our immediate life as it springs up anew in each one of us. In the light of this we cannot but regard as a stupendous error the attempt to construct the inward life from without, to make reality an external world, and consequently to change man's relation to himself into a merely outward relation. In last resort, even the understanding of nature and the fashioning of society are matters of inward experience, and the denial of this experience would involve the collapse of realism. If realistic systems succeed in reaching a passable conclusion, despite their repudiation of an independent inward life, that is merely because, all unobserved, they draw upon idealistic resources to supplement their own deficiencies, and indeed do so the more in proportion as they approximate more closely to complete systems. Remove their supports, and they soon lose coherency and reveal their emptiness and dearth of meaning" (p. 551).

In the view of the author, the problem of human life can be answered satisfactorily only from the standpoint of an idealistic metaphysics. It alone is able to do justice to experience, to the demands of the human spirit. Idealism, as the doctrine that the universe is a self-dependent spiritual whole, expressing itself in the life of the individual, justifies the Greek view of life as the union of truth and beauty, conserves the inwardness of the old religious view of life, and concedes to realism that nature must be understood and obeyed in order to be subdued to the purposes of man. Yet, "if in man we recognize a new stage of reality, an independent spiritual life, then his closer connection with nature can only have the effect of lifting nature, giving her a deeper basis, making her part of a larger system. In this case, man is not lowered through nature, but nature is lifted through man" (p. 542).

It is perhaps to be expected that a book which is not intended to be polemical should take no heed of the numerous criticisms that have been directed against the idealistic position during recent years. This circumstance could hardly be urged as a serious defect, if the author had succeeded in making his standpoint entirely clear. But, unfortunately, this indifference to criticism means that the author takes advantage of a certain vagueness in order to establish the truth of idealism. The reader can hardly fail to notice that, in spite of the con-

stant insistence upon the reality and significance of the spiritual or inward life, upon immediacy or appreciation, no clear account is given of the import of these terms. We may readily grant that the body is more than raiment, that experience is more than conceptual thinking. But how this fact is to be made the foundation-stone of idealism is not so clear. To argue from this fact to the conclusion that experience must contain transcendental factors, that man's experience is an organic element in "self-dependent, spiritual cosmos", is possible only if we play fast and loose with the concept of immediacy or "spiritual life". If man's spiritual experiences be supposed to guarantee directly the reality of that spiritual cosmos to which it belongs, the entire position rests upon a foundation of mysticism; and it then has no logical superiority to any other doctrine similarly founded. On the other hand, if these experiences furnish no such immediate warrant for the belief, it behooves us to analyze them, in order to demonstrate that the existence of a self-dependent, spiritual cosmos is implied in these experiences. This is precisely what Professor Eucken fails to do; nor does the history of idealism encourage the belief that this task can be accomplished. In order to validate the idealistic inference, it is necessary to deny the very immediacy which Professor Eucken takes as a starting point. Our human experience must be viewed as fragmentary, limited, incomplete, and hence transcendently united with the absolute experience by which it is enveloped. This is equivalent to the assertion that immediate values exist only for the absolute, since it is only in the absolute experience that any fact is completely present and conceptual knowing is lost in immediate intuition. Idealistic arguments easily yield to the temptation of ascribing immediacy to our experience in order to show the inadequacy of a competing theory or to avoid the imputation of an abstract intellectualism, and of denying to it such immediacy in order to justify the belief in an idealistic world-order.

It may be added that Professor Eucken does not attempt to solve the problem of human life in detail. His main concern is evidently to supply a basis for the belief in an idealistic world-order, without showing in what respects such a world-order affects human existence. He wishes to validate the assurance that our most fundamental human values and aims will be cared for by the universe, not to set forth wherein these values and aims consist. This assurance, it is assumed, springs from man's discovery that he is not a stranger in a strange land, not a mere incident in a world full of anomalies and maladaptations, but that he can claim kinship with all

that is. Quite apart from the reasoning by which Professor Eucken reaches his conclusions, the question is pertinent whether an idealistic universe is necessarily a guarantee for the integrity of spiritual values. Idealism is, after all, merely a theory how the world must be constituted in order to be knowable. Such a theory carries with it no specific implications regarding the moral and religious character of the world; yet the author, like so many other idealistic writers, takes for granted that idealism is entrusted with a special commission as the guardian of man's spiritual interests.

It is not necessary, however, to agree with Professor Eucken's conclusions in order to appreciate the book. The lucidity and charm of style, and the depth and earnestness of conviction, combined with an erudition that never wearies, gives to the work an independent value. It exemplifies the author's contention that a message may be ennobled and made fruitful through the personality by which it is transmitted. The translation, which seems to be an excellent piece of work, will make the book accessible to many of Professors Eucken's admirers, and will doubtless secure for it a wide circle of readers.

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THE ANCESTRY OF CHAUCER. By Alfred Allen Kern, Professor of English, Millsaps College, Missouri. A dissertation submitted to the Board of University Studies of the Johns Hopkins University in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The Lord Baltimore Press, 1906. 163 pages.

Dr. Kern's dissertation falls into six parts,—The Name Chaucer, The Chaucers, The Parentage of Chaucer, The Grandparents of Chaucer, The Parents of Chaucer, the Friends of the Chaucers. No attempt is made in the paper to settle the questions of connection between Thomas Chaucer and the poet, or the problem as to the latter's wife; these points are the subjects of separate studies now in preparation. In his first chapter, on the name Chaucer, the author adheres to the long-accepted theory deriving the word ultimately from *calcearium*, a hosier, dismissing the suggestion of *chaufecire*, chafewax, first made by Tyrwhitt, and re-announced as a new discovery in the *Athenaeum* of 1899 I:145, 210, 242, 274, 338, 436, 468. The notes on the spelling of the surname might have been amplified by a glance over Shirley's renditions of the word; he writes in the Trinity MS. *Chaucier*, in Harley 78 *Chaucier*, in Additional 16165 *Chaucier* and *Chaucyer*, Thomas *Chaucyer* and Thomas



*Chauciers*, in Ashmole 59 *Chaucier*, *Chaucyer* and *Chauciers*, in his versified table of contents to the Adds. MS *Chaucier*. We may remark also, of the citation on Dr. Kern's page 11 from MS Cotton Otho A xvii (wrongly written for xviii), that the late note made upon that now ruined MS is to be found in the Urry Chaucer of 1721, fol. k 3 recto, compare fol. e 4 verso note o; if a citation of Chaucer's name from a manuscript of unknown date and scribe be desirable, reference should be made to authority more nearly contemporary than is Smyth's *Westminster Abbey*. The headings of the Minor Poems, as printed by the Chaucer Society, would yield a collection of spellings of the poet's name comparable in value with those from public documents gathered by Dr. Kern.

Under the second heading Dr. Kern has presented the interesting facts brought to light by Mr. Redstone regarding the Suffolk family named Malyn and the interchange of that name with Chaucer by the branch of the family which settled in London. In this connection it may be observed that Thomas Chaucer, presumably the poet's son, held estates in Norfolk, not far from Bury St. Edmunds and the Suffolk monastery of which Lydgate was a member; and that Lydgate, lamenting the departure of Thomas for France, alludes to a "gentil Molyns," evidently a boy, as a member of Thomas Chaucer's household. The similarity of the names Malyn and Molyns may repay an investigation more minute than that sketched by me in *Modern Philology* I:331-336, where the text of Lydgate's poem is printed; it was earlier printed by Dr. Furnivall in *Notes and Queries* for 1872 I:381-383, cp. *ibid.* pp. 436, 468, 493. The table of the Chaucer-Malyn family appended to the dissertation is also based upon Mr. Redstone's work. In it Geoffrey Chaucer appears as the only child of his parents, but since all trails should be followed, it might have been well to investigate the validity of the statement in MS Harley 1548, according to which manuscript (a Visitation of the County of Kent), one Simon Manninge de Codham of that shire, living in 46th Edward III and 5th Richard II, married "Catharina soror Galfridi Chawcer militis celeberrimi Poetae Anglicani." From this union several well-known New England families, among them the Higginsons and Prescotts and the late Senator George F. Hoar, claim descent. See the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, vol. 51, to face page 389, for the tree.

The sections of Dr. Kern's dissertation upon the parentage, the grandparents, and the parents of Chaucer, are largely a rearrangement of the material which the Chaucer Society has collected in Part IV of the Life Records, with some corrections. If anything, the puzzle as to Chaucer's ultimately straitened



circumstances is increased by the proof of his father's wealth; but the facts as Dr. Kern rearranges them are more clearly viewed than in the Life Records. The appearance of Miss Petersen's work on Philippa Roet, supposedly the wife of Geoffrey Chaucer, and of the biography of Thomas Chaucer promised by the Chaucer Society, will give us, with Dr. Kern's useful compilation, a workable body of facts regarding the poet.

*Chicago.*

ELEANOR PRESCOTT HAMMOND.

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## IS THE GOTHIC BIBLE GOTHIC?

Every distinguished Germanic linguist has expressed himself on the question now before us. A long list of small fry have, in learned articles and dissertations, given their decisions on this or that phase of the general subject. The question is too important to remain unsolved. Some day we shall know. The present writer enters upon the difficult task of discussing this problem only after considerable hesitation, and yet with quiet assurance, for he brings with him a handful of facts. This question will be settled when the last fact is in. Glittering generalities, polemic zeal, oratorical power will not avail here. Many beautiful things have been said about Wulfila's language, and many sharp depreciatory remarks have been made, but the question is still an open one. Also penetrating scholarship has not yet dispelled the darkness, but the only hope is from this direction. This contribution is not the work of a definite period. It represents the accretion of many years, often interrupted by studies in other Germanic languages and other periods. The strength gained from labor in other linguistic fields has time and again been placed in the service of the study of Gothic problems. In the course of the last thirty years the writer has changed his views radically on this subject, little by little as the facts came to light. For years the fruits of these studies have lain in rough, unfinished shape, unpublished, as the fear was ever present that new developments might appear and a new change of feeling might throw a new light upon the gathered materials. Now as a quiet and permanent peace seems to have come and renewed work on the old collected materials has brought a comforting assurance and has strengthened conviction, the desire arises to give these studies to the public. In them lie not only the results of long years of patient toil after the plodding manner of German scholarship, but also the evident signs of a strong *feeling*, which has never been entirely suppressed by the scientific critical sense, as it has often proved itself to be a

valuable collateral source of information. Impelled by some strong, mystic force this feeling has always sought to penetrate beneath the surface and outward appearance of things. While the intellect tried to grasp logical forces and grammatical law, it tried to comprehend the whole by *feeling* it. Thus in the course of these studies many attempts have been made to *feel* the way to the meaning of the Gothic forms just as we feel our way into the riches of a modern masterpiece. Just as in life feeling alone places us into the real possession of what we own and alone makes clear their values, so it is often true in language that feeling alone reveals the absolute values of linguistic forms. A German scholar has observed that the reflexive usually follows the verb immediately in Gothic wherever the Gothic deviates from the Greek original, and is found in other positions only where the Gothic follows the Greek. He comes to the conclusion that when the Gothic reflexive stands apart from the verb it must be a Greek construction. He forgot to *feel* the sentence. The reflexive took its position in Gothic, according to its logical and emotional value. It is usually the most unimportant word in the sentence and hence stands in the least stressed position. Much of this has been preserved in modern German. In the subordinate clause the reflexive follows the subject, and thus stands in the most unimportant place. The verb, however, stands at the end of the subordinate clause as far away from the reflexive as possible. In the principal proposition the reflexive follows the verb immediately, and thus again stands in the least stressed place in the sentence. The position of the reflexive is consistent in both principal and subordinate clauses. It is the verb that has changed its position, not the reflexive. When the Gothic reflexive thus stood apart from the verb it followed not Greek law, but a general law, deep-seated in natural feeling. It is found in German as well as in Greek and Gothic. The writer has in the last years often lost his patience over the modern trend that *mechanically* observes positions, counts grammatical forms, and makes long and intricate tables without *feeling* the *value* of things, and yet this plodding fashion is after all the only true



method of investigation. We must, however, take a lively *feeling* with us into this dry and laborious statistical work lest we become mere hod-carriers who carry dead materials, perfectly useless unless they should perchance fall into hands that could use them. In principle, however, we are perfectly in sympathy with the scientific plodding method, and it will be necessary in the course of this article to enter into the study of the minute details of the development of forms and meanings. Before presenting these matters we shall give a brief general outline of the question as a whole for the benefit of those who do not desire to go into the study of the details. To the linguist, however, nothing will be convincing but the details themselves. As this paper is directed to two different classes of readers and is divided into two different parts, one general, the other detailed, there will be some unavoidable repetitions in the second part containing the detailed treatment.

An interesting history of the shifting views of the merits of Wulfila's work has been written by Hans Stolzenburg in "*Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*," Vol. 37. This brings the account down to 1905. The question has by no means rested since this date. In books and dissertations learned philologists continue to find an opportunity to say something on this question and have not infrequently contributed valuable facts. There does not seem to be the faintest indication that the opinions are converging. It is remarkable that among so many brilliant scholars there could be such wide divergence of views. On the one hand, Castiglione, whose penetrating examination of Gothic readings in manuscript form has contributed so much to our knowledge of the true Gothic form, has said: "*Ita ut in ulphilano libro græcum habeas textum gothicis quidem vocabulis con-vestitum, borealibus tamen idiotismis plane carentem.*" If this annihilating criticism were true there would be no need of our studying Gothic to learn from it something of the syntactical structure of the oldest Germanic language. Castiglione meant his criticism kindly, because he saw in Wulfila's procedure a worthy attempt of a holy man to preserve unchanged the sacred

word of God, but his conclusion was so disastrous to the hopes of scholars and so many precious interests were involved that it could not satisfy linguists. Thus, on the other hand, scholars arose to defend the Gothic quality of Wulfila's language. Some of these praise in the strongest terms both the language and the style of Wulfila's translation. It is easy to explain why some of these views are full of admiration for Wulfila's work. Everyone who has studied the Gothic Bible carefully and in a favorable attitude has been greatly impressed with the accurate and skillful rendering of certain difficult places. One scholar calls attention to the adroit translation of the Greek future with the scanty means at hand, scanty because there is in Gothic no future. Another praises his discriminate use of the moods which sometimes shows finer shades of meaning than the original. Another says he always endeavors to reproduce faithfully the thought and that at times his expression seems to unfold the deeper meaning more perfectly than the Greek. Another calls attention to his fine style enlivened by alliteration and poetic feeling, while another points to his choice selection of words, to avoid the repetition of the same word as found in the original. Another calls attention to his close touch with his people, as shown by his reckoning time by winters, according to Gothic custom. Another calls attention to his translation of the Greek superlative by the comparative, where the meaning points to two, or the rendering of a Greek comparative by a superlative, where the context points to more than two, or the use of the comparative instead of the Greek positive, where there is an evident reference to two. The Goth did not always stand in holy awe of the careless expressions of popular New Testament Greek. If all the observations upon Wulfila's linguistic skill were gathered together from the rich literature on this subject, there would be quite a list of good qualities to his credit. Some of these things may be exaggerated, some of them ought to be ascribed to the natural richness of the Gothic language, some of them can only be ascribed to sharp observation and real linguistic power. It is hard for an admirer of Wulfila to believe

that one can be a sharp observer gifted with a keen sense for fine shades of meaning and beautiful form and at the same time be a slavish translator. On the other hand, for one who has observed that the word-order in Gothic is often page after page exactly like the Greek, it is hard to believe that this is idiomatic speech. Of course, the word-order is often quite different in places, but the suspicion arises that these are points where the two languages are so radically different that even a slavish translator has to pay some consideration to his own idiom if he desires to be understood. A real insight into the actual situation can never be gained as long as one studies the question in such a general vague way. The laws that regulate word-order must be studied in a minute, scientific fashion, such as is given below in detail. From this investigation it becomes apparent that thought and feeling and a sense for rhythm have a large part in assigning words their positions in the sentence. As Wulfila endeavored earnestly and consistently to reproduce fully and accurately the thought and feeling of the original, the Gothic word-order naturally of itself conformed quite closely to that of the popular Greek of the New Testament, for the psychological and rhythmical laws of the two languages were at that time almost identical. This is to the writer the most important observation that he has ever made. Scarcely less interesting and important is the simple fact that these old psychological and rhythmical laws are still largely in force. In modern German the important words stand in the first place or the last one. The least important word follows the subject in the subordinate clause and the verb in the principal proposition, and from these positions on toward the end of the sentence the words become more forcibly stressed, so that the heavier words, i. e., those heavier by virtue of their psychological force, or their material weight, gravitate toward the end. Exactly the same laws obtained in Gothic and New Testament Greek. These laws have in all these years not changed in the slightest degree. The full operation of the laws has, however, in large measure been impeded in the modern languages by the development of formal grammatical or functional

laws. For instance, in German the verb must now stand at the end in subordinate clauses. The object of the infinitive must precede it. The perfect participle and infinitive must stand at the end of the proposition, whether they are emphatic or not. This is the survival of an older order of things which is no longer felt or understood. It is now a mere formal or functional law. In English these particular formal laws have not developed at all, but we have others that have arisen thru the loss of inflection. In English, the loss of the case forms necessitates the use of prepositional phrases and these heavier forms in replacing lighter ones have brought about a different word-order in many cases, for the same old rhythmical laws still obtain and require the heavier forms to follow lighter ones. Thus the old psychological and rhythmical laws still remain unchanged, but the development of fixed formal laws often suspend the operation of these laws. They assert themselves, however, whenever they are not impeded by formal forces. Thus formal laws change in every language from period to period, but the simple psychological and rhythmical laws remain unaltered. It is not strange that the psychological and rhythmical laws were identical in New Testament Greek and Gothic, but that the two languages have also almost the same formal or functional laws attracts at first our attention. Before we discover that the laws here are almost the same it seems at first that it is mere slavish imitation that made Wulfila's word-order almost exactly like that of the New Testament Greek. In fact, however, the laws in the two languages coincide. They were both in the same state of historical development. We need not be content here with this glittering generality. The testimony of the older Germanic languages is to be had. In the firm belief that a minute comparative study of the older Germanic formal laws and formal types and their historical development will establish the Gothic and Germanic quality of Wulfila's word-order, the writer has devoted his best strength to this work and gives below the results of his studies in outline. Of course, these materials could not be presented in full here, but at important vital points minute



details have been given. These details will bring to others the same conviction that has come to the writer, that the Gothic quality of Wulfila's word-order is now beyond question. It can be proved by the testimony of the kindred languages. The word order is undoubtedly good Gothic, but it is not Wulfila's word-order. It is the word-order of the Greek Testament which Wulfila tried so hard to reproduce faithfully and as completely as was compatible with the fixed formal laws in his own native language, which at some points restrained him, for in spite of the great similarity of the formal laws in the two languages there were some differences. Wulfila preached in both Gothic and Greek. Both languages were living forces to him. The change of the word-order shifted the emphasis and altered the thought. He could feel such things very easily, for he could feel in both languages. He had no desire to hand down to modern philologists an individual Gothic, a Wulfilian Gothic. He was translating the word of God, and he felt it his simple duty to hand it down as completely as he could, i. e., with the warm human accents of the original. The warm human accents lie in the word-order. Because this Gothic is not individual Wulfilian it is not the less good Gothic. We have here to do with the individual stamp that is put upon language. The language of Goethe and that of Schiller have each quite a distinct individual stamp, but in each case it is good German. A close study of Wulfila's word-order shows that some of his own feeling has crept into his translation, but in general the distribution of accents is that of the original, but always good Gothic or as good as he could make it. Wulfila performed his work much better than our honored and revered Castiglione imagined that he did. He not only handed down the form of the original, but also its thought and feeling. The present writer differs from other scholars who have discussed this question in that he thinks that *Wulfila did not hand down to us the form unchanged in order to preserve the form. He preserved the form because the form contained the thought and feeling of the animated original.* The preservation of the form was largely unconscious. It was

unconscious in its deepest and best portions. We have so many little indications in the language itself that Wulfila was consciously trying to reproduce the feeling of the original by the same distribution of emphasis. We know that Wulfila was here not mechanically following the Greek order, but was consciously striving to reproduce definite accents by the fact that at times he uses little rhetorical tricks to heighten the emphasis. This point will be illustrated in detail below. Even where Wulfila followed the Greek so closely as to reproduce anacoluthons of the Greek original we plainly see that he *felt* the language. In these passages the energy of the tone and the vividness of the feeling are especially apparent. Here, again, the form contained the thought and feeling. That he was endeavoring to reproduce thought and feeling and not the form also becomes evident where not satisfied with the emphasis of the original he deviates from the Greek order to place the emphasis where he thinks it properly belongs. Some of these deviations are very interesting and show how vividly Wulfila felt the meaning of the original and how faithfully he translated it. In general, the Greek original gave him little occasion to supply additional accents. The language of the Greek Testament is plain, popular speech, not the learned expression of scholars. It fairly abounds in simple but forcible accents, such as naturally arise in animated language. Wulfila only followed the natural instinct of a preacher in keeping close to this animated original. That Wulfila could thus preserve the form with such wonderful fidelity is simply the result of the similarity of the development of the two languages. The feat can never be performed again. The feat is a wonder from our point of view, it was from the viewpoint of Wulfila's time simply a fine piece of work. The writer hasn't the slightest desire to lionize Wulfila. After a long and minute study of the Gothic Bible he is convinced that the translation is a good one, good because it preserves the *thought* and the *feeling* of the original. The writer cannot understand how anyone can study this translation carefully without coming to the conclusion that it is *spoken* language. This is shown by the position of the

words, not only where they conform to the Greek, but where the order differs markedly from the original. The whole work is punctuated by human accents, which give clear evidence of lively feeling. In one place Wulfila has even observed and skilfully rendered an expression of keen sarcasm.

In recent years the study of Gothic has entered a rather new stage. Conspicuous scholars such as Kauffmann and v. Soden have devoted their best energies to ascertain the exact Greek text that Wulfila used as a basis for his translation. Professor Streitberg has made much of this work accessible to us by publishing the Gothic Bible with the Gothic text on the one side and the Greek text on the other. The variant readings of different Latin and Greek texts are given below where they seem to have a bearing on the Gothic text. This edition ought to be on every Germanic scholar's desk. No one appreciates the value of this fine edition more than the writer, who has used it daily since its first appearance in 1908, but he is nevertheless dissatisfied with its spirit and its results. This book is connected with a series of learned efforts to direct attention to the Greek text more than it deserves. Professor Streitberg says in the preface of his Gothic Bible: "Ich stimme Fr. Kauffmann darin bei, dass die gotischen Sprachreste ohne die Quellen unverstündlich sind." This is such a gross exaggeration that it is unworthy of the fine scholars that are associated with the statement. This opinion represents the view of those who in studying the details have overlooked the main question. The general truth is that Wulfila's Gothic text is a plain and forceful translation that is perfectly clear in its own light without the help of the Greek original. As will be made clear below in considerable detail we cannot safely use the Greek to test the Gothic quality of Wulfila's speech. In one respect, however, the comparison of the Gothic with the Greek brings fruitful results. From learned investigation it has become apparent that the Gothic text has been tampered with. Gothic scholars have altered it by introducing into one gospel the parallel readings of another gospel, so as to bring about a conformity of text. Marginal notes have crept into the text and have

become an integral part of it. These inserted words and phrases are usually good Gothic. Their removal from the text is not in the interest of purifying the quality of the Gothic, but to allow us to judge clearly of Wulfila's work as a translator. The minute study of the exact Greek text that Wulfila used is very helpful in enabling us to remove all the insertions and to look at Wulfila's text just as he wrote it. Thus the use of the Greek text does not throw any light at all upon the meaning of the Gothic. We simply use it to distinguish Wulfila's work from that of others. On the other hand, these Gothic insertions are of themselves interesting, for they constitute valuable additions to our meager stock of Gothic words. In the case of the underlined adjective in the following passage the interpolation throws valuable light upon the historic development of the language in the period subsequent to the translation of the Bible: "ufarfullips im fahedais in allaizos *managons* aglons unsaraizos (2 Cor. 7.4)" I am filled with joy in all our manifold tribulation." In the time of Wulfila an adjective following *all* or a possessive was in the strong declension. Here we find it weak as the idea of individualization in the later Gothic period as in the later period of the other Germanic tongues received a formal expression in the language itself by the use of the weak declension. Thus these interpolations are not harmful in themselves. We only need to understand their true relation to the text of Wulfila. In other places the interpolations do not seem to be of so harmless a nature. In a *few* passages it seems possible that Gothic scholars have changed the text to bring it in conformity with the reading of some other Greek text or a Latin version. In some cases it seems as though these insertions were so carelessly framed that they have retained the grammatical structure of the Greek or Latin original. Of course, if this is true the case is serious enough, for nothing is so important in the entire realm of Germanic study as to know the exact structure of Gothic, the oldest Germanic language. The natural importance of the subject has spurred a number of scholars to investigate these foreign sources of corruption. Some of them in their zeal



have become possessed by the fixed idea that they have discovered sure traces of interpolation. In their heated imaginations they take similarity of grammatical structure between Gothic and Latin or Greek as a proof that the Gothic has been conformed to the Latin or Greek. Even if we accept all the conjectures that all these scholars offer we still have a fairly well-preserved Gothic text. We linguists really ought to rejoice that we have such a treasure of priceless value as the Gothic Bible. We ought to show our appreciation by a more profound study of the language that is preserved in it. This ought to become the *main* field of Gothic study, but some good may be gained by a careful study of the Greek original and the Latin texts. The writer even hopes that scholars will continue their search after interpolations. Some will be very happy in such fine scholarly work. Professor Streitberg, not entirely satiated by the large number of interpolations which he thinks he has already found, has inserted some more into the Gothic Bible on his own account, as he by dint of his vivid imagination has discovered that Wulfila has made some bad slips in his Gothic, and ought to be corrected. Not a stone should be left unturned until we discover the last interpolation and the last error in Wulfila's speech. When these scholars have developed their imaginations by such exhilarating exercise they ought to turn their efforts toward discovering *all* the passages where Wulfila imitated the Greek mechanically. After all these laborious and fruitful investigations we shall know just what is Gothic and what is Greek and Latin. Behind these enthusiastic discoverers will follow sober and calm linguists who will sift out the wild conjectures and carefully preserve the *few* golden grains of truth. We have today a fine text of Beowulf in the last edition of Professor Holthausen. Many of the wild conjectures will now soon be forgotten. Professor Holthausen, in harmony with a number of other sane thinkers, has directed his attention to trying to understand the text that has been handed down to us rather than to search for new conjectures. The result is that some of the most difficult passages have become perfectly clear in their own light without the help

of conjectures and emendations of the text. In Gothic study the efforts will some day be directed toward the study of the Gothic text rather than the Greek original. The present situation is not at all satisfactory. As long as our eyes are fixed only upon the Greek text the mind is confused by the great similarity and the feeling grows stronger that the Greek is the cause of all this similarity. Our eyes should also be directed toward the other Germanic languages. The minute scientific comparison of these languages with Gothic will be the most fruitful source of information on this subject. Once when the writer only studied the Greek he was sure that the Gothic word-order was a slavish imitation of the Greek. Now after a long and careful comparative study of other Germanic languages he is quietly and firmly convinced that no part of the Gothic Bible is more surely Gothic than its word-order. In the fine new edition of the Gothic Bible by Professor Streitberg the attention has been directed so fixedly at the Greek that the vision has been somewhat obscured. Doubtless many of the conjectures in this edition will disappear in a future edition. This edition, however, is quite symptomatic of the unhealthy state of Gothic scholarship at the present time. It is all the worse because the tendency represented in this book is also found elsewhere. It is a queer fact that in the history of Gothic study there has been at times an abrupt swing from one extreme to the other. It is to be hoped that it is now about time to return again to an *appreciative* study of Wulfila's language.

In the following more detailed study of our subject the attention is chiefly turned to those points where Gothic closely conforms to the Greek. It is now generally acknowledged that Wulfila has made some clever renderings, but there is still a general impression that a large part of his work follows the Greek so closely that it cannot be called idiomatic Gothic. It is the object of this treatise to show that Wulfila uniformly wrote idiomatic Gothic and that his language is just as good Gothic where it conforms closely to the Greek as where it deviates widely.

No part of Gothic syntax has suffered so continuously under

the suspicion of Greek and Latin influences as the Gothic word-order. The subject has already been discussed in the *Journal*. In Vol. I, page 147, Professor McKnight, in an article entitled "Primitive Teutonic Order of Words," has said: "For the study of word-order Wulfila is of little value, owing to the slavish way in which he followed the Greek order. . . . Although many of the Greek idioms belong also to Teutonic, and actually do occur in other ancient Teutonic monuments, it is absurd to assume between any two languages a natural similarity in word-order as striking as that between the Gothic translation of the Bible and the Greek original." This is a sweeping statement based upon general impressions rather than upon a close scientific study of the linguistic processes, by which Wulfila approached the Greek. A close conformity in word-order does not always indicate a slavish linguistic habit, but often a psychological attitude. From the testimony of his own work it is evident that Wulfila did everything in his power to approach the thought and feeling of the original as closely as possible. Thought and feeling not only lie in the choice of words, but also largely in their arrangement. The least disturbance of the word-order brings about a disturbance of the thought and feeling. Thus Wulfila naturally and perhaps unconsciously followed the Greek form, for in the form lay the thought and feeling that he was trying to reproduce. There are many little details connected with the system of arranging words in a language and most of these details are intimately connected with the thought and feeling. These things are of a psychological nature and lie largely outside of the domain of formal grammar and in Wulfila's language did not in any way injure the Gothic quality of his speech. This point has been misunderstood by some scholars, as nicely illustrated by a remark of Dr. Koppitz in "*Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*," Vol. 32, page 462. Dr. Koppitz had just been depreciating some observations of Dr. Friedrichs upon Wulfila's arrangement of reflexive pronouns by the reflection that this arrangement of reflexives could scarcely be called Gothic, as the same order is found in the Greek. He then remarks: "Ich

glaube, dass Friedrichs durch diese Belege nur bewiesen hat, wie der Gote auch die Worte setzen konnte, nicht aber wie er nach echt gotischem Sprachgebrauch sie gesetzt hätte." Dr. Koppitz is here confounding grammar and style, form and psychology. As will be shown below, Wulfila's arrangement of reflexives is good Gothic in as far as it does not violate any formal rules of Gothic grammar. His language was idiomatic Gothic, but the thought and the feeling were not his own. He did his best to assume the psychological attitude of the Greek narrators and it was his duty to do this, for he was operating as a translator, but others often employed in their usual Gothic speech this same order to express the same thought and feeling. On the other hand, under slightly different impressions the order would have been altered. These things do not belong to formal grammar at all and do not at all affect the idiomatic quality of speech in so far as they do not come in conflict with fixed grammatical rules. In connection with this subject of the relation of grammar to style it is important to note that the time at which Wulfila wrote, i. e., the state of the development of his native language, is a mighty factor in the case. A High German writer a few centuries later would have found it impossible to do what was perfectly natural for Wulfila. On the other hand, English has had a development remarkably similar to that found in Gothic, so that the King James version of the English Bible shows in the word-order a general similarity to the Gothic and in places a striking resemblance. The writer, in imitating the procedure of Wulfila in trying to get up as close to the Greek as possible, has translated long Greek passages into idiomatic English, in which in places the English is very close to the original, in other places it is not so close. It would be possible to bring these latter passages nearer the Greek if we could employ the word-order of "Beowulf." Of course, Wulfila found it still easier and probably quite natural to follow the Greek original much nearer. Thus it is evident that the element of historical development here is very important. Another point of great interest is that the portions of the English translation that approach the



Greek the nearest are just as idiomatic English as those that are unlike the original. This shows how unscientific the usual German procedure is in discussing Gothic word-order. German scholars usually confine their study to cases where the Gothic word-order differs from the Greek. A concrete example will nicely illustrate the unscientific nature of this procedure. Dr. Kopptiz, in Vol. 32, page 462, of "Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie," compares the word order of the reflexive pronouns in Gothic and Greek and comes to the conclusion that the true Gothic position here was immediately *after* the verb, for wherever the Gothic differs from the Greek the reflexive follows the verb. As will be shown in detail below, the original position of the reflexive was *before* the verb, as still preserved in modern German in infinitive phrases and in subordinate clauses. Of course, this older order is still preserved in Gothic, but as it is also found in the Greek of the New Testament Dr. Koppitz fears that this position in Gothic must be due to Greek influence. Thus suspicion is cast upon *good old* Gothic and primitive Germanic, while a new construction, the position of the reflexive after the verb, which is struggling with a vigorous young life for supremacy, is represented as genuine old Gothic. There is here only one scientific procedure and that is the comparison of Gothic with the kindred tongues. Thus it will be necessary in the detailed treatment to point out the laws for the arrangement of words in the Germanic languages in order to show that Wulfila did not accidentally, in a large number of cases, conform to Germanic laws, but that he regularly did so. As Wulfila regularly conforms to Germanic laws and at the same time follows the Greek quite closely it must follow that the laws prevailing in Germanic at that time were quite similar to those in the popular Greek of the New Testament. Otherwise, he could not have written a *single* sentence without doing violence to his own native idiom, for neither of these languages had a free and loose system, but were subject to well-defined laws. These laws were even somewhat complicated, as there is abundant evidence in the language of the Gothic Bible that this period was one of a marked transi-

tional character. An older order of things was still largely in force, while at the same time a new order of things was coming in with a vigorous new life. English and Old Norse continued to develop the new life, while German, preserving much more of the old life and developing it along formal and psychological lines, gradually differentiated itself markedly from the other Germanic languages. As the Gothic was in the midst of the old and the new life the peculiar word-order of each life is clearly discernible. Now it seems to conform to modern German, now to modern English. It has the combined freedom of both languages, because it had the option of following the old laws or the new or in the same sentence proceeding now according to the old, now according to the new. Freedom in language is the absence of grammatical or functional constraint. Where grammatical function does not prescribe fixed rules words can be arranged according to the force of their meaning, but also here stress is associated with certain fixed points in the sentence, so that there is, after all, a complex system of rules. We turn now to the study of this system.

From the rich literature of recent years treating of word-order it seems now fairly probable that in original Indo-European the verb was usually at the end of a normal sentence. At least it seems quite sure that this was true in primitive Germanic. This older order of things is best preserved in "Beowulf." Even in the principal proposition the verb prefers the position at the end or near the end. However, the new tendency to shift the verb forward toward the unemphatic second or third place in the sentence, in accordance with its real importance, is everywhere in the book to be observed. This is, of course, most common in case of the light auxiliaries. The heavier, more important words gravitated toward the end of the sentence, crowding out the auxiliaries and sometimes also the verb itself. "Beowulf" probably belongs to the beginning of the eighth century and the Gothic Bible to the fourth century, but in point of word-order "Beowulf" at every turn presents very old features and presents them in such numbers that it at once becomes

apparent that the older life of the Germanic languages has here still a strong, healthy throb. At many little points, however, the greater age of the Gothic is perfectly evident and sheds light upon dim constructions in "Beowulf." Thus comparison between these two languages is especially productive of positive results. The writer does not present "Beowulf" as a fair representative of English speech in the eighth century, for it is fine poetry with a real poetic form and with real poetic feeling, and differed markedly from the ordinary prose of that time, but it is good old English, in large measure the survival of the good prose of a still older period that has been well preserved by the conservative spirit that has always dwelt in English poetry. Even today the poetic expression of "Beowulf" in large measure lives on in the best English verse and we English-speaking students can approach some of these old linguistic forms with a real feeling for their meaning. Thus tho younger in years than the Gothic Bible "Beowulf" in some important places by virtue of the conservative spirit of English poetry presents some older features. The most marked one is the position of the verb at the end of the sentence. Nowhere better than in "Beowulf" can we also study the first movements of the verb toward the second and third places in the sentence. This movement was much like that of a soldier who leaves his position at the end of the line and takes a position toward the other end. He simply steps in between two other soldiers in the line. The line does not break up or lose its former physiognomy. In the following passage we find the first or oldest type: "ða hine Wedra cyn / for herebrogan habban ne mihte" (461-2) "Then the people of Wedermark could not protect him from the terror of war." Here in the oldest type the verb is at the end. In this instance it is an auxiliary. As the auxiliaries are not important they are often removed from the important end position. If in this sentence or in similar ones the auxiliary is withdrawn to some place near the beginning the infinitive is left at the end of the sentence preceded by its modifiers. This second type is very common in "Beowulf": "he mæg þær fela / freonda findan" (1837-

8) "He can find there many friends." The same force that crowded the verb out at the end of the sentence does not in "Beowulf" so easily crowd the infinitive out so that it makes way for the more important modifiers such as objects and heavy adverbs. However, this still newer type with the modifiers of the infinitive after it is also sometimes found in "Beowulf": "Wille ic asecgan suna Healfdenes, mærum þeodne, min ærende" (344-5) "I desire to tell the son of Healfdene, the distinguished king, my errand." This third type tho comparatively little used in the epic itself is undoubtedly much more common in the every-day life of the time. The poet had carefully selected the choicer older types for the body of his poem, but the familiar tones of daily life found occasional expression, for even a poet must come down to earth at times. Later this third type became the normal type for all styles of English speech.

In Gothic all three types described in the preceding paragraph are found, but the characteristic feature is the very wide use of the third type. In the "Elder Edda," in spite of the conservative power of poetic form, the third type is also widely used. The second type is also often used, but the first or oldest type is little employed and soon disappeared entirely. The early and full development of the third type in both Gothic and Old Norse seems to point to the early development of this type in East Germanic before the separation into North Germanic and Gothic. There is certainly a remarkable resemblance here between Gothic and Old Norse, and this resemblance must take away every shadow of suspicion of Greek influence at this important point. It seems to be a simple fact that the second and third types were very common in Greek, Gothic, Old Norse, and English was fast developing in the same direction. The translation of the Greek form of Matthew 10.34-5 into these three languages will show how close together these four languages really were:

μὴ νομίσητε ὅτι ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν· οὐκ ἦλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην ἀλλὰ μάχαιραν. ἦλθον γὰρ διχάσαι ἄνθρωπον κατὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ θυγατέρα κατὰ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ νύμφην κατὰ τῆς πενθερᾶς αὐτῆς  
 "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came



not to send peace but a sword, for I am come to set a man against his father and a daughter against her mother and a daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law." "Nih ahjaiþ þatei qemjau lagjan gawairþi ana airþa; ni qam lagjan gawairþi, ak hairu. Qam auk skaidan mannan wiþra attan is jah dauhtar wiþra aiþein izos jah bruþ wiþra swaihron izos" (Wulfila). Greek, English and Gothic here all employ the third type, i. e., the modifiers *after* the infinitive, but the Greek and Gothic could have chosen the second type, i. e., the modifiers *before* the infinitive. In English the development is now closed here and we could not now employ here the second type, altho in the language of "Beowulf" it would have been perfectly natural. In the Old Norse edition the second and third types alternate in this passage: "þer skulut eigi meina at eg sé kominn frið at senda á jörþina: Eigi kom eg frið at senda, heldr sverð. Því at eg em kominn at ýfa manninn í móti föðr sínum, og dótturina í gegn móður sinni, og sonar-konuna í gegn móður mannz síns (Lawman Odd's edition of 1540). The Old Norse edition might have followed here the third type thruout as in the Greek, for the second and third types are freely used in this translation. Odd seems to follow mere caprice in using the one or the other of these types. This shows clearly that Odd felt the two types as having the same force. Wulfila, on the other hand, conformed closely to the Greek. It is quite probable that in the Gothic period there was still a difference between the two types. The third type was employed to put an emphatic word at the end of the sentence: "duhwe *weis* ni mahtedum usdreiban *þana*?" (Mark 9.28.) "Why couldn't *we* cast out *that demon*?" Many interesting sentences show that there is a more lively flow of feeling in the third type. On the other hand, the occasional position of unimportant unaccented personal pronouns after the infinitive at the very end of the sentence indicates clearly that formalization had set in. As there was, however, often still a difference in both Gothic and Greek between the two types, Wulfila found it usually natural to follow here the Greek word-order. Later grammatical expression here became perfectly

rigid. English settled upon the third type and German upon the second, and the other types disappeared. In modern Icelandic the third type has not yet gained a complete victory over the second type, so that this language presents the antique feature of possessing two types.

Let us now turn to another form of expression and follow its development of types. In "Beowulf" the simple finite verb without an infinitive modifier is quite commonly at the end of the sentence with its adverbial and object modifiers grouped before it: "Ic ða ðæs wælnes, þe is wide cuð, / grimne gryreligne grundhyrde fond" (2135-6) "I then found the grim terrible guardian of the sea which is so widely known." Alongside of this first and *oldest* but still *common* type there is a younger second type in which the verb has been withdrawn from the end and placed in the second or third place so that more important modifiers might take the important positions at or near the end: "Secgas bæron/on bearm nacan beorhte frætwe, / guðsearo geatolic" (213-4) "The warriors bore into the hold of the ship the bright armors, the splendid weapons." Also in Gothic we find both of these types, but the younger type is much more common than in "Beowulf." The verb is usually not emphatic and is freely removed from the end and can assume almost any other position than the last one. The end position has become a great favorite for emphasis: "bi sunjai gudis sunus ist sa" (Matth. 27.54) "Truly *this* is the *Son* of *God*." In Gothic and the older Germanic languages this position of the demonstrative at the end has a peculiar meaning. As it is usually found at the beginning of the sentence this transposal to the uncommon end position gives it increased emphasis. The beginning of the sentence is also interesting. The phrase *bi sunjai* stands entirely outside of the structure of the sentence, as it is a mere exclamation. The first words in the sentence proper are *gudis sunus*. They have here increased emphasis because as predicate they have left their usual position in the last place and have assumed the uncommon position in the emphatic first place. Thus the sentence is double-header with

strong emphasis at both ends. This is a very common form of distributing emphasis in the older languages. Not only demonstratives but also other words can stand at the close and other words than predicates can stand at the beginning: "*managaim sparwam batizans sijup jus*" (Matth. 10.31) "*Ye* are of more value than *many* sparrows." The strong accents in both of these sentences show clearly the characteristics of vigorous *spoken* language. The English translations of these sentences indicate plainly that modern languages have not preserved this older usage here, for we now place the demonstrative and the personal pronoun at the beginning of the sentence. Fixed formal rules have changed the language at this point. The results of this older usage are, however, still plainly visible. The old demonstrative that once stood at the end of a German sentence pointing to a following asyndetic relative clause is still preserved in modern German in the relative pronoun *der*. The history of its loss of accent, its transference to the subordinate clause, and its development into a relative pronoun is given in detail below. In the older Germanic languages in the form of an accented demonstrative it is found at the end of the principal proposition just as *sa* in the above Gothic sentence. This older picture of stirring life at the end of the principal proposition clearly points out the forces that crowded the verb out of the end position. This tendency to place the demonstrative and other emphatic words at the end and thus crowd the verb out of this position is also a common feature of New Testament Greek, and Wulfila follows here the original very closely. In these last two Gothic sentences the position of the verb varies. In the first one it stands in the second place, in the second sentence in the third place. If it is not in the last place it may assume any other position, even the first one: "*Ik im saei weitwodja bi mik silban jah weitwodeip bi mik saei sandida mik atta*" (John 8.18) "I bear witness of myself and my *father* who sent me bears witness of me." In the second proposition the subject for emphasis has been removed from the first place to the last place. This leaves the verb at the beginning of the

proposition. Early Germanic grammar did not make the position of the verb functional, i. e., it did not require the verb by virtue of its function to take a definite place. Today German grammar requires in a normal declarative sentence the verb to stand in the second place. This is mere caprice and so unnatural that it takes an Englishman or an American a lifetime to learn it, but at last after he imperfectly learns it he is comforted by the thought that it is after all a credit to a man to have difficulty in accustoming himself to such an arbitrary usage. Formerly there was great freedom here in Greek and in the Germanic languages. Thus in both Greek and Gothic there were two types here and neither one of them had become set as yet. In the new type the position of the verb had not yet become fixed or functional, and thus Wulfila had in his work of translation from the Greek a much easier task than even a modern Englishman would have, for in spite of the fact that we still have a good deal of freedom in comparison with German it is quite evident that there have become established in modern English certain fixed rules that must now be followed. It is quite plain that it was much easier for Wulfila to approach the Greek closely. The reason lies in the simple fact that there were more types at the disposal of the Gothic translator than are at our command today. Thus it seems reasonably sure that Wulfila was not straining and forcing his native speech beyond its capacity. He conformed easily to the Greek original. It can often be done in modern English, which has *one* of its most common types. It was still easier in Old English because it had *two* of the common types, and occasionally also the *third*. It was easier for Wulfila because he had at his disposal for free use *all three* of the common types found in the Greek. Wulfila's task will appear still easier when we add to the types he had at his command the very common narrative type with the verb in the first place. The moment that the events begin to stir and the story moves forward the verb takes the first place. A *large* part of the Gothic gospels is written in this lively narrative form, as they are in fact narratives. This narrative type is a marked feature of



Old English, Old Norse, and of the Greek of the New Testament. As this once common type has entirely passed away in English we cannot approach a good part of the Gothic and the Greek Testament with modern English feeling, but what is entirely foreign to us was one of Wulfila's commonest constructions. It enabled him to approach a large part of the Greek Testament with sympathetic feeling and understanding.

The general types have now been given in outline. There are, of course, very many little details in connection with these general types, for already in Wulfila's time many little rules of formal grammar were beginning to assume a certain fixedness. Some of these usages have entirely passed away and the Gothic forms of Wulfila seemed to the writer very much like evident imitations of the Greek. The comparison of these suspicious constructions with usage in Old English, Old Norse, and Old High German proved a very long and tedious study. Often weeks were consumed without a single result. At first the work was accompanied by great discouragement, as it seemed that Wulfila was after all a servile imitator of the Greek. In time this search became an intense pleasure, for every investigation ended in a vindication of the Gothic character of Wulfila's work upon the convincing testimony of such Germanic documents as the "Elder Edda," "Beowulf" and the oldest High German writings, specially Otfrid's "Ewangelienbuch," which to the writer has for years gradually increased in value as a valid witness of Germanic quality in spite of certain peculiar and marked mannerisms that at first led him to depreciate the work. The writer desires to present a few of these details here and also some particulars concerning the types discussed above in the hope that these details may supplement the general outline given above, and may also show in a still clearer light the Gothic quality of Wulfila's speech.

We often find in Gothic questions no trace of the question order which today obtains in questions. The word-order is exactly as it is in Greek, and follows one of the usual types found in declarative sentences, i. e., the oldest type with the verb at

the end and the second type with the verb in the second or third place: (oldest type): "niu jah þai þiudo þata samo taujand?" (Matth. 5:86) "Do not even the publicans the same?" (second type): "þu is sa qimanda þau (first type:) anþarizuh beidaima?" (Matth. 11.3) "Are you the one that was to come or shall we await another?" This is not a Greek construction, but older usage which did not recognize a functional word-order for questions, i. e., a particular word-order for this particular function. We find the same usage in the older Germanic languages: "Ac ðu Hroðgare / widcuðne wean wihte gebetest, mærum ðeodne?" ("Beowulf" 1990-3) "Have you freed Hrothgar the distinguished king from his widely known misfortune?" "Hwat þu árnápir í jötunheima?" ("Skirnismól" 41.3) "What did you do in the land of the giants?" As a survival of this older usage we still often find in modern colloquial language the normal order instead of the question order: "You're going tomorrow?" This older usage is quite limited. It can never be used today when the interrogative pronoun is in an oblique case as in the example from "Skirnismól." Once it was freely used and only slowly and gradually did the question order become functional. This question order is already found in Gothic where the Greek still uses the old types: "niu þuk sahw ik in aurtigarda miþ imma?" (John 18.26) "Did I not see you in the garden with him?" From a study of the examples in Gothic there seems to be a distinct tendency to develop the question order, but the old order of things in general prevails. As the subject is often a pronoun and the pronoun is here as elsewhere often omitted, it is often impossible to recognize the question by its form. The old types of questions in Gothic are among the most antique and quaint constructions found in the language, much more antique than in any other Germanic tongue.

One of the commonest idiomatic constructions in all the oldest Germanic languages is the placing of the verb in the first place in lively narrative. Gothic is the classical period of this construction. It abounds everywhere; it begins the moment the narrative moves forward. In lively movement it remains con-

sistently in use: "Jah atiddja dalap̃ rign jah qemun ahwos jah waiwoun windos jah bistugqun bi þamma razna jainamma, jah ni gadraus, unte gasuliþ was ana staina" (Matth. 7.25) "And the rain descended and the floods came and the winds blew," etc. At a glance one sees that the English translators are not able to give the description the good old Germanic ring. This old construction was gradually crowded out by the formal rules that began to regulate English speech. It still remains in German in veiled form. The provisional subject *es* is placed before the verb: "Es zogen drei Bursche wohl über den Rhein." Sometimes also the old simple form is used: "War einst ein Glockengiesser / zu Breslau in der Stadt." However, in the course of the ballad here and elsewhere the old construction disappears, or if it remains at all it appears in somewhat different form. A light adverb as *da* is placed before it: "Da ruft er seinen Buben / zur Feuerwacht herein." Even this form is only in limited use. The old consistent, continuous sprightly Germanic movement is gone. The form with *da* is not a modern development, but is also very common even in Gothic: "þaruh frehun ina siponjos is," etc. (John 9.2) "His disciples asked him," etc. The force of the adverb can scarcely be brought out in a distinct shade of meaning. This form is Germanic and hence in the Gothic Bible it does not correspond closely to the Greek, but the old simple form without the adverb corresponds word for word with the Greek, but there cannot be the slightest doubt that it is idiomatic Gothic. Sometimes the Gothic uses this type where the Greek does not employ it: "þanuþ biþe ut usiddjedun eis, sai atberun imma mannan baudana daimonari" (Matth. 9.32) "As they went out, behold, they brought to him a dumb man possessed with a devil." In this peculiar and very idiomatic Gothic sentence notice that the particle *ut*, tho written separately, is probably a part of the verb, much as a separable prefix in modern German. The separable verb is thus preceded by two temporal words, the first a temporal adverb, the second a temporal subordinating conjunction. As the subject follows the verb it is perfectly clear that the type here used is the narrative,

even the two particles precede. Thus we have the narrative type in a subordinate clause. This use of the narrative type in a subordinate clause is also employed where it corresponds to the Greek, for it is a common construction in both languages: "Biþeh þan usþwoh fotuns ize jah nam wastjos seinos anakumbjands aftra qaþ dū im" (John 13.12) "After he had washed their feet and had taken his garments and had seated himself again he said to them." The type is not as clearly marked in this sentence as in the preceding as the subject is not expressed, but the position of the verb at the beginning of each clause points plainly to this type. This seems probable because the subject in similar sentences is sometimes expressed and follows the verb as in the preceding example and also in the following sentence: "jah biþe warþ sabbato, dugann in synagoge laisjan" (Mark 6.2) "And when the Sabbath was come he began to teach in the synagogue." We must not approach such sentences with ideas of the modern German subordinate clause in mind. In Gothic there is as yet no difference between word-order in principal and subordinate clauses. The lively narrative tone has not yet received grammatical limits. In studying sentences like these one can see what modern German has lost under the tyrannical sway of hypotaxis.

In marked contrast to the word-order with the verb in the first place or in the second place preceded by a light adverb as found in lively narrative, stands the old type with the verb at the end or the new type with the verb in the second or third place, usually following the subject immediately or soon. The word-order with the verb at the beginning is employed to emphasize the idea of activity, lively forward movement, development, while the old and the new type are used for the quiet office of description, explanation, filling out little details, unfolding theories, general ideas, personal views, plans, etc. Thus in John 10.25-30, where Jesus is explaining his relation to God and man Wulfila employs either the old or new type, but in verse 31, where Jesus was interrupted by the Jews, who were about to stone him, Wulfila returns to the narrative type with the verb at the begin-



ning. The Bible abounds in such changes and they are truly characteristic of all the oldest Germanic documents. The word-order corresponds very closely to the Greek, but the same word-order is also found in "Beowulf" and is good Germanic beyond the shadow of a doubt. The contrast here between the narrative type and the new type is especially instructive. These two types of utterance do not only as wholes each convey an entirely different general impression, but each type within itself has an entirely different system of stressing individual words. The narrative form is very old, is indeed Indo-European. In this form, in accordance with a very old usage, the first word in the sentence is the most emphatic. Not only the verb can be brought forward, but any other element in the sentence can take the first place when the attention is to be especially called to it. Thus in the narrative form the attention is fixed upon the verb. Originally the narrative form was not a fixed type. It was only an accident. By mere accident it happened to be a verb that was accented. Any other word could likewise have taken the first place if it were to be made prominent. However, by the removal of the verb to the first place away from the end of the sentence, the usual place for the verb in the old type, a word-order type arose which gradually assumed peculiar meaning as a whole in contrast to the old type with the verb at the end. When the new or second type arose by the shifting of the verb toward the second or third place the narrative type was at once felt as also standing in contrast to it, for the new type was only felt as a variant of the old type. The new type with the verb in the second or third place represented a new system of placing emphasis upon individual words in the sentence, the stressing of the last word. Then there were two systems of stressing. Either the first word or the last one became prominent. These two systems were not felt as standing in contrast to one another if any other word than a verb took the first place. They simply represented different methods of making words prominent. Whenever, however, the verb assumed the first place the distinct narrative type usually asserted itself and it thus clearly

differentiated itself from the other forms of utterance. The narrative type stood in contrast to the new type with the verb in the second or third place, no matter whether this type had the emphatic words before the verb or at the end of the sentence. At this point the situation is exactly the same in Gothic and Greek and in large measure also in Old English. Later there were several marked and radical changes in the Germanic languages. In the Gothic period the question order had not yet come in conflict with the narrative order. Later the narrative order became in the other Germanic languages the question order. Narrative assumed the form of the new type with the verb in the second place, altho once the narrative form had stood in marked contrast to the new type.

The use of the two emphatic types, the emphatic word in the first or last place, is much the same in Gothic and modern German. It is remarkable how faithfully German has preserved at this point the old Germanic order of things. For especial emphasis a subject, object, adverb, or the predicate may take the first place: "*þeina* wesun jah *mis* atgaft ins" (John 17.6) "Sie waren *dein* und du hast sie *mir* gegeben" (Luther), or nearer the original and just as idiomatic German: "*Dein* waren sie und *mir* hast du sie gegeben." "*Hardu* ist þata waurd." (John 6.60.) "Das ist eine harte Rede" (Luther), or keeping closer to the original: "*Hart* ist die Rede." Wulfilā here again translates word for word as it is in the Greek, but he has not made a less idiomatic rendering than Luther. The Goth had a livelier feeling for the exact shade of feeling in the Greek and has rendered it perfectly. Modern German can in those two examples also render the Greek word for word, but Wulfilā could do this in a large number of cases where a modern German could not follow. In Gothic the predicate or any other important word can for emphasis introduce a subordinate clause: "þu qiþis ei þiudans im ik" (John 18:37) "Thou sayest that I am a *king*." Likewise in a question: "an nuh þiudans is þu?" (ib) "Are you then after all a *king*?" To be sure, two little light adverbs introduce the sentence here, but the predicate is the real begin-

ning of the sentence. In the following sentence the emphatic *subject* introduces the question: “þu is sa qimanda an anþarizuh beidaima?” (Matth. 11.3) “Bist *du* der da kommen soll, oder sollen wir eines *anderen* warten?” (Luther.) Here, as in Greek, the subject þu is emphatic in the first proposition and takes the important first place, while the object *anþarizuh* is the important word in the second proposition and stands at the beginning. The modern fixed formal rules for word-order in a question limit the use of the psychological rules for emphasis here. Gothic has much greater freedom and can follow the Greek much more closely. One common construction is even unknown to modern German, the placing of some important word between a verb and an emphatic object which introduces a sentence: “*þatuh* Abraham ni tawida (John 8.40) “*That Abraham* didn’t do.” “This did not Abraham” (King James version) “Das hat Abraham nicht getan.” The first English translation renders the Greek faithfully and also corresponds exactly to the Gothic. The English of the King James version corresponds to older English and Luther’s German. In Old English both of these forms were common, but the first form alone survives in common English. We who speak English can approach the Greek and Gothic here with our modern feeling, but the German cannot. Thus in Gothic, English and Greek both an accented object and an accented subject may be placed at the head of the sentence. There is a pause between the two heavy words. The two words are very closely related together in the chain of the thought and hence are naturally brought together in speech. The force of the thought cannot assert itself in German. The mere formal law that a verb must follow the introductory object here holds absolute sway. Wulfila deserves credit for his fine translation here. He uses here the strongest demonstrative *þatuh* instead of the usual *þata*, and this shows clearly that he caught the force of the Greek emphasis and even tried to strengthen it. The following passage with the emphasis upon the subject attracts out attention: “*atta* meins þatei fragaf mis maizo allaim ist” (John 10.29) “Mein *Vater*, was der mir

gegeben hat, ist mehr als alles andere." The expression seems to be popular Greek and has been rendered by colloquial German which approaches the Greek and Gothic very closely. The Gothic translation here follows a Greek version quite different from that which lay before the authors of the King James version. The Goth used an H text, the Englishmen a K text. Wulfila himself usually worked from a K text. It is possible that the original words of Wulfila were according to K and were later changed by some one who favored the H text. We shall never attain here to absolute certainty. Whether Wulfila or an interpolator is the author of this Gothic sentence, it is evidently forcible spoken Gothic, notwithstanding the close conformity to the Greek. The retention of the exact word-order here to reproduce exactly the strong accent of the original reminds us of Wulfila's usual procedure. In the preceding examples the words in the first place have been nouns, adjectives, or adverbs, but also a verb can take this position: "faurþizeī Abraham waurþi *im* ik (ἐγὼ εἰμὶ) (John 8.58) "Ehe denn Abraham ward, bin Ich" (Luther). Luther's word-order *bin Ich* results from an Ich" (Luther). Luther's word-order *bin Ich* results from an entirely different force than that found in the Gothic. The German is governed by the mere formal rule that the verb must introduce the principal proposition if it is preceded by a clause. This formal rule is not in force in oldest Germanic. In Gothic the verb introduces the principal proposition because it is emphatic. In the Greek the verb is at the end in the *old* normal type. Wulfila felt the emphasis which here rests upon the verb and he did not hesitate to express it. He has heightened the effect by the use of chiasmus, a common usage in oldest Germanic. In the preceding clause the verb follows the subject, while in the principal proposition the order is reversed. In the following sentence we have a fine example of emphasis with the stressed verb in the first place: "qaþ izai Jesus: *usstandeiþ* broþar þeins" (John 11.23) "Jesus said unto her: Thy brother shall *rise* again." Here again, as so often elsewhere, Wulfila uses the same word-order as in the Greek because this order contained the



strong accent that the utterance demands. In this form, which is exactly like the Greek, we have an old Germanic form which existed long before the historic period. It represents an older period than that represented by the narrative form with the verb in the first place. The narrative type developed out of it and became not an expression for the emphasis of the *verb alone*, but a formal means of imparting liveliness of tone to the *whole statement*. The newer narrative form has almost disappeared, but the original construction still survives as a living force in modern German: "Es irrt der Mensch so lang er strebt." The verb cannot now stand as the first word, but must be preceded by *es*. In fact, however, it is the first word of real meaning. The preceding *es* distinguishes the declarative form from the question form.

In the preceding section the emphasis rests upon the words in the first place, but emphasis is also very commonly associated with the last place: swaswe kann *mik atta jah ik kann attan, jah saiwala* meina lagja faur þo *lamba* (John 10.15) "As the *Father* knoweth *me* even so know *I* the *Father*, and I lay down my *life* for the *sheep*." At a glance it will be seen that both subjects and objects can stand at the end for emphasis. In this one sentence we find both systems of accent. In one place the emphatic object *attan* stands at the end of its proposition, in another place the emphatic object *saiwala* introduces the proposition. In one place the emphatic subject *atta* stands at the end, in another place the emphatic subject *ik* stands at the beginning. This change of place on the part of the subjects i. e., chiasmus, is a favorite usage found everywhere in the oldest Germanic languages, also a favorite in the language of the Greek testament. Notice also that where the subject follows the verb for emphasis, as here in case of *atta*, the subject must leave its usual place at the head of the sentence and that this often brings the verb into the first place as here. The context will usually make it plain that this word-order with the verb in the first place is not the narrative type. This order with the verb in the first place and an emphatic subject in the last place is an especial

favorite in Gothic as well as in the other Germanic languages: "Jah *rigis* juþan warþ jah ni atiddja nauhþan du im *Jesus*" (John 6.17) "And now it was *dark* and *Jesus* hadn't come yet." There are many such examples and they all follow the Greek, but the Gothic is undoubtedly idiomatic. Wulfila employed the Greek form to bring out the Greek accents.

The most difficult and at the same time the most interesting study in Gothic word-order is that part of the sentence which contains the modifiers of the verb. This stretch lies either before the verb, as in the old type, or follows it, as in the new type. This whole stretch is hotly contested territory. No word here has an assigned place, but must earn its place. The words are arranged according to their material weight or their psychological force. The words light in form and meaning occupy the first part of this territory. The words heavy in material weight and meaning gravitate towards the end. The leading and more constant force is the psychological one, but a natural feeling for rhythm arranges the heavy words after the light ones. Of course, the feeling and thought are supreme and can assert themselves in spite of rhythmical laws. The psychological and rhythmical laws are very old and hence are found in all the older Germanic languages. The laws are practically the same in modern inflected languages as German and Icelandic. The only changes are the few formal grammatical or functional rules that have in course of time become established, such as the rule that of the two case forms, dative and accusative, the former precedes if both forms are nouns, while the latter precedes if both are personal pronouns. In English an adverb of place precedes an adverb of time, while in German just the reverse is true. These formal rules, however, are all set aside under the pressure of strong feeling or logical force. English differs somewhat from German and Icelandic here because it has lost its inflection, and prepositional phrases disturb the older order of things by virtue of their material weight. The introduction of the new type of word-order in prehistoric Germanic did not at all disturb the arrangement of words other than the verb itself. The

verb simply glided in between two other words in the line. As it was psychologically usually a light word, it gravitated toward the weakly stressed portion of the sentence following the strongly stressed beginning of the sentence. In German the verb finally became fixed in the second place by a purely grammatical law. There is, of course, some explanation for this. The verb was often very closely associated with the strongly stressed introductory adverb or object and naturally followed it, but its position here became fixed in German and is today a mere matter of form. In the oldest languages the position of the verb was very free: "Abu þus silbin þu pata qipis pau anþarai þus gepun bi mik?" (John 18.34) "Sayest thou this thing of *thyself* or did *others* tell it thee of me?" In this interesting question both types are used. In each one of the two propositions the emphatic element introduces the proposition. The initial position for emphasis is common with both of the types. In the second proposition the verb *gepun* stands in the third place. It might have stood in the last place or in the second place. It simply glided in between *us* and *bi*, because there were no pronounced rhythmical or logical reasons against it. It did not disturb the relations between *þus* and *bi mik*, which it separates. If the verb had gone elsewhere these words, *þus* and *bi mik*, would have come together and in this word-order. The personal pronoun would precede the prepositional phrase. Some who have discussed Old English and Gothic word-order have misunderstood this point. Attention has erroneously been called to the difference between the Gothic and Greek in the following passage: "ni þau weis atgebeima þus ina" (John 18.30) οὐκ ἄν σοι παρεδώκαμεν αὐτόν "Wir hätten dir ihn nicht überantwortet" (Luther). "We would not have delivered him up to thee." Here *þus* precedes *ina*, as it is less important. There is, in fact, no difference here between Greek and Gothic. The Greek has exactly the same order of these two words, it only differs in that the verb comes between the two words, just as in the preceding Gothic sentence and often elsewhere in Gothic and Old English. Its use seems largely rhythmical, and hence in two different languages, with

words of different weight, the position of the verb will sometimes be relatively different. On the other hand, as the verb is usually light in *meaning* it is in Old English and Gothic easily pushed aside: "Jah ik *libain aiweinon* giba im" (John 10.28) "And I give unto them eternal life." The Gothic in this sentence follows the Greek word for word and in Old English the Greek could have been translated literally. Altho the Gothic form is the new type the older system of emphasis has been chosen. The emphatic object follows the light pronominal subject immediately, and tho it does not take the initial position, it is the first emphatic element in the sentence. Thus the verb is crowded out of the second place. The last word in this sentence and in a large number of cases elsewhere is as here an unstressed personal pronoun or a reflexive pronoun. Of course, such light words are not put at the end, because they are emphatic. They come to stand in the last place, simply because the verb goes to a position nearer the beginning of the sentence, in accordance with formal usage in the new type. These light words are often, as in this sentence, crowded toward the end by the tendency for strongly stressed words to move toward the emphatic first place. The position of light pronouns at the end often also results from the fact that the sentence is short and there are in the sentence besides subject and verb only light pronominal objects. If the verb then goes to the beginning of the sentence the light pronouns are left at the end. Thus it is evident that the end position is not always one of prominence. In such cases we see not the influence of the end position, but merely the result of a formal type. The verb may now go to the second or third place, not because it is crowded out of the end position by heavy words, but merely because it follows mechanically the operation of formal law, which requires the verb to stand in the second or third place. Thus even in so old a language as Gothic formal laws have begun to acquire force.

In Otfrid the reflexive is often found at or near the beginning of the sentence, with the verb at the end or in the second, third, or fourth place: "sih thana uz tho fiartun" (III 17.46)



"They then betook themselves away." In this sentence the subject is understood. There was thus nothing to keep the reflexive away from the first place. It belongs in the lightly stressed position immediately after the stressed subject, for it is the lightest word in the sentence and lightly stressed words naturally glide into the position after the stressed subject. This sentence is the first or oldest type, as the verb is at the end. In this type the reflexive often follows a light pronominal subject, because it has in this type, in large measure, become a fixed formal functional rule for it to follow the subject, even tho the subject be weakly stressed: "sie sih tho sar irhúabun" (III 15.34) "They then arose." It is interesting to observe in Otfrid the development of the new type. The verb now has left the end position, but it has not yet become fixed in the second place. It glides in between two words in the old historic order of the first or oldest type: "Der sih thés muaz frówon" (IV 15.6) "That man should be happy there (in heaven)." Aside from the verb we find here the old historic order of the oldest type. The subject is in the first place and is stressed. It is followed by the light reflexive *sih*. The lightly accented verb *muaz* has glided into the position after the stressed demonstrative *thés*. This position of the verb here suited the metrical purpose of Otfrid, but to the modern observer this placing of the verb, according to its rhythmical weight, strengthens the impression already given above that in the earlier development of the second type the position of the verb was, in large measure, regulated by rhythmical considerations. The position of the reflexive in the narrative type is also interesting. In this type the verb takes the first place or stands at the beginning after an unstressed word, so that it is often formally the second word, but in reality the first word of importance. The chief characteristic of this type is that the verb precedes the subject. In Otfrid we often find the weakly stressed reflexive before the verb in the narrative type: "sih kérent sie zi gúate" (V 6.41) "Then they turn to the good." Again the poet has evidently arranged his words to suit his measure, as formal grammatical rules did not hinder him as they

would today. The light reflexive introduces the sentence followed by the heavier verb, so that a rhythmic movement ensues. The position of the reflexive here before the verb suits the poet's measure, but this word-order is thoroughly Germanic. It may not have been the common position in the prose of the ninth century, but it is the good prose of an older period which lived on in poetry. In every one of these sentences and in many others the reflexive stands *before* the verb as in primitive Germanic. As the word-order has not yet become perfectly rigid the verb itself still often assumes various positions, according to the rhythmical requirements of the sentence. In all of these examples it still, however, stands *after* the reflexive as in the prehistoric period. Later, the position of the verb in German became rigid. It regularly assumed the second place. This rule is already in Otfrid the usual one: "Sunna irbalg sih thrato suslichero dato." (IV. 33.1) "The sun was incensed on account of such deeds." As in this sentence the reflexive became finally established in the first position *after* the verb. The subject takes the first place, the verb the second and the reflexive the weakly stressed third place. It is most interesting to observe that the old order of things, the position of the pronoun *before* the verb has been preserved in a few constructions: "*mich hungert, mich durstet.*" The *mich* here is, of course, not a reflexive, but it is like the reflexive an unstressed pronoun. This impersonal construction preserves the most antique feature in the German language—the position of an unstressed pronominal object *before* the principal verb. A pronoun may often stand before the principal verb as in "*Mich* hat er geschlagen, nicht Hans," but this construction has absolutely nothing to do with the one under consideration, for the pronoun, *mich*, is emphatic and takes its place at the head of the sentence, because it is the most prominent word in the sentence. On the other hand, in "*mich hungert*" the *mich* is entirely without stress. It takes its position at the head of the sentence, not by virtue of any modern law, but in conformity to a prehistoric law, which prescribed that modifiers of the verb should precede it. This old German impersonal con-

struction, which is also found in Gothic and is undoubtedly still older, has been preserved by a mere accident. In such sentences the verb happens to stand in the second place, so that this old order in this respect corresponds to the modern iron-clad rule for the position of the verb. The moment, however, that a modern formal subject is used the old construction disappears if the subject introduces the sentence: "*es hungert mich.*" As there are now three words in the sentence and the verb *must* stand in the second place the pronoun comes to stand in the third place, i. e., *after* the verb. This curious old construction with the pronominal object before the verb is also preserved in infinitive phrases, for modern German, like prehistoric Germanic, requires the modifiers of the infinitive to stand *before* it. It is likewise preserved in subordinate clauses, because the verb is there required to assume the last place. Thus the pronominal objects, as well as all other modifiers of the verb, come to stand before it as in a primitive Germanic sentence. In both infinitive phrases and subordinate clauses the reflexive usually stands toward the beginning. In infinitive phrases the reflexive is usually the first word, in subordinate clauses the first or second. Also in Gothic the reflexive could in exactly the same way as in Otfrid stand either before or after the verb. As the new type had already a vigorous, strong life, the position immediately after the verb is much more common in Gothic than the position before the verb. Dr. Koppitz in "*Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*," Vol. 32 page 462, thinks that in genuine Gothic the reflexive always follows the verb, for he says that it always does so when it varies from the Greek. The Gothic reflexive may, however, *precede* the verb, even where there is no corresponding construction in the Greek: "*īþ hwazuh saei haifstjan sniwiþ, allis sik gaparbaip*" (ἐγκρατεύεται) (I Cor. 9.25) "And every man who strives for the mastery is temperate in all things." There are also other examples. The testimony of other Germanic languages and the history of the different types clearly show that this is good Gothic. Dr. Koppitz also thinks that the reflexive should be connected with the verb *immediately* and sus-

pects Greek influence in the following arrangement: "ei ni qipau þus patei jaþ-þuk silban *mis skula is*" (Phil. 19) "Ich schweige, dass du dich selbst *mir* schuldig bist" (Luther.). In this fine rendering Luther has followed the Greek, but the idiomatic quality of his language is attested by general usage in German today. Dr. Koppitz has overlooked entirely that this order has been preserved in his own native language. This is the normal order, the accusative of a pronoun precedes the dative. Dr. Koppitz directs the attention more to *þuk*. He thinks it is separated too far from the verb. He does not see the historic relations at all. This is the old type and hence the verb is at the end. The words are arranged before it in the order of their importance, the more prominent ones nearer the end. The new type might have been used here. Then *skula is* would stand before *þuk* and the reflexive would follow the verb immediately as is the more common Gothic usage. Dr. Friedrichs, who has treated this sentence in his dissertation, "Stellung des pron. pers. im Gotischen," has misunderstood the force of *þuk*. He thinks it is emphatic here, because it is separated from the verb. He misunderstands the principle of Gothic accent. Wulfila follows uniformly the Germanic principle that the important modifiers of the verb gravitate toward the end of the sentence. Paul's thought in this passage runs thus: "I shall gladly pay you anything I may owe you on account of Onesimus. Let me pass over the fact that you owe yourself to *me*," or more briefly: "I shall pay you, but in fact you really owe *me*." The position of the verb never has the slightest influence upon the position and emphasis of objects. All thru the centuries the relative position of objects has been governed by the rule that the heavier ones gravitate toward the end. By the formation of different types the verb has changed its position, but this change of position is without influence upon the word-order of the modifiers of the verb.

Nothing gives an observer more confidence in the idiomatic quality of Wulfila's speech than his arrangement of the personal and reflexive pronouns. No other translator has rendered the



Greek pronouns so faithfully and at the same time so idiomatically. Occasionally he cannot find a similar Gothic idiom, then he does not hesitate to follow his own language as in: "jah sunus mans skamaiþ *sik is*" (Mark 8.38) "Des Menschen Sohn wird sich auch *seiner schämen*." Altho this translation differs entirely from the Greek, it is not a bit more idiomatic than the following fine rendering which follows the Greek very closely: "jah ik frijo ina jah gabairhtja imma *mik silban*" (John 14.21) "Ich werde ihn lieben und mich ihm offenbaren" (Luther). A careful reading of this passage will reveal that the accusative *mik silban* is more emphatic than the dative *imma* and should follow it. Usually the accusative of a pronoun *precedes* a dative, for it is less important. As this is the normal formal order here it has almost become functional and fixed in modern German. However, under live impressions the psychological law that requires the emphatic word to follow asserts itself and we can say: "Ich werde ihn lieben und ihm *mich selbst* offenbaren." The order of the objects in this modern German sentence is that of Wulfila and his Greek original. Luther has translated by a careless normal form and has overlooked the emphasis. Wulfila has made here a better rendering, but perhaps it was much easier for him to do this, as Gothic was not so completely under the sway of formal rules as modern German. Wulfila naturally followed the psychological law. He sometimes even doesn't hesitate to correct a little slip in the Greek in the arrangement of words: "at-uh-þan-gaf sa lewjands *im bandwon*" (κύριον αὐτοῖς) (Mark 14.44) "And the betrayer had given them a sign." A dative of a personal pronoun in both Testament Greek and Gothic should precede a noun, for it is usually lighter in material weight and logical force. Wulfila sometimes adds little rhetorical flourishes that are not found in the Greek original: "Jah gawaurkjam hlijans þrins, þus ainana jah Mose ainana jah ainana Helijin" (Mark 9.5). "Let us make three tabernacles, one for thee and one for Moses, and one for Elias." Look at the rhythmical arrangement of the words here! The pronoun *þus* precedes the heavier pronoun *ainana*. For the sake

of the parallelism the same order is preserved in the next words, *Mose ainana*, but in the next pair the order is reversed, i. e., Wulfila takes liberties with the text and embellishes the language by the use of chiasmus, which is especially appropriate at this point by virtue of the greater heaviness of the noun, *Helijin*. That sounds like spoken language rather than a clumsy translation!

A number of misconceptions with regard to the relation of Gothic to Greek have arisen thru a misunderstanding of the origin and development of the Gothic relative pronoun *saei* and the real meaning of this form in the time of Wulfila. Professor Streitberg, on page 233 of his "Gotisches Elementarbuch," says: "Der relative Charakter der Konjunktion *patei* tritt nicht nur darin hervor, dass sie fast durchweg nach Verben steht, die den Akkusativ regieren, sondern auch in der vereinzelt erscheinenden attraktion." Professor Streitberg is evidently laboring under the delusion that the conjunction *patei* is derived from the relative pronoun *patei*. He also expresses his belief in the erroneous theory of attraction. On the same page of his book he also remarks: "In mechanischer Nachahmung des griechischen Vorbilds erscheint mitunter *patei* wie *ὅτι* vor direkter Rede." Again he sees in *patei* relative force and regards its uses as a mechanical imitation of the Greek. Often elsewhere he simply follows the Greek in judging of the nature and force of the demonstrative forms ending in *ei*. If the Gothic forms represent Greek relative forms it seems to him that they must be relatives. These statements throw false light not only upon the relations of Gothic to Greek, but also the relation of Gothic to the kindred Germanic languages. These erroneous conceptions affect not merely a few isolated passages, but a large part of the Gothic Bible. As important interests are thus involved here the writer in order to set these matters in the proper light desires to lay before his readers

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(To be continued.)

## LITURGICAL EASTER PLAYS FROM RHEINAU MANUSCRIPTS.

The Benedictine monasteries in the middle ages were important centers of interest in the religious drama. From the Swiss monasteries of St. Gallen, Einsiedeln, and Engelberg liturgical plays are already known. Some new material is presented here from manuscripts of the monastery of Rheinau. This monastery was established on its island in the Rhine in the eighth century and continued active until 1862, when it was secularized and its buildings used for a hospital. The valuable manuscripts are preserved in the *Kantonsbibliothek* in Zürich. The numbers used here are those of the old handwritten catalog, from which the Latin descriptions of the manuscripts are also taken.

RHEINAU I. Ms. XCVII. *Troparium, continens quam plures tropos festivales tam ad antiphonas quam de Kyrie.... probabiliter a San Gallensibus concinatos.*

The Ms. is doubtless of the eleventh century. On pages 16 ff. are several 'troped' forms of the *Resurrexi*, the introit of Easter mass. The first of these is the one with the *Quem quaeritis*. The interesting and unique feature of this *Quem quaeritis* trope is that it is not followed by the simple introit, but is followed by an introit that is itself troped almost beyond recognition.

(p. 16)

In die Paschae.

Int(errogatio): *Quem queritis in sepulchro, christicole?*

R(esponsio): *Ihesum Nazarenum crucifixum, o celicole,*

Int(errogatio) (!): *Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat; ite nuntiate quia surrexit de sepulchro.*

Ad missam: *Hodie processit leo fortis sepulchro ob cuius victoriam gaudebant celestes ministri ideo et nos letemur*

*canentes Resurrexi.*<sup>1</sup> *Principe inferni deuicto claustris ac reseratis, et ad huc [tecum sum] alleluia, a quo numquam recessi licet in carne paruerim. Posuisti [super] me, quem tu solus et solum genuisti deus ante secula, manum [tuam] alleluia, quia iussu tuo mortem degustavi. Mirabilis [facta] est cui nulla sapientia mundi est equanda scientia [tua] alleluia, quod tali uictoria uictorem tumidum strauisti alleluia. Domine probasti me (Ms. meā), qui me de morte (p. 17) turpi assumptum sedere tecum in gloria facis, amen, que angelis est ueneranda cunctis atque mortalibus.*

RHEINAU II. Ms. LXV, *Antiphonarium de tempore et sanctis*. The Ms. is of the eleventh or twelfth century, probably of the twelfth. The dramatic office is no longer in its original position as an introit trope but is in its later and more usual position between the third respond of matins and the *Te deum*.

(p. 103)

Ad uisitandum sepulchrum.

An(tiphona): *Quem queritis in sepulchro, christicole?*<sup>2</sup>

R(esponsio): *Ihesum Nazarenum crucifixum, o celicole.*

An.: *Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat; ite nuntiate quia surrexit de sepulchro.*

An.: *Venite et uidete locum ubi positus erat dominus, aeuā, aeuā.*

Nuntia populo sic: *Surrexit Christus et inluxit populo suo quem redemit sanguine suo, aeuā.*

*Te deum laudamus.*

RHEINAU III. Ms. XVIII. *Lectionarium Matutinale sive Lectiones et Evangelia de Tempore et de Sanctis a Pentecoste usque ad Adventum. Script. ca. saec. 11 aut 12.... Fol. 282*

<sup>1</sup>This and the following words in Roman type are the remaining parts of the *Resurrexi* introit, with the missing words in brackets. As the introit was well known, it must have been considered unnecessary to put in all the words.

<sup>2</sup>The absence of the *o* before *christicole* and not before *coelicole* occurs too frequently to be chance or a scribe's mistake. Cf. Rheinau I, also cases in Lange, pp. 22, 23, 24, 26, 29.



*et seq. Hic interrumpitur series lectionum et interponuntur ceremoniae, olim a nostris monachis in sacra nocte Resurrectionis ad sepulchrum observata, in hunc, qui sequitur, modum seculo (ut videtur) XIII expirante vel XIV inchoante exarata.*

This is a new version of the more fully developed form of liturgic Easter play, of which comparatively few have been preserved.<sup>3</sup> The Rheinau play belongs to the Einsiedeln group, agreeing most closely with the plays of Einsiedeln and Engelberg. It has however, some interesting differences and has fuller rubrics. Among the noteworthy features are the singing of the hymn *Jesu nostra redemptio* by Peter and John as they hasten to the tomb, their singing of *Dicant nunc Judei* as they return, and the introduction of the whole scene of their running to the tomb into the midst of the *Dic nobis* sentences. This arrangement is more logical and dramatically more effective, although I know of only two other cases, Moosburg and Dublin, where it occurs.

(p. 282). Responsorium *Dum transisset sabbatum*. Quo imposito, VII fratres exeunt, unus diaconus, qui uestitus alba dalmatica angelum domini ad sepulchrum ueniendo lapidemque remouendo et super eum sedendo imitatur, tres sub sanctarum mulierum persona cappis indute capita humeralibus cooperiunt, unus alba casula indutus dominicam personam imitatur, reliqui duo cappis induti apostolos imitantur et in minori choro duarum mulierum aduentum prestolantur. Sie autem fit ipsa uisitatio. In primis fit processio conuentus ad altare sancte crucis.

Antiphona: *Maria Magdalena.*

Qua finita tres mulieres figurantes prime ad sepulchrum procedentes singule singulos uersus humili uoce decantant.

Prima, uersus:

*Heu nobis internas mentes    quanti pulsant gemitus  
pro nostro consolatore    quo priuamur misere  
quem crudelis Iudeorum    morti dedit populus!*

<sup>3</sup>For a detailed study of this form see Wilhelm Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana*, p. 106ff.

Secunda, uersus:

*Iam percusso ceu pastore oues errant misere,  
sic magistro discedente turbantur discipuli  
atque nos absente eo dolor tenet nimius.*

Tertia, Marie Magdalene personam exprimens, uersus:

*Sed eamus et ad eius properemus tumulum  
si dileximus uiuentem diligamus mortuum.*

Deinde omnes tres:

*Quis reuoluet nobis lapidem ab ostio monumenti?*

Hinc angelus super lapidem monumenti sedens hiis uerbis  
eas affatur:

*Quem queritis in sepulchro, o cristicole?*

Ille respondent: *Ihesum Nazarenum crucifixum, o celicole.*

Angelus: *Non est hic, surrexit sicut predixerat; ite nunciate  
quia surrexit de sepulchro.*

Et eleuans pallam monumenti ostendit eis dicens:

*Venite et uidete locum ubi positus erat dominus, aeuia,  
aeuia.*

Deinde thurificato sepulchro aspiciunt intro<sup>o</sup> et redeuntes  
cantant antiphonam: (On the margin, with a mark indicating  
that it belongs here, is the rubric: Hic euanescit angelus.)

*Ad monumentum uenimus gementes angelum domini se-  
dentem uidimus et dicentem quia surrexit Ihesus.*

Et conuerse ad Petrum cantant uersus:

*En angeli aspectum uidimus  
et responsum eius audiuius,  
qui testatur dominum uiuere.  
sic oportet te, Symon, credere.*

Iterum redit Maria Magdalena ad sepulchrum querendo et  
hos uersus cantando:

V(ersus). *Cum uenissem ungere mortuum,  
monumentum inueni uacuum.  
heu nescio recte discernere,  
ubi possim magistrum querere.*

V(ersus). *Dolor crescit, tremunt precordia  
de magistri pii absentia,  
qui saluauit me plenam uiciis,  
pulsis a me septem demoniis.*

V(ersus). *En lapis est uere depositus,  
qui fuerat cum signo positus.  
munierant locum militibus;  
locus uacat illis absentibus.*

Cui sic querenti dominica persona casula circumamicta qui moris ut est diaconi infra XL ei se manifestans interrogat dicens: *Mulier, quid ploras? quem queris?*

Illa respondet: *Domine, si tu sustulisti eum, dicito michi ubi posuisti eum et ego eum tollam, aeuia, alleluia.*

Dominica persona: *Maria, Maria.*

Maria respondet: *Rabbi, quod dicitur magister.*

Hec cantando currens procidit ad pedes eius et nititur eum tangere. Ipse uero prohibet manu ne tangat eum dicens: *Noli me tangere, nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum, aeuia, aeuia.* Et insert versus:

*Prima quidem suffragia stola tulit carnalia,  
exhibendo communia se per nature munia.*

Quo finito Maria procidendo ad pedes eius cantat: *Sancte deus.* Dominica persona:

*Hec priori dissimilis, hec est incorruptibilis.  
que dum fuit passibilis, iam non erit solubilis.*

Maria secundo ad pedes eius procidendo repetit: *Sancte fortis.* Dominus, versus:

*Ergo noli me tangere nec ultra uelis plangere,  
quem mox in puro sydere cernes ad patrem scandere.*

Maria tertio repetit: *Sancte immortalis, miserere nobis.* Dominus:

*Nunc ignaros huius rei fratres reddes certos mei.  
Galileam dic ut eant et me uiuentem uideant.*

Hiis dictis euanescit dominus. Maria autem redeat a sepulchro usque ad chorum cantando: *Victime paschali. Agnus. Mors et uita.*

Chorus interrogat: *Dic nobis Maria.*

Maria respondet: *Sepulchrum Christi uiuentis. Angelicos testes. Surrexit Christus.*

Hiis auditis apostoli Petrus et Iohannis festinant ad sepulchrum iuniore seniore precurrense cantant hos uersus: *Ihesu nostra redemptio. Que te uicit. Ipsa te cogat.*

Quibus finitis chorus imponit antiphonam: *Currebant duo simul et ille.*

Interim Iohanne foris remanente Petrus in monumentum intrat tollens inde sudarium. Hec illis agentibus superueniunt mulieres sepulchrum thurificantes simul inde cum apostolis rediture. In ipso autem reditu omnes hec persone cantant uersus:

*Dicant nunc Iudei quomodo milites custodientes sepulchrum perdiderunt regem ad lapidis positionem. Quare non seruabant petram iustitie. Aut sepultum reddant aut resurgentem adorent nobiscum dicentes.*

Quousque ad gradus perueniant chorus respondet: *Quod enim uiuit.*

Illi autem uersa facie in chorum imponunt antiphonam: *Surrexit enim sicut.*

Chorus: *Credendum est magis.*

Illi iterum imponunt: *Scimus Christum surrexisse.*

Chorus: *Tu nobis uictor.*

Cantor imponit: *Te deum laudamus.*

Post hec benedicitur populus a custode.

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BARTHOLD HEINRICH BROCKES' RENDERING OF  
THOMSON SEASON AND THE LATER  
GERMAN TRANSLATION.

(Continued.)

B. STILISTIC.

1. PERSONIFICATION.

The most characteristic embellishment of the *Seasons* is personification, which is handled with such great skill that the poem gains much in life and energy. Scarce a period is without it; the four seasons are rarely mentioned without being personified, as is also nature in some twenty-five references. The objects in nature are also treated in the same way. Thomson has accomplished this generally by ascribing to them some part of the human body or some personal characteristic or by attributing to them either male or female sex. Sp. 46 into the faithful bosom of the ground. Su. 47 the meek-eyed morn appears, mother of dews, Su. 324 the jovial mead.

More frequently he has personified the abstracts: virtue, truth, generosity, peace, benevolence, justice, mercy, etc., and also such words as wisdom, art, philosophy and the parts of the day.

Sp. 854 sad-pining sickness lifts her languid head

Su. 657 tender-looking charity—shedding tears through smiles,

Su. 661 clear chastity, with blushes reddening.

In most cases Brockes has endeavored to retain this personification and with it the effect and charm of the original, although he was not accustomed to use this same picturesque language in his own poetry. In only a very few instances has he made use of such expressions as: “von Freuden lacht das Feld, es wallt das Gras vor Wonne.”<sup>1</sup> In none of the discussions of

<sup>1</sup> *Ird. Verg.* vol. I, p. 113.

Brockes' style is personification mentioned as characteristic. Perhaps he was not bold enough in the use of metaphor to ascribe human qualities to inanimate objects. It is, therefore, the more remarkable that he was able to follow Thomson, who is so free in doing this. In English there is no grammatical gender, hence Thomson could ascribe to a neuter the gender which best fitted the picture he had in mind. Here Brockes often could not follow for the gender of nouns in German cannot be thus changed and hence in such cases the effect of the *Jahreszeiten* could not be heightened by ascribing sex to an abstract. These cases are, however, not so difficult to translate as those in which the sex ascribed to a word in English differs from the grammatical gender in German. And especially difficult is it where the picture depends on this particular sex for its beauty. Spring, for instance, which in English is represented as a maiden, in German is personified as a youth, hence many of the characteristics ascribed to her by Thomson cannot be retained in the translation, or at least they lose their appropriateness.

Sp. 489 Fair-handed Spring unbosoms every grace; this is rendered: Die schöne Hand des holden Frühlings so manche Lieblichkeit formirt.

Still more disastrous to the picture is the change of gender required in the translation of Su. 4.

While from his ardent look, the turning Spring  
Averts her blushful face;

Here the maiden, Spring, is bidding farewell to the youth, Summer; in German both seasons must be personified as youths and there is no longer any reason for the ardent look or blushes. Indeed, Brockes has rendered "blushful face" by "die blühenden Wangen." In the same way the personification of May must change sex. In Sp. 445 Brockes has omitted "The rosy-footed May steals blushing on," probably he felt that rosy-footed and blushing were not appropriate to a youth. Again the reversal of sex, which sun and moon undergo in translation from English into German results disastrously in several personifications.

Su. 215 But one, the follower of the Sun, they say,  
Sad when he sets, shuts up her yellow leaves,  
Weeping all night; and when he warm returns,  
Points her enamored bosom to his ray.

In many cases the sex ascribed in the original agrees with the grammatical gender in German and in others it makes no difference whether the object is male or female; in such lines Brockes has generally retained the personification.

Su. 1109 On Evening's heel  
Night follows fast:  
Dem Abend folget auf den Fuss die Nacht,

Su. 46 The meek-eyed Morn appears, Mother of dews!  
Der Morgen mit den sanften Blicken  
Des Thaues Vater, zeigt sich bald.

## 2. DIRECT ADDRESS.

Closely connected with personification is direct address, especially when it is applied to inanimate objects. Long before Thomson wrote the *Seasons* the use of thee and thou had become antiquated and they were used only in poetry. The feeling for a fine distinction between thou and you had been lost, and although Thomson generally uses thou in the singular, in Sp. 528 he addresses his muse as you and in Au. 1085-8 has used you and your where thou and thine would be expected. In Su. 123—in the midst of an address to the sun he has written, "you look direct," whereas the forms of thou are used throughout the rest of the passage. This was probably done to avoid the rough measure, "thou lookest direct." Again in Su. 369 he has substituted "you" for "thou" to avoid ending a verse "thou flowest." In Wi. 193 both forms "ye" and "you" occur in the same sentence. Only one case of direct address has Brockes failed to render by *du* or *ihr* and in several places he has changed from the third person to the second. In Sp. 412-420 this is an improvement as Thomson began the passage in the second person and ended it in the third, although there is no change in thought or conditions. In Sp. 800 it was no improvement to substitute direct address, espe-

cially as Brockes has ended the panegyric to God in the third person. In Wi. 300—he has, on the other hand, begun a passage in the third person and ended it in the second. In all other cases no change is made in direct address. In only two other cases has the person been changed; Sp. 161-168 the third person is substituted for the first and in Sp. 651-654 the third is changed to the second.

### 3. SIMILES AND COMPARISONS.

Thomson has made frequent (Gjerset, p. 18, writes: "In seinen Darstellungen benützt Thomson fast gar keine Gleichnisse") use of similes and comparisons, in this respect following his classic model, Virgil, many of his pictures being similar to those of the Latin poet. With but few exceptions Brockes has reproduced the similes in the same form in which he found them. In three cases in particular he has omitted the comparisons, Sp. 634, 984 and Au. 842. In the first case he did not understand his original and has rendered the passage incorrectly and in the last he has changed it to a temporal clause. Brockes was recognized by the Swiss writers as being particularly fond of similes. Breitingen, in his article, *Von den Gleichnissen in Brockes' Ird. Verg. in Gott* ('Breitingen, *critische Abhandlung* 14 Ab. vs. 431) writes: "Sonst habe ich dieser Untersuchung hier einen Platz eingeräumt, weil der Gebrauch der Gleichnisse ein hauptsächliches Theil von der Kunst zu beschreiben ausmachtet, und Hr. Brockes sich derselben schier durchgehends bedient hat." On page 427 he mentions: "die Geschicklichkeit der Brocksischen Vergleichung des Schmuckes," and speaks also of "seine Verschwendung der Rubine und Diamante in der Beschreibung des Morgens" and finally, "Brockes eitele Bemühungen die Werke der Kunst in ein höheres Licht zu setzen."

But Breitingen was not wholly carried away with Brockes' use of the simile. On page 427 he writes: "seine Beschreibungen sind mehr historisch und physicalisch als poetisch" and on page 432 he repeats this criticism. Still severer in his criticism on page 430: "Mich dünket aber, dass den schönsten von



seinen Beschreibungen noch öfters Fehler von dem unreinen Geschmack des Marino ankleben; dass er in der Ausbildung seiner Sachen nicht nur freygebig, sondern verschwenderisch ist." In the preface to the first volume of *Ird. Verg. in Gott*, the writer, Weichmann, has selected certain comparisons as being particularly good. Breitinger shows that Brockes took all these from Virgil and in some cases he quotes the original (p. 457).

In general Breitinger praises the color similes in Brockes' works, but says (p. 449) that the author is not so successful when: "er die äusserliche Beschaffenheit, und die Bewegung der Dinge beschreibet."

#### 4. METAPHORS.

In the treatment of metaphors Brockes has not been so successful. Thomson was particularly bold in the use of this form of trope and the translator was unable to follow him; the German poet of his day did not have the courage to use strange or unusual figures of speech. Gottsched and his followers were hostile to the metaphor, connecting it always with the style of Lohenstein, against which they were fighting. Haller, in the introduction to his edition of poems, mentions: "das geblähte und aufgedunsene Wesen des Lohensteins, der auf Metaphoren, wie auf leichten Blasen schwimmt."<sup>2</sup>

Even the more liberal Swiss authors were afraid of a bold, striking contrast and held that a metaphor must not be too far-fetched and that the similarity between the objects must be clear and easily recognized at first glance. Their rules were conservative and they would not allow the imitation of many of Thomson's metaphors.

Haller was freer in the use of this figure of speech, being particularly fond of the same variety which Thomson uses so often. Frey, in his work on Haller, mentions this tendency as follows: "Vorzüglich wendet Haller diejenige Metaphor an, die das Sinnliche belebt, indem sie menschlich Empfindungen und Verrichtungen unterschreibt."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Haller, Gedichte 4 Ed. Göttingen, 1748, Vorrede, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Frey, Haller und seine Bedeutung, p. 77.



Bewegten, hin und her geschwenkten und auf-und abge-  
bognen Aeste,

Su. 364 The very streams look languid from afar;  
Die rechten Ströhme fließen langsam, und ströhmten gleich-  
sam kümmerlich,

In some cases Brockes has substituted for one image another similar to the original:

Su. 955 the fields yet dropping from distress  
Dies bluhmigte Gefilde noch von Thränen feucht,  
Wi. 81 the wanderers of Heaven, der Luft befiederte  
Bewohner,

#### 6. ALLUSIONS AND REFERENCES.

Brockes has retained all allusions as he found them in the original, whether they were to the classics or to English works. Also all references to foreign lands or to England and her heroes are retained, although many of these latter must have been unknown to Brockes and to his public, as they had only a local, or at most only a national reputation. But no attempt was made to shorten even the panegyrics to Thomson's patrons.<sup>4</sup>

Examples of allusions which are retained are quite frequent.

Su. 1019 So stands the statue that enchants the World.

wie das schöne Wunderbild, das die Welt bezaubert.

Au. 1212 from frigid Tempus or Haemus cool,

Hömus Höh' und Tempe,

#### 7. ANTITHESIS AND ALLITERATION.

Thomson was fond of a bold antithesis and in this figure of speech he found an apt pupil in Brockes, who not only retained all he found in the original but also added others.

Accustomed to using striking antitheses, it is not surprising that he retained the following:

Sp. 909 fatal joy, fatale Lust

Sp. 991 charming agonies, die süsse Todes-Quaal

Sp. 992 whose misery delights deren Plag ergetzet.

<sup>4</sup> See discussion of Soltan's translation.

To the few examples of alliteration with which Thomson adorned his *Seasons*, Brookes rightly paid no attention. Without doubt they were intentional in the original, but there is no reason why they should be reproduced in the translation. Thomson does not use them frequently enough for them to be considered characteristic of his style and moreover alliteration does not play the part in the history of German poetry that it does in English. In the *Jahreszeiten* in general there is no attempt to alliterate, such cases as Wi. 221 262 being mere coincidences.

#### ADJECTIVES.

As has already been stated Thomson's use of adjectives is wonderful, not only in regard to the great variety and charm of his vocabulary, but also in respect to the appropriateness of each word to the picture presented. In Spring some 1810 nouns are used and of these only 740=40% (among them many abstracts) are unmodified. In the other 1,070 or so cases, Thomson has used at least one and often two, sometimes three adjectives. In the last case it may be that they were inserted merely to fill out the line, but still they are so skillfully chosen and so aptly placed that they always add to the beauty of the poem. Würfl shows that this tendency to use adjectives is also characteristic of Klopstock:

“Klopstock bestimmt oft das Substantiv durch mehrere Adjektiva, oder adjektivisch gebrauchte Participien.”<sup>5</sup>

Thomson's adjectives well illustrate what Breitingger says of that part of speech: “Die Beywörter sind in der Poesie, was die Farben in der Malerey sind.”<sup>6</sup>

Most of Breitingger's examples of adjectives are taken from Brookes' works.

When one considers the immense numbers of adjectives that this latter writer was accustomed to use, it is not surprising that he has handled Thomson's modifiers so well.

#### (a) *Characteristic Adjectives:*

<sup>5</sup> Würfl, Klopst. Sprache, *Herrigs Archiv*, vol. 64, p. 329.

<sup>6</sup> Breitingger, *Crit. Dichtkunst*, p. 246.



Although Thomson has used adjectives so frequently, there are only a few which recur often enough to be considered characteristic. These are: aerial, dimply, fleecy, sullen, pensive, gelid, livid, and middle. They have been retained in the translation with the exception of sullen and in three places, aerial, dimply and middle. Livid is rendered *trübe* instead of *blau-grau* or *bleifarbig*.

(b) *Unusual Adjectives:*

While the adjectives in the *Seasons* are always appropriate they are sometimes unusual and unfamiliar. In such cases Brockes has often omitted them or substituted circumlocutions.

Sp. 550 mazy-running soul, schnelle Seele.

Sp. 538 painted wing, bunten Flügel.

Sp. 256 innumeros, wie Gras auch ihre Zahl.

Sp. 320 gamesome paw, Tatz auf Scherz erpicht.

Sp. 445 rosy-footed May, holden May.

Brockes has not sought patiently and arduously for the exact equivalent for such expressions. Indeed, it is just in this particular, the treatment of adjectives, that the "untranslatable" in the *Seasons* begins. However closely the equivalent adjectives in the two languages may correspond, they do not coincide exactly as regards either their meaning or their history. Nouns and verbs can be reproduced without any very great change in values, for they are names for particular objects or actions. Even abstract nouns refer to more or less definite ideas. But the adjective is more a matter of taste and sentiment and its value varies with the person using it. Even among poets of the same language the feeling for adjectives varies. Hence it is not surprising to find discrepancy in their reproduction. Perhaps it is because Brockes felt that it was impossible to find exact equivalents for these words that he has so often added several in the attempt to reproduce the original color.

(c) *Human qualities applied to inanimate objects:*

One class of adjectives is quite characteristic of Thomson, and the manner of using them is rather peculiar. This is the

application of adjectives expressing human feelings to objects or abstracts. These are, of course, closely connected with personification, but in many cases such an adjective is used where there is no further attempt to personify. English is quite free in the application of such modifiers, and a literal translation of many of these expressions would appear strange in German. Brockes has therefore omitted many such and in other cases has substituted more conventional words for them. Such adjectives are not at all characteristic of his own writing, there being but few such cases as, *ein fröhliches Brüllen*, which is not as bold as many of those quoted from Thomson.

Sp. 595 kind concealment.

Su. 222 cheerful cottage.

Au. 392 gentle days, hellen Tages.

Au. 760 faithful maze, dunklen Labyrinth (102 cases).

In some cases Brockes has tried to be more faithful to his original and has tried to substitute a similar modifier, although he has not always selected the best word.

Sp. 137 the unfaithful fen, der trügliche Morast.

Su. 602 giddy reign, zügellose Macht.

Su. 1077 sober evening, sittsam Abend (65 cases).

102 examples where this adjective is omitted, 61%.

65 examples where this adjective is retained and generally changed, 39%.

(d) *Verbal Adjectives*:

The verbal adjective or adjective of motion, sound, etc., has been used by Thomson most frequently. Among the 1,039 adjectives in Spring about 260 are verbal (29%), either participles or formed verbs by adding -ive—cutting gale, blazing straw, promised fruit, broken clouds, penetrative sun, delusive lapse.

That Klopstock also favored such adjectives is shown by Würfl: "Die grosse Anzahl der participialen Zusammensetzungen lässt schon erkennen, dass Klopstock die Adjectivformen des Verbums gerne gebrauchte."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Würfl, as above, p. 251.

These verbal adjectives are very important in the *Seasons* on account of the vivacity and animation which they bestow upon the poem. If they are changed or omitted the translation must lose greatly in charm and power. But these three forms of words are not easily rendered in iambics in German. The participles of the strong verbs, which in English have generally two syllables and the form  $x'x$ , are in German mostly three syllabled  $x'xx$ , on account of the case endings, and therefore cannot be used in strict iambics. Hence it is not surprising to find that Brockes has omitted many of these (40 cases) and changed more, either to another adjective (102 cases) or to a clause (38 cases).

Sp. 40 soaring lark, hohe Lerche.

Sp. 50 softening dews, kühler Thau.

Sp. 721 stately-rising, Mit majestätisch-ernstem Anstand und sanftem Stolz.

Sp. 800 inspiring God, Gott, der du allein, was ist und was da lebt, beseelst.

In poems which were not strictly iambic Brockes often makes use of this form of adjective.

*Cantaten:*

p. 66 von fliessendem Silber, flammende Strahlen.

p. 68 das zitternde Glänzen, vergnügende Fällen.

p. 69 der wallende Fluth.

Hence it was chiefly the verse form which rendered necessary the omission of such modifiers. In four ways Brockes has been able to retain many of them.

1. The final syllable receives a secondary accent  $x'xx'$ .

Sp. *tzürpendes Geschlécht* (24 cases).

This weak e of the last syllable may receive such an accent only where it is followed by a weaker syllable.\*

2. A syllable is omitted in the word, Sp. 487 blühnden, 907 betrogne (18 cases).

3. The final syllable is omitted, Sp. 254 winkend und reizend Grün (15 cases), 478 das eilend Auge.

\* Minor, *Nhd. Metrik*, p. 121.

4. The order is inverted and the adjective is placed after the noun. Sp. 16 der Schnee geschmolzen, 751 der Hengst, von Brunst und Hitze zitternd (14 cases).

The past participles offer less difficulty and are generally retained, especially those of weak verbs.

Sp. 201 the freshened world, die erfrischte Welt.

212 well-showered earth, der wohl genetzten Erden (8 cases).

#### SUMMARY.

Verbal adjectives retained.....	1)	24	28%
“ “ “ .....	2)	18	21%
“ “ “ .....	3)	15	18%
“ “ “ .....	4)	14	17%
Past participles “ .....		8	9%
Adjectives in -ive “ .....		6	7%
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		85	
		<hr/>	<hr/>
Verbal adjectives omitted.....		45	17%
“ “ changed to other adjectives....		105	38%
“ “ “ “ clause.....		39	14%
“ “ retained.....		85	31%
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		274	

The reproduction of the descriptive adjective was not so difficult and with these Brockes was more successful.

#### (e) *Color adjectives:*

Brockes has retained all these adjectives almost without exception, as the following table shows:

Retained, Spring....	37	Omitted .....	7
“ Summer...	45	“ .....	4
“ Autumn...	30	“ .....	8
“ Winter....	25	“ .....	2
<hr/>		<hr/>	
137		21	
87%		13%	

Thomson did not limit himself to a single color, but has often



in his pictures produced "color chords,"<sup>10</sup> as in Sp. 15, white snow, livid streams, green mountains, brown forests. This picture is rendered in the *Jahreszeiten, weissen Schnee, grüne Gebirge, braune Wälder, welke Felder*, the latter being substituted for livid streams.

Su. 335—Green grass, gray hay, brown hay-cocks; here Brockes has omitted brown but has retained the others.

Sp. 490—White snowdrop, yellow crocus, blue violet, pink primrose are translated: *weisse Schnee-blumen, gelbe Krokos, weiss und rote Tausendschöne, blaue Veilchen und Krokos*.

Also in Sp. 215 the colors are retained, the broken clouds are goldroth, the sun and mist, gelb, and the landscape, gelblich grün. In most of the other cases the colors are well rendered.

In Brockes' poems color adjectives are the most numerous class, and Breitinger, in the above mentioned article, has quoted them most frequently.

(f) *Form and Size:*

Adjectives of form and size have been reproduced with about the same accuracy as the color adjectives.

Retained, Spring....	33	Omitted .....	13
"    Summer...	35	"    .....	15
"    Autumn...	36	"    .....	11
"    Winter....	13	"    .....	5
<hr/>		<hr/>	
117 78%		44 22%	

(g) *Sound:*

Thomson was a poet who heard Nature as well as saw her, and he heard not only the obvious sounds as, Su. 496, the falling water. Wi. 269 the howling storm, Sp. 777, Su. 775, 789, Wi. 406, 731, the howling beasts of prey, Au. 1160, Wi. 86, 260, the lowing cattle and bleating sheep, and Sp. 540, 567, 620, 671, Su. 515, the singing birds, but also he heard the more imperceptible sounds, Su. 279, the insects at noon, Su. 230, the buzzing shade, Su. 258, the humming bees, Su. 360, the chirping grasshopper, W. 614, the crunch of snow.

<sup>10</sup> W. H. Brown, Color Chords in Thomson's Seasons, Mod. Lang. Notes, May, 1897, p. 141.

These sound-words are, for the most part, verbs, and are correctly reproduced. The cases where they are used adjectively are comparatively few, and as these cases are generally verbal adjectives, it is not surprising to find so many omitted.

Retained, Spring....	11	Omitted .....	5
“ Summer...	10	“ .....	8
“ Autumn...	11	“ .....	13
“ Winter....	5	“ .....	7
<hr/>		<hr/>	
37 53%		33 47%	

Brockes' poems contain more sound-words than the *Seasons* and, as in the latter work, they are verbal forms.

#### CANTATEN.

p. 23, ein zwitscherndes Geräusch; p. 54, ein murrend Pfeiffen; p. 55, Vögel mit klingenden Kehlen; p. 55, Wellen in rauschenden Bächen; p. 55, der lispelnden Winde; p. 49, das rauschende Wallen. The adjectives added by Brockes (cf. p. 37), when divided into these categories, may be tabulated thus:

External appearance.....	36	21%
Human qualities.....	45	25%
Color .....	23	13%
Form and size.....	23	13%
Sound .....	2	1%
Present participle.....	22	12%
Past participle.....	26	15%

#### (h) *Different words reproduced by the same word:*

Brockes has been accused of always using the same word to translate various adjectives, thereby making his *Jahreszeiten* monotonous. In general this criticism is not justified, although he has several favorite words which he repeats often. The criticism would be well founded if Brockes had used many words as he has *rege*, by which he renders: vivifying, moving, streaming, constant, soaring, active, high, inspiring, fluctuating, floating, quivering, tedded, living, wavering, mingling, wheeling, raised, festive, never-ceasing, illusive, restless, etc. Moreover,

*rege* is added in some 15 cases. *Erhitzt* is used to translate aspiring, warm, fired, and flaming; *staffelweise* is used several times for gradual, by degrees, from step to step; and *gemach* is used to fill out lines.

Sp. 854 Hebt die Krankheit ihr schweres Haupt gemacht, gemacht empor.

Sp. 861 Es wirkt die Liebe der Natur gemacht, gemacht.

The word "or" has been rendered *wie oder* (17 times), *wie oder auch* (12), *wie oder wenn* (3), *wie oder wenn wo* (2).

At the time Brockes was making his translation the word *rege* was a favorite with him. In the seventh volume of *Ird. Verg.* (1743) it is used as a noun, in verbal forms and repeatedly as an adjective modifying nouns of all sorts. p. 105, durch ihr wechselnd Regen; p. 195, ein heftiges Regen; p. 175, indem es sich regte; p. 201, alles, was sich reget; p. 61, die gährende Kräfte sich regen; pp. 25, 28, 163, rege Kraft; p. 10, voll regen Blitze; 28, durch rege Strahlen; 92, im regen Schimmer; 88, 103, die regen Berge; 62, rege Krystallen; p. 35, die rege Schaar; p. 51, welch ein reges Gedränge; p. 126, In stillen und doch regen Zügen; p. 109, die rege Fläche der Wellen; 118, von der regen See; 123, vom regen Wasser; p. 47, der rege Hauch; p. 62, der rege Widerhall; p. 114, mit regem Zahn; p. 115, mit dem regen Schweif; 118, rege Flüchtigkeit.

This word is also found in the first volume of *Ird. Verg.* (1721), p. 12, ein reger Schatte; wie das zarte Gras sich reget; pp. 13, 38, die Luft sich sanfte reget.

*Staffelweise* seems to be a rare word in Brockes' works. I have found only one case where it was used: *Cantaten*, p. 106—

Man hört—ein—betäubend Schallen,

Recht Staffelweis, herunter fallen.

*Gemach* is used more frequently.

*Cantaten*, p. 45:

Es senckt sich des Himmels Schatz gemacht hernieder.

*Ird. Verg.* I, p. 44, Durch stille Kraft gemacht an manchen zerstückt,

Vol. VII, p. 55, bald saust er heftig, bald gemacht;

p. 180, der Dämmerung annoch schwaches Glänzen,

Sich mit den dunklen Schatten mischen und sie gemach, gemach besiegen.

#### 10. SUBSTITUTION OF ONE PART OF SPEECH FOR ANOTHER.

Brockes has made other word changes in his *Jahreszeiten* which have more or less effect on the style, namely, the substitution of one part of speech for another. Sometimes this may be an advantage, more often it is apt to be detrimental. If by such change an author can bring out the thought more clearly, there can be no more objection than in the case of altering the syntax where the construction used in the original is unknown in the language of the translation.<sup>11</sup>

##### (a) *Adjective to Noun.*

The most frequent cases of such change occurs in the rendering of an adjective by a noun.

Sp. 377, from clear to cloudy, moist to dry, and hot to cold; da sich Licht and Nebel, und Nass und Trocken, Heiss und Kalt—wäezen:

Wi. 436 the poetic shade, in der Dichter Schatten (140 cases).

##### (b) *Noun to Adjective:*

Less frequently Brockes has reversed the process and rendered a noun by an adjective. Sp. 195 promised sweetness, süssen Regen; Sp. 201 in large effusion, in recht verschwenderischem Ausguss (45 cases).

In some few cases there has been a mutual exchange: Sp. 352 thoughtless fury, die rasend, Unbesonnenheit. Sp. 657 luscious wildness, wilden Reichthum, Wi. 394 murdering savages, wilden Mörder (13 cases).

##### (c) *Verb to Noun:*

Su. 140 war flames on the day, Krieges-flammen, Su. 279 echoes the surface, man höret manchen Wiederhall; Au. 19 to grace, inspire and dignify her song, mög, Anmuth, Würd, und Ehre bringen (20 cases).

##### (d) *Noun to Verb:*

Su. 1039 the kind refresher of the summer-heats, da sie uns in Sommer-hitz, erfrischt; Au. 47 Raiser of human kind, Der du

<sup>11</sup> Tolman, p. 61.



das menschliche Geschlecht erhöhest, leitest und verbesserst (27 cases).

(e) *Adjective to Verb:*

Su. 737 infant train agast, and trembling, seine Kinderchen bestürzt, erschrecken, zagen, zittern, beben. Au. 714 sweeps the fishy shore, zuweilen sieht man sie fischen (5 cases).

(f) *Verb to Adjective:*

Su. 43 Cancer reddens, der Krebs röthend, glühet; Su. 590 in which he conquered, and in which he bled, worinn er blutig starb; Au. 756 the waters—clear and sweeten as they soak along, das Wasser—endlich klar und süß erscheint (14 cases).

(g) *Adverb to Noun:*

Sp. 979 he wanders waste, er wandert durch öde Wüsten; Su. 168 joys wildly, freuen sich ins Wilde; Su. 514 deep in the thicket, in die Tiefe des Waldes; Wi. 576 diffused immense, ins Unmässige verbreitet.

(h) *Adjective to Adverb:*

Sp. 388 from the nightly fold, nächtlich aus den Hürden.

(i) *Adverb to Verb:*

Sp. 640 stealthily aside, stiehlt sich; Su. 837 silence reigns Dread, Schweigen herrscht und schreckt.

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(To be Continued.)

## TUNSBURG BYLOG.

*From the CODEX TUNSBURGENSIS (Cod. Reg. n. s.  
1642, 4to.)*

The *Codex Tunsbergensis* is an old Norwegian parchment manuscript of one hundred and eighty six leaves, dating from the first half of the XIVth century with additions from the two following centuries. The codex, which comes from the hands of "lawmen" of Tunsberg (now Tönsberg) in Larvik was owned at the close of the XVIth century by lawman Jörgen Lavritssön (1581-1600). On the front and back of its leather binding appears the imprint: *Thonsberig Lovg Bogh* and *Ivrgen Lavrezen*, which may indicate, 'as Kristian Kålund thinks, that the codex was bound by his order. Description of the codex and brief list of its contents appears in Kålund's *Katalog over de oldnorsk-islandske Haandskrifter i det store kongelige Bibliotek*, pp. 190-191, and in *Norges gamle Love*, iv. which latter contains illustrative facsimiles. Of its contents *Borgartings aldre Kristenret*, leaves 18-24, was published in a photolithographic edition by Gustav Storm in Christiania in 1886, and *Hirdskraa*, leaves 145-167, in a similar edition, Christiania, 1895. Parts<sup>1</sup> of the codex have also been printed in *Norges gamle Love*, but the greater part remains yet unpublished.

*Tunsberg Bylog* consists of nearly fourteen leaves of two columns each. The first page is inscribed in the upper margin in a later hand:—*Bye: :Loeg* and is numbered 197; three other pages 201, 211 and 221 are also numbered. The superscription *Bye Loeg* appears over the successive pages, *Bye* on the left and *Loeg* on the right leaf of the open page. There are various marginal addenda in later hands. The chapters were not originally numbered, but from page 200 on they are designated by

<sup>1</sup>For a list of these see Noreen's *Altisländische u. altnorw. Grammatik*, p. 20.

numbers written in the left margin and space between the columns<sup>2</sup>; these are evidently from the same hand as the marginal superscription.

The By Log is preceded in the codex by Haakon Magnusson's *Rettarbot* of 1302 and is followed by the *Farmannalog*. The two columns of the page are uniformly of twenty-five lines each; the script is neat and the letters well made, usually regular in form and height, the lines straight and, with few exceptions, evenly spaced. For the most part the text is perfectly clear and legible; there are a few corrections in the Ms (see below) and two or three uncorrected errors. Original defects in the parchment appear on pages 203, 204, and 212, a defect in the right margin of page 207 seems also to have been there before the Ms. was written, as there is no loss of text to correspond to the defective portion of the leaf. The beginnings of chapters are indicated by large initials in red, blue and green.

In editing this text from the *Codex Tunsbergensis* it has been my aim to offer as exact a copy of the original manuscript as possible. The orthography and the punctuation has everywhere been retained; with regard to other peculiarities the following practice has been followed:

1. Ligatures are printed as two letters. In our text *pp* is always written as a ligature, the loop being omitted in the first *p* and its stave brought up close to the second. *e* is combined with the preceding letter in some cases as, in *pe*, page 205, l. 4,<sup>3</sup> and with *b* in *bere*, page 200, r. 10. Paleographic contractions of this kind are however quite rare.

The parts of a *compound word* are usually separated in the manuscript, sometimes by a small space, but at other times they are clearly written as distinct words. I have in such cases tried to indicate the condition in the original by leading half a space for the former and a full space for the latter.

<sup>2</sup>In the numbering *j*=*i*, *ij*=2, etc.

<sup>3</sup>The references are to the Ms. by page and line; *l*=left and *r*=right column.

The *abbreviations* of the manuscript have not been retained, but all letters represented by signs of abbreviation in the Ms. have been italicized in the printed text. For a full discussion of these see below. Brackets are used to enclose the restored reading of *defective places*.

It is not always easy to determine whether a letter is intended to be a *capital* or not in the Ms. Where a letter occurs with the form of a capital finally or in the body of a word I have indicated this by printing with a small capital. Where a small letter appears so enlarged or heavily shaded as to indicate that the scribe intended it as a capital it has been so printed.


2. *Abbreviations of the Manuscript.* The most frequently abbreviated word is the conjunction *oc*, which is represented by a symbol of abbreviation 104 times. This symbol is a figure, which in its usual form resembles the number 7 with a cross-bar and the lower part of the main stave turned slightly to the right or up, thus forming a small loop. There are various modifications of it: the top bar may be horizontal or slightly inclined, and there may or may not be a short vertical bistave down from its left end. If the top bar is inclined the cross-bar is also usually so; the loop sometimes extends up so as almost to touch the bar when the latter is a straight bar; the main line is usually perpendicular, but is sometimes slightly inclined to the left. Finally the short vertical at the left is in a few cases prolonged into a curve around to the base of the line until it almost touches the lower end of the main line, as on page 200, line eight. The symbol is employed somewhat more as a mere connective, e. g., where several terms are enumerated in a series or with the abbreviation *cc* (*cetera*). But the word *oc* may also be used here, and the symbol appears sometimes at the beginning of a sentence, as page 203, l. 6.

The other abbreviations are of two kinds. 1, they are either certain marks or symbols written above the line and which are intended to indicate that one or more letters are to be supplied; or 2, the abbreviation is effected by writing the



last letter above the first letter of the word abbreviated. The latter is the regular way of writing the word *maðr* and its various case forms. Thus  $\overset{r}{m}$ =*maðr* occurs 100 times,  $\overset{z}{m}$ =*manz* 10 times,  $\overset{o}{m}$ =*manne* once and  $\overset{a}{m}$ =*manna* once. The nominative singular is written out in full only twice. For other abbreviations of *men* and *manna* see below. *Firir* is abbreviated by this method nine times; most of the occurrences of this abbreviation (fi) are toward the end of the text, five appearing on pp. 215-16. On other methods of abbreviating *firir* see below.

The usual way, however, is to indicate the omission of letters by marks, lines or curved strokes directly above or at the upper right hand corner of the abbreviated word. These are of two kinds: 1, regular signs having a fairly definite value; 2, signs which represent the omission of one or more letters of a word. The omissions are nearly always from the last part of a word, except in the pronoun *han*, the dative pl. *monnom* and the word *konongr* to be discussed below.

The most common mark is one which ordinarily has about the form  but which varies very much in size, in sharpness of the angle, in the form of the loop and even in its position as above or to the right of the word. It designates that *r* or a vowel plus *r* is to be supplied, and occurs as follows: 1, For final *ir*, *er*, in *firir*, 68 times, in *eftir* 3 times, in *after* 3 times, and in *ver* 5 times.

2, For final *ar* in *seckar* 24 times, *sialfar* 4 times, *netar* once, *dömar* once, *drattar* once, *frialsar* once, *leidangar* twice.

3, For final *ro* of *ero*, 3 pers. pl. pret. 231 times.

4, For final *r* in *er* 169 times.

5, For medial *er*, *ir* in *Tunsbergi* three times, and in *cetera* once, and for *r* in *ero* once.

6, For the vowel before the final *r* in *leidangar* once, *uarnengar* once, *piofar* once.

7, For *rer* in *gerer* once, page 199, r. 21.

8, With varied value in a few cases, e. g., for final *an* in *han* once, for final *al* in *skal* once, for medial *n* in *nefndar* once, for medial *a* in *þat* once, and for all but the first letter in the word *cetera* once. In the usual abbreviation of the word *silver(s)* the sign is similarly used with the initial *s*, which occurs regularly in the abbreviated form.

This sign is therefore almost always used to indicate the fact that a sound complex of *r*, preceded or followed by a vowel is to be supplied, except in the abbreviation of *er* where the first letter had to be written, so that here it comes to stand for *r* in a word that is extensively used and generally abbreviated.

The same sound complex is to a very limited extent represented by another sign <sup>s</sup>, which is placed directly above the last letter preceding the omitted letters, but is not attached to it. This occurs e. g. in *huer* twice, in *Tunsberg* twice, and a few times in the verb *er*. The sound *er* is represented by the abbreviation *tt* of *cetera* once in *husfastra*, 221, r. 19, by a short perpendicular line over and a little to the right of *h=her* once. It is represented by *w* in the same relative position over *f* in *firir*, line 4 from the end of our text, standing here for double *ir*. There is one occurrence (p. 221, col. 2, l. 12) of the abbreviation *k<sup>s</sup>=konong*, while on page 215, l. 1, *grip* is abbreviated to *g'p*. The *p* with the bar occurs three times as abbreviation for *ar*, in the word *löypar*, 218, r. 14, 220, r. 19 and 222, r. 16.

A sign which corresponds exactly in form to the loops of the *type* used for *f* and approaches our semi colon but with the period and the comma attached and its lower part inclined to the left somewhat is employed as the equivalent of *ed* of *með* and is not used anywhere else. It occurs 55 times in all, *með* being nowhere written in full.

The dative plur. *aðrum* is also regularly abbreviated, the sign used being a loop and a left stroke formed at the right of the first three letters. It is sufficiently distinct to be classed by itself, although it is originally evidently the same stroke as that used for *er*, etc. Occasionally the similarity comes out

quite plainly, but there is the conspicuous difference that while the *er* sign is always drawn above the line and over one or more letters of the word, this sign is at the right in the position of the omitted letters, being raised very slightly above the line.<sup>6</sup> This abbreviation appears fourteen times.

The 'nasal stroke' is employed very extensively and in these two functions: 1, For the final *m* of the dat. pl. or other final *m* or in a few cases *n*. The instances with the number of occurrences indicated are: *bryggium* 1, *bornom* 1, *festom* 1, *halfum* 1, *huarium* 3, *hinum* 2, *lagum* 1, *luctum* 1, *kistum* 1, *millum* 2, *malom* 1, *sinum* 1, *skilum* 1, *sem* 2, *vitnum* 2, *ualtom* 2, *uapnom*, 1, *þeim* 4, *uarom* 3, *honom* 2, *men* 3, *byrdum* 1. For final *-an* in *h* for *han* once.

2, For a medial nasal or nasal complex as follows:

Equivalent to *onno* in *monnom* which is always abbreviated *mom*.

Equivalent to *ono* in *honom* which is usually abbreviated *hō*; in *konongr* and its various case-forms which is nearly always abbreviated *kngr*, *kngs*, etc.

Equivalent to *on* in *konong* once in the abbreviation *kong*.

Equivalent to *onon* in *konong* in the abbreviation *kg*, eight times.<sup>7</sup>

Equivalent to *n* once in *mana* for *manna*, once in *kunar* for *kunnar*, and in *pæninga* and *almenningi* which are usually written *pæniga* and *almennigi*.

Representing the omission of a vowel before a nasal in *hn* for *han*, which occurs seventy-seven times, and *hns* for *hans* four times. The forms of this pronoun are hardly ever written out in full. The nasal stroke is used to abbreviate *leigia* once, page 209, r. 12, the first *i* being omitted. *Kirkia* is regularly

<sup>6</sup>Perhaps this abbreviation should be regarded as originally identical with the Anglo-Saxon figure *h* as abbreviation for *-um* or *-um*. See *The Publications of the Pipe Roll Society*, III, page 3.

<sup>7</sup>Another abbreviation of *konong* which appears once has been spoken of above.

shortened to *kkia* with the nasal stroke as the mark of abbreviation. An abbreviation of *pæningum* occurs once (p. 215, r. 10) according to which the stroke represents the omission of the second *n* while the *m* of the dative is put above the line to the right of the *g*, the *e* being omitted.

3. *Punctuation.* The only mark of punctuation used is the period, which is employed to set off the sentence, but which is also used in the body of the sentence before and after abbreviations of one letter, before and after numbers, before *œa*, *en*, *þa*, *oc* and in other cases to indicate shorter stops in the sentence. Thus on page 198, r: *Oc sua ef formen œa raðesmen koma eigi til logþingis sem bok uattar. þa döme þingmen a þa. a nesta þingi.* The successive sections of the text are not as a rule set off by a period.

4. *Corrections in the manuscript.* On page 199, l. 3, a later hand has changed *tueir utlenzkir men* to *ein utlenzkir maðr*. The former is easily seen to be the original for only the lines that belong to *e* and *n* in *men* accord with the paleography of the manuscript; also as *ein* stands the *n* is closed at its base, which is contrary to the regular form elsewhere. The plural *utlenzkir* has however not been altered to *utlenzkar* to harmonize with *maðr*. The corrections would seem to be by the same hand that supplied the omitted *d* of *skuld*, 218, r. 11.

On page 205, r. 6, the word *ganga* is separated so that the letters *ga* appear over the line, the *g* over the vacant space and the *a* over the *ti* of *tí*. The word is written into the text later and is in a heavy irregular hand; the original word has been covered up entirely. Page 208, l. 7, the preposition *i* before *garðum* was in the first writing omitted by mistake and later inserted by the author himself above the line. Page 217, l. 2, the *e* of *heima* has been inserted over the *h* by a later hand. In column two of page 216, line 11, the *d* of *skuld* originally omitted has been added above the line by the author. An omission of the preposition before the infinitive *andsuara* with the author's insertion of *at* above the line occurs, page 220, r. 8. The conjunction *at*,



which is the last word in l. 20, 198, is repeated at the beginning of the next line and not corrected. P. 208, r. 20 *saa* appears erroneously for *sag*. Unfinished sentences occur p. 200, r. 20, and 223, l. 25, and erased repetition of *at han sagðe honom*, 222, l. 21.

5. *The Chapter Initials.* The initial letter of the first word of each chapter is generally very much larger than capitals elsewhere and more ornamental in design. Both as regards size and the ornamentation there is, however, no uniformity. Thus the initial *O*, p. 201, is plain though heavily shaded; similarly *E*, p. 206, and *H*, p. 217, while the initial *F* of the first word of our fragment is elaborated by a series of flourishes and the space between two horizontal bars is filled in with a drawing of three pairs of shields. It extends from one space above the line to the eighth line below, while the usual space is from the line above to the third below. *B*, *E*, *G*, *L*, *N*, *O*, *D*, *V*, and *Ð* are regularly of this latter size; so also the body of *A* but its left side is carried down below the sixth line. The stave of the *p* extends from the second space above the line down almost to the fourth line below on p. 198 but in its more ornamental form, p. 213, it is carried below to the sixth line. The left part of *K* is once brought up to the third line above, p. 210, but in the other occurrence, p. 211, it extends only to the second as does the left part of *H*. Nor is there uniformity of contour in the initials, the *N* and the *E* especially having several varieties. The usual *N* is one in which the right part forms a continuous curve that combines with the top of the left part, but an *N* formed with two parallel staves closed at either end and united by a diagonal, which falls in the one case and rises in the other appears twice. *U* differs from the latter in being open at the top. *E* is the letter *C* with a horizontal bar to which the extremities of the main part are attached by a straight line with a loop formation in either end. An *E* also occurs in this shape of a modification of the latter, according to which the base line is considerably shortened and turns down-

ward slightly. Capital *K* is merely the enlarged form of the corresponding minuscule.

6. *Capitals for small letters.* The capital *R* reduced to the size of a small letter is used with the value of a single *r* several times, as: *rikium*, p. 199, line 5; *rymi*, 210, l. 16.

7. *Paleography.* I shall only note some features in the forms of the small letters. *a.* The top of the main stave is always drawn around in a curve that combines with the left part into a well-formed and symmetrical letter. The stave is vertical or slightly slanting, occasionally curved a little. A taller narrower shape of *a* appears in *fagnaðr* in line one of the text, where it extends a little above the line. There are various slight variations of the letter. *c.* The top of the *c* is a short straight line, from the left of which the curve extends around to a point not quite as far to the right as does the top bar. It is therefore quite distinct from *e*, the top of which is a loop and the curve of which extends around to a point slightly in advance of the loop. The *e* is also sometimes characterized by a narrow short line drawn from its center up to the right. *t* is differentiated from *c* by the fact that the top bar extends slightly to the left beyond the point where the curved lower part joins it. *d* and *ð* are not distinguished in the Ms. The main part of the type used curves over the line to the left, usually having a loop at the top formed by a slender line turned to the right. The type is often modified by a hair line written diagonally across the main stave from where the stave touches the left part; this 'hair line' is sometimes brought considerably above the line. It is used irregularly for *d* and *ð*. *f* is the Anglo-Saxon type modified so that the two parts to the right of the stave are joined and the lower is drawn down diagonally across the stave, frequently to a distance beyond it as long as the length of the stave itself. This usual form is sometimes varied so that the top of the right part does not touch the stave but stands out from it in a small loop, and in rare instances, as in *hafa*, p. 197, r. 20, by the lower right part also remaining open.

*i* is straight short line with its lower end turned to the right

forming a loop. The stave is often an s-like curve, as p. 206, line 9. It is regularly accented by a hair-line drawn up diagonally to the right, to distinguish its stave from those of *n*, *n*, *u*, but is also often so stressed where it does not stand next to these letters. It is ordinarily left unstressed when standing alone, when before *l*, *r*, *s*, *t* or *d* and when it has consonantal value. It is, however, also frequently stressed when consonantal and when alone, so that the stress comes to be used almost as if regarded as an integral part of it. **k**, **l**, **b**, **h**, and **p** usually have a split top the right ending in a loop. **m** is the usual one of three parallel staves, but a variety which resembles the form *m* appears frequently, e. g. in the abbreviation of *mark* this form is regularly used; further also in the following words: *mangarar*, p. 200, l. 3; *miððkonor*, p. 200, l. 5; *mot*, p. 201, 2, 1; p. 200, 1, 25 and 2, 9; *mōm* abbr. of *monnom*, p. 206, 2, 25. **n**. The letter is composed of the two staves of *i* joined at the top but open at the bottom; the left one is brought a little to the right at the top thus forming a very small loop. The type is thus easily distinguished from the letter **u**, which is always closed at the bottom and open at the top, and in which further the right stave forms at the bottom a slight curve to the right. The *u* is sometimes supplied with the stress mark ' above it, evidently to distinguish it from *n*, e. g. *skulu*, p. 204, l. 20; *nu*, 205, r. 22; *tuft*, 205, r. 10, and *laust*, 16; *uulilia*, 207, l. 22, in which case the stress appears over the consonantal as well as the vocalic *u*; *eigu*, 208 r. 11, and *nauðsyniu* 24; and over consonantal *u* in *huinsku* 206. **p**. The letter *p* is a stave whose top does not go above the line and whose right part is usually open at the top and extends down to the left across the stave at the base of the line. There are but slight variations. Double *p* is written as a ligature (see above, § 1.) P. 220, r. 19, a *p* with a bar across the stave just below the line occurs in *löyp* for *löypar* (see above, p. 3).

**r**. The small *r* has five varieties in our manuscript. 1, the i-stave with a short heavy line as its right part, slightly narrowed at the point of juncture with the stave. In the variations of

this the line on the right is longer and tends to a sharp point at the end;<sup>7</sup> 2, the i-stave with a period or square as its right part, which is not joined to the stave or joined by a very slender line, in which case it approaches in form of the first type; 3, the small right part of the capital *R*. This type of *r* is nearly always used after *d*, *o*, *y* and *ö*, commonly after *f* and often after *b*; it appears after *a* in some cases. After other letters one of the other types of *r* is used. 4, a much rarer type of *r* is one in which the stave extends a half space below the line, and whose right part is made up of a narrower line extending from the base of the stave up slightly to the right ending in a dot or a loop. This occurs on p. 212, r. 23, and elsewhere. 5, a fifth type of *r* appears in the form of an i-stave as the left part and the longer line of the variation of *r* above, which is attached to the base of the stave by a very slender line. It is possible that this should be regarded as a mere variation of 1 brought about by writing the letter rapidly. *s*. There is first the *s*-like type, but which has its ends joined to the body of the letter giving it more the appearance of a small 8. It is ordinarily vertical but sometimes inclines slightly to the left.

*s* and *g* are sometimes identical in shape, but the latter more commonly has a slightly longer lower part so that it comes a trifle below the line. The *g* also as a rule has a short rather thick horizontal handle extending from the top of the upper loop out to the right and attached to the following letter.<sup>8</sup> The type of *s* with a vertical stave is however far more common. This type has the stave of the *f* with a loop or a short straight line at the top to the right. In its usual position *s* extends above the line, the sometimes somewhat enlarged loop overhanging slightly the next letter. When written as a digraph with

<sup>7</sup>By a short line to the left of the top of the stave and considerable deflection of the right part a still further variation is produced, a type which is however very rare. This is the *r* of *Jordskyld Fortegnelse*.

<sup>8</sup>If the following letter is *t* it can of course not be distinguished from the corresponding extension of this letter.



*k*, *s* extends below the line and the bar crosses the stave of the *k* and joins the top of the right part of *k*. This type of *s* is used medially with hardly an exception, most commonly also initially and in about equal proportion with the first type finally. While an enlarged letter of the former type regularly appears as capital *s*, the type with stave and horizontal bar at the top occurs very much enlarged and clearly intended as a capital in the word *settär*, 205, l. 22. v. This type, which is comparatively rarely used, is the ordinary *v* with the left arm extended somewhat to the left above the line ending in an upward loop, the curved line usually crossing the main line again. The right stave may be straight or slightly inclined to the left at the top. The *v*-type is used principally for *u* in the word *um* (=vm); it occurs with the same value also in the following instances: *ymbods*, p. 200, l. 23; *nv*, p. 201, l. 22; *vfriði*, p. 200, l. 7; *Vtlenzskir*, p. 200, r. 2, in which place the left part is more enlarged than usual and heavily shaded; *vndan*, p. 200, r. 12; *hvsbonda*, p. 201, r. 3; *ofvnd*, p. 201, r. 22; *vpp*, p. 202, r. 4; *vnytum*, p. 203, l. 25; *gangV*, p. 205, l. 18, and in a few other cases. For *v* it is regularly used in the abbreviation of *ver*, (see above p. ), and in isolated instances in the text, as in the words *varo*, 198, 113; *varom*, 202, r. 10, *þingviti*, 198, r. 12; *viglysingh*, 200, r. 12; and elsewhere. Ordinarily, however, *u* and *v* are both designated by *u*. The Anglo-Saxon *ƿ* occurs in rare cases, e. g. in *pera*, 203, l. 24; *par*, 206, l. 11; *ƿti*, 208, l. 5; *stoðƿæðz*, 209, l. 16; *ƿerðar*, 209, r. 18; *parðzlu*, 216, l. and *pattar*, 223, l. 8; its left part is the *f*-stave and the right is a stroke very much like that of the *p*, except that the lower point of it runs down diagonally across the stave to a point slightly below the line; *y*. The stave of *y* differs from that of all the other letters formed with a stave as its main part, in that this is curved prominently to the left; the shorter right curve crosses it at the base of the line. The type is usually closed at the top; directly over the point of juncture or the opening where left open, there is placed a short shaded line which often, however, is so reduced as to appear like a period

placed above the letter. **z**. The figure used for this letter is the third type or *r* with a cross bar on the middle, and a hair line diagonally to the right from the top. This line is sometimes brought down to the middle of the letter and joined to the cross bar. **ae**. This type is in its simplest form to be described perhaps as an *a* with an open top combined with an *e* into a digraph. This is clearly the form of the letter in *æld*, 208, l. 3, *æld*, 207, l. 2, and in *ældi*, 207 l. 24, especially in the last case. In the variations the top of the *e* is also open as in *ældar*, 208, l. 5, and its lower part is joined to the base of the stave as a continuous heavy stroke. This is the most common type. In other variations the stave is lengthened to extend above the line and the loop at the left is very small, or disappears; in the latter case there is in place of it a short vertical line, which in *æld*, 208, l. 2, ends in a sharp point that is turned slightly to the left. **ö**. The type is the letter *o* modified by superscribing an inverted cedilla from its right side near the top. This mark is sometimes detached from the letter proper, in which cases it takes the form of a short curve over the *o* or a little to the right.

#### TUNSBERG BYLOG.

**F**RIÐAR oc fagnaðz/ oc cetera En uer {ku/lum logpingi uart ei/ga {in a huarium xii. / manaðom i tunsbergi. {unnu/ ðagen ne{ta eftir. xiii. ðagh iola/þar {em logmanne syni{t oc/ aðzum raðe{ monnom baz{t til uer/a fallet. þar {kulu aller fin/naz forfalla lau{t. þeir {em til/þinghs ero nefnðir. En {y{lu/ maðr oc gialgyzi {kulu nefnt hafa / a thome{ mö{so ðagh a möte. / {ua marga men oz fiozðonge / huarium. {en her uattar i ne/{ta capitulo eftir. eða þeira / loglegar vmboðs maðr oc nefni / þa men {em bez{t ero til fa/lner. oc þeim {ynazt u uena{ter / til {kila her {egir vm logpin/gi.

**N**U er {ua melt at / raðes men i tun{bergi ero / {ialf nefnðir til logpingi{. xii. men oz bö uarom. {ex hanðg/enner men. oc {ex aðza garðz / bönðar. {kal sy{lu maðr eða gial/kyzi eða

þeira loglegar vm/boðs maðr nefna oc cetera. her segir at logmaðr oc logretto men / skulu raða logþingi varo /

Þingh skal standa sua lei/ngi sem logmaðr uil oc honom / þickir fallet / uera. firir mala manna sakar. oc logretto men / sia at höfer. Nu skal logmaðr le / ta gera uebonð þar sem log/bok uerðar lefen. sua uið at / þeir eigi rum firir innan / er[ lo]gretto ero nefndir. þat / skal uera tuer tylftir man/na. þat skal uera. xii. raðe / men. oc. xii. logrette / men. oc / skipi sua til at ö se noko2 nefnd/ar o2 huarium þziðiu ngh biare/n/. þeir sem baz(t ero til falner / En þeir sem i logretto ero nefndir skulu eið sueiria. her segir / vm grið a logþingi.

Aller þeir men sem i logþin/ghið fo2 ero nefndir i tunðb/ergi. eða noko2 mal eigu þar at / ðzifa. skulu i griðum uera huer / uið2 annan. þar til er logþingi / er loket. En oll þingviti er til / þ falla. oc fim marka mol. oc þeðan / af smöze a konongr. ii. luti. en bie/rmen þripiungh. Oc sua ef fo2/men eða raðe / men koma eigi / til logþingið sem bok uattar. / þa ðöme þingh men a þa. a ne/sta þingi. at þeir liuki þa upp / þat er þeir uaro sakað2. En ef / sylu maðr eða gialkyzi eigu at lu/ka. En ef þa er eigi bæt. leggi a ðom rof firir þængilði oc u/bota mal er geraz. þa a konongr / ein her segir vm uarð halð /

EN ef her skipð er uon i lanð uart et cetera. Tueir herl/enzker oc tueir utlenzkir men<sup>o</sup> / skulu uo2ð halða. o2 annara kononga / rikium. Sua skal oc til skipta / vm alla uarðu er biarmen þur/fu at halða i vfziði. herlenzsk/ir skulu halða at. ii. lutum i / ufziði. en utlenzskir þziþiu ngh / eftir rettre til talu. Nu skul/u men a uo2ð ganga et cetera. Nu / kömar mað2 i lanð uart her se/gir vm leiðangar gerð.

Nu skulu aller men leiðangar / gera at iamnaðe i bö uarom / En at utboðnom leiðangre sk/ulu men iamnað sin gera eftir /

<sup>o</sup>Tueir utlenzkir men corrected in in Ms. to ein utlenzkir maðr.

garða homð oc fiar magne. En þa leiðangar er gerezt af garðum. f2ia[l]sar þeim garð / leigur. þeir skulu skylðugir / uera uið2 leiðangre at taka / er konongr nefnir til eða han3 vm/boð3 maðr. Nu skal gera af halfum / almenningi v peninga af mozk / huazi beðe af kaupöyzi oc garð/leigum. Vtlenz3kir men þeir / sem garða eigu i bö uarom. eða / leigir. xii. manaða leigu. þa 3k/al han uera i allum utboðom með / biar monnom. En aller utlenz3kir / men er her 3itia vm uet-trom / þa 3kulu þeir gera fim peninga / af huarri mozk uegenne af h/alfum almenningi. oc a konongr þan / allan leiðangar ein saman Nu / skyz maðr vnðan leiðangre Nu / skulum ver uita huar uer skul/um leiðangar uarn gera. her/ segir vm / iamnað manna/

**S**ua oc ef biarmaðr selr garð 3in eða byggir. oc fer han i herað / firir iam nað2 manna oc mantalz / oc fer han aftar siðan. i kaup3t/að. þa eigu biarmen gerð hans / Nu ef maðr gerer leiðangar i annan / her segir vm biar gелð

**E**n vm biar gialð. þat 3kal / özter uera af biargialði / oc 3kal gozt uera. xiii. nattom / eftir petars mö33e at u3eckiu / En biar gialð skulu gera 3mi/ðir aller. mangarar. 3utarar. sk/innarar. slatar mangarar. olk/ono2. mioðkono2. kambarar. uef/uarar. sliparar oc aller iðnam/en. oc aller þeir men beðe kon-oz / oc kallar er með mange fara.hu/art sem þeir hafa fongh sin I bu/ðum. eða a stretom. En ef maðr fer / b2ot með biargialði. seckar mork silfers. / nema noko2 maðr luki firir han i re/tta stefnu. þa a 3a maðr þa mork er uið2 liggar. þa er han kömar after. en ei/gi biar men. knape 3kal gera ha/lft biar gialð. hina fy23tu. xii. / manaða. 3auðar krof 3kal hog/ga i helm-ninga. eða fio2ðonga oc / luka i biar gелð. ef smöra högg/uar. böte öyzi ofan a. Sa 3kal / skipi 3tyza er konongr nefnir til Nv skal 3tyzi maðr gera. her 3e/gir vm uarð/halð i bö uarom/

**E**n ef uarðmen eða að2er men finna man uegen a strete uti / eða i garðum. 3taðar innan tak/markar biar manna. þa skulu/ þeir ganga til hy3bonða ernestar/ eroc segia honom til fundar



sins/ En huþbonðe bere lioþþ til likz. oc/ ef þeir kenna þa gere huþbonðe/ boð erfinga ef þa maðz er r[e]tt/ ar eftir melanðe. þa bere liki/ huþ hanþ. En ef eingi er sa til/ þa bere lik i huþ gialkyzia. oc/ mäle han eftir. oc gere bana/man utlegan. ef eigi kömar viðghlyþingh f2am a mote. En erfin/gi þpyzi moð. ef han kan til at/ koma. Sa skal uera bane er /nauþtar men bera uitni. her / segir vm mott i bö uarom.

**S**ua er oc melt at men þkulu/ mot eiga a thomeþþ möþþo ða/gh. oc þettia iola fzið. En iola/ fziðar skal þtanða. iii. uikur. En ef men ueita monnom ofvunð/ i iola fzið uarom með oððom eða/ með uerkum. þa þkal allar rett/ ar aukazt at half[u] meira fi/ar lutum; Sokner skulu þtanða/ með iola fziðz þtenðar. En fim ða/ ga hina fy2þtu i iola fziði. oc att/ anda ðagh. þa þkulum ver heilakt/ halða. oc. xiii ðagh sem hin fy2þta/ iola ðagh. En þess i millum uinni/ huar er uil at useckiu. En þtrete/ uo2 þkulum ver ryððia vm iola/ tið. þar skal hua2ke a ðzega þki/pp eða timbar. oc eigi laða uiða/. En huar sem a þtrete er bozet oc/ liggar þar. a. þa take gialkyzi/ af. oc hafe heimolt. /em honom/uere a mote dömt. ef þat er bætttra en öyzi. silfers. En ef þat er ue/ rra en öyzir. þa a þa er þtrete a/ er hin þe þa uitiþ lauþ er atte. her segir ef men ganga uti vm netar

**A**ller men skulu inni / sittia vm netar. en eigi/ uti ganga at örenðes löyfi i ga/rða annara manna. En ef han/gengar oc stenðar þar i garðe/ eða i fo2þtofo. þa þeti þen man/ i raðz manz huss at uþeckiu/ oc biði þar ðomþ. mot skulum/ver hafa vm iol. þem firir uttan/ iol. vm man helgi uara. oc þiof/nað. oc uitna alra niota. þem/ peþþ a mlllum vm hanðþalað mal

Oll þau mal er men taka/ hanðum þaman. a mote/ uar i millum vm krauur eða / þokner. eða þat annat. er þeþþo er/likt oc bö varom er hent. þa þk/al þat allt halðazt uar imillum / oc bok meler eigi i mote. seckar / huer halfze mork silfers er þat ryfar. n/ma monnom þynizt annat þannaze / her þegie vm ðzucna men

**N**u ef *ðzuckin maðr* gengar / uti um bö um netar. *oc fin/na* han uarð men. þa skal rett / leiða han en eigi ranght. huazt / sem er *karlmaðz eða kona oc / syzi* huar heimili þeira er. ef / han ueit þat. þa leiði han heim. / En ef han leiðir annan uegh / *böteanork silfers*. En ef han ueit eigi / heimili sit. þa föze han til ne/sta sta huþbonðe oc lete þar liggia. til / þeſſ er han ueit huart han ge/ngar. nema huþbonðe vilr fy2 / heim leiða. En ef *maðr rupplar / ðruckin* man löynanðe henðe / fangum sinum. fe eða uapnom / huazt sem þat er kono2 eða k/arlmen. suare ſlicku firir. ſem / hafe ſtolet iamyklu. her segir vm iola uarð halð

**U**orðz skal uppi uera me/ðan iola fziðar er. han ſk/ulu fiozer ſkilrikir men hal halða / þeir sem huarke ero röyndir at / þiofnaðe ne huinſku. þa skal / gialkyzi nefna til með huþbonða / raðe. En þeir ſkulu taka i lei/gu ſina eftir þui sem þeir ue/rða a ſatter af fe biarmanna / skal þeim luka halft firir iol. / en halft tolftha ðagh iola. En þa er þeſſi men ganga til uarð/ar. þa ſkulu þeir hittaz uið2 / lafzanz kirkiu i tunsbergi. ſkulu / tueir ganga þat öf2a vm bar/ðar garð *oc* hittaz a to2geno. en / hinir sem eftir ſtreteno gengo / skulu þa vm ſnuaz. skulu ganga / vpp vm amunð2 garð *oc* ſua öyfra með b2öð2a garðe. en hinir sk/ulu ganga með öf2a ſtrete *oc* hittaz uið2 neð2a ga2ð | sliði a olafs / kirkiu garðe. en þeir sem þa gengo öf2e skulu ganga no2ð2 eftir / ſtrete. en hinir nið2 a bzyggiur / *oc* ſkulu þeir finnazt a huarium/ almenningi öf2a uegh *oc* neða *oc* / ſkulu öpa. er lig gar ifir þve|ran bö uarn. En ſa uil eigi uo2ð / halða en gialkyzi nefnir til með / biar manna raðe. han er seckar /. ii. aurum *silfers oc* nefni annan i / ſtað hanſ. En ef ein huar uarð/manna ſofnar a uerði. böte öy/ri *silfers*. En ef noko2 uarð manna / letar uo2ð falla. þeira er með bia/r manna fe hafa tekit þa er / han seckar. ii. aurum *ſilferſ*. En þa er uo2ðar þeira fallen. er elðar / kömar i bö. *oc* finna að2er men/ fy2 en þeir a. eða uerða b2oten hus / upp. *oc* ſtolet fe manna. eða fer her / til biar eða langſkipp. þat er seſſ/om ma telia. eða þui fleira. *oc* ſia / að2er fur en

þeir. En ef her fer / til biar. oc uerða uarðmen uarer / uiðz  
 lið. þa skulu þeir renna til / gilðið klocko uarar. eða lafzanz /  
 kirkiu oc klickia. en sumir eftir / rennara. oc bi biðia blaða  
 sem / skiotazt ma han. oc skulu uarðmen seggia honom. huart  
 þan / skipp leggja at lande. En huar / þeira manna er fzialser  
 ero oc fu/ltiða. skulu þengat fara með ua/pnom sinum ollum.  
 oc ef ofse her / er. þa ma konongr gefa landzaða / sok. þeim  
 sem han uil ef aðzu/uið gerer. nema nauðsyn ban/ne. stapul  
 uoðdar skal halðen uera huaria nott i lafzanz / kirkiu stauppli.  
 ef ufziðar er uan/er. þan uoð skulu halða. ii. / men skilrikir  
 oc goder. oc eigi / ero at vnytum lutum kenðir / En gialkyzi  
 nefni þa til með / biar manna raðe. En ef sa / uil eigi halða  
 uoð er til er ne/fndar. böte. ii. aura oc nefni an/nan I stað  
 hans. En syflu maðr / skal nefna til. ii. men at ran/saka  
 uoð huart kuæld. En ef þeir hitta uarðmen sofan/ðe a uerði.  
 eða eigi a uoð ko/mner er ringir öldslökkingh / þa böte öyzi.  
 silfers. eða se kastaðe / i myrkua stofu. þa er uoðdar / fallen.  
 Er öldz kömar i bö / oc finna aðze men fy2 a en þeir. / Ef  
 her fer til biar eit skipp / eða þui fleira. oc ef slikt hen/ðir.  
 þa skal sliku firir suara / sem aðar seggir vm iola ua/rð halð.  
 Gangu uarðhalðz / men skulu halða huaria sem vm iola tiða  
 skulu þeir finnast sua sem / fy2 segir þegar þeir ganga / a  
 uoð. oc skipta sua gangu oc / vm snuaz sem fy2 segir vm /  
 iola uarð En þess i mellum/I / fziði skulu. ii. men halða uoð  
 / vm nat huarria skal huar þeira taka halfa ört, pæninga af /  
 huarium þeim manne er bön / byggir oc föz er til at halða /  
 uoð eftir þui sem gialkyri / gerer rað firir eftir iamnaðe / af  
 garðe huarrium. her segir/vm husa skipan i bö uarom

**H**us þau oll sem stuðo aðz/stande sem somen ero. En ef sa uil  
 huð upleta gera / er a. þa skal han sua skipa / heðan af sem  
 logmaðr oc syflu maðr/oc gialkyzi eða raðes men sia / at retle-  
 gazt er. beðe strete oc br/yggiur. oc uiðz almenningh[ar]. / oc  
 ueitar. Sua skal oc strete hu/art iamt uiðz annat. oc xii. /  
 alna bræit. oc sua skulu þeir skipa bzyggiurer ofhaar / hafa.  
 En hinir uppi eftir þui/sem logmaðr oc gialkyzi oc raðez /

men þickia raðlickt pera. þua / at allar se iamhauar. En ef sið/ an signa bryggiur. halðe sa upp er a uið2 þau sem nyta a. Almennigar skulu uera at/ta alnar breiðir. en ueitar þziggia alna garða i millum Sua þkulum ver oc / huða garða uara. at bera mege / punð hitt þzongazta lage upp / oc ofan. eftir enði langum þtref oc bzygua. Sua þkal oc firir ofan þtr/ete. open upp oz huar garðar. sem / aðar er melt firir neðan En ef / huð settar a. eða sualer ifir eit hu/art þeðsara heðan af. böte mozk / silfers oc flyti huð aftar innan fim/tar. En ef þat er eigi af fört. / þa late gialkyri oc biar men / blasa til möz. oc nefna men til / at hoggua s[ua myc]kit af huðinu / sem ifir þtenðar þtref brygg/iur. eða almenningha. ueitum eða garðum. ef minna er en nu er melt / þziggia alna sualer m[a.he]la ifir / bzyggium. en eigi bzeiðare. En / huar sem eigi uil fara til at ho/ggua sem nefbðar er þeckar öyzi / silfers. her þegir u vm garða ef faler uerða

**E**f manne uerðar fal garðar þin. þa skal han kononge / fyzt bioða a mote. uil han eigi/kaupa. bioðe þeim er garðzlið a uið2/ han. uil sa eigi kaupa. þeli huar / ium er h han uil at uþeckiu. Nu uil maðr huðbzigða i kaupstað. eða tuf/tir. þa þkal han þua bzygða a fy2/þtum. xii. manaðom er han er innan / landz. eða a fyrstum. xii. manað/om er han kömar heim. Ef han / bzigðar eigi sua. þa a han þeðs m/alz alðzi uppræins siðan. En ef / maðr fer ifza huðum sinum eða tu/ftum. oc helðar eigi upp mot gan/gU. uarð halðe. þtref gerð. þa a konongr hus oc tuftir. en hin a/ecki. i. husa her segir vm a þetningh/ i bö uarom.

**N**u þettar maðr huð sin a iozð / an[nar]s ma[nzz]. eða tuftir. þa / skal sa er tuftir a. taxþettia þan / man til þinþ. en han föze þat / mal með lagum. oc kome til raðz / manna vm mazgvnin eftir. / En þat rað er logmaðr oc aðzer / raðzmen settia a millum ma / nna. þar sem logmaðr oc gialkyzi / oc aðzer raðz men ganga til oc / sia. þa þkal sakar abere. leta / bera vm. ii. manna uitni. at þat / er hanþ tuft. er hanþ huð þtanða / a.



ſiðan ðöme þeir honom tuft / ſina En þa ſkal ſakar abere /  
gera huſum hans fimtar ſtef/nu. af[ga]rðu ſinni En ef eigi  
er / af fözt innan fimtar. þa eig/niz tuft huſſ. En ef huſſ  
ſtanda. xx. uætar a gha lauſt / þa ſtande ſem komen er.  
oc ei/gniz þa huſ iozð her ſegir at / huſböndar skulu ab[y]g-  
giaz / huar hinnum er han tekur i hiſ ſin.

Huſbonði a koſt at hafa fim karlmen oc kono2. iii. i garðe  
ſinum ef han uil. En huſmen ſina alla þa ſem / han byggir  
huſ ſin han ſ[[kall]]<sup>10</sup> / aby2giaz at þeir gange eigi at / bit-  
lingum ſer. En ef þat ypuaz / með ſannum uitnum at þeir  
ga/nga i að2a garða ſer at mat / huſbonde hans er ſeckar half2e  
/ *mork ſilfers* uið2 *konong* .eða ſyni með ein / eiði ſinu. at han  
uiſſi þat eck/i. En ef maðr uerðar takſettar/i garðe manz.  
föze huſbonde / hanſ tak með honom at lagum. þe/ngat ſem  
ſtemt þar. En ef han / uil eigi uarða. föze þen man / til  
gialkyzia. oc ſeti gialkyzi han / i ranſakz huſ. til raðz vm  
ma/rgunin Nu gengar huſbonde / i tak firir garðz man ſin.  
en ſa löypar vnðan. þa ſuare han bonde ſlikum ſkilum firir.  
sem / ſa uar ſakaðer. er han gek i / tak firir En ef maðr tekur  
huſſ / af manne oc tekur han fleiri / men in til ſin ſa er  
leigði. aby/rgiz han at sliku ſem huſ/bonde ette. ef han hefði  
intek/it. Engi maðr ſkal þen i huſ ſit / taka. er han uelit at  
faret hef/ir með huinſku. En ef han tekur / þa er han ſeckar.  
viii. *mork ſilfers* uið2 *konong* her ſegir ir vm huſa leigur.

**E**f maðr fer b2ot með huſa lei/gum manna. oc leigir huſ / i  
aðrum garðe þa ſkal ſa huſbo/nðe böta. *mork ſilfers* kononge  
er honom byggir huſ. ef han uiſſi &at aðar / at han hafðe eigi  
ſkil gozt / en ſa öyzi er leigði. En ef maðr / fer til skips. oc  
uil eigi luka / huſa leigu bonða. þa er ſtyzi/maðr ſeckar. *mork*  
*ſilfers* uið2 *konongh*. oc ſa öyzi er ſkipp leigir til b2otferðar  
en að2um öyri uið2 þan er han atte huſa leigu at luka En ef /  
ſtyzi maðr kuaðz eigi uitat hafa/ at han hafe uloket huſa leigu  
/ þa ſyni með ſua myklum eiði / ſem fe er mykit til. oc ſe þa /  
lauſ. i. f2a. her ſegir vm öldz / uaða [oc ab]ryggð

<sup>10</sup>Two indistinct lines here indicate the two staves of double l.

**N**u af þui at allum *monnom* er kunnigt / sa hin myckli uaðe. er uiðz lig/gar vm öldz *oc* aby2gd i bö uarom þa er þat grein- ande. af huarium / elði er mestar uerðar skaðe at / *oc* af þui skulu þer uita. at engi / maðr skal leggja öld i þen ofnin / er nygoz er. fy2 er gialkyzi *oc* ra/ðeþ men. ero til leiðir at sia. *oc* ef þeim lizt. þa ofnin gildar. þa / ma þa leta elða er a. En ef þa ofnin röyniz eigi gildar. þa lete gialkyzi *oc* raðiz men niðz bzio/ta. Sua skal *oc* vm elðhus *oc* ketil / garða. uera að2 er melt vm / ofnina. I þkrilliofom skulu men / ælð bera. *oc* i stein kolom. eða i ia/rn kolom. eða eiri. eða i lampa En ef fiozðongar af bö uarom / bzennar. af einum huarium þei/ma elði. gialði sa þem siðast h/afðe i henði. *oc* göta þkulði. x. *mork* firir fiozðongh huarn. ef at / uuilia uerðar. En þeim er atte / böte eftir laga ðome. En vm / þa elði er men þettia niðar v/hulða. eða þettia kerti a ueg/gi upp. eða gera lioþþ i ðiþkum / eða i neppom. eða fara aðruuiþ / með en nu er melt. þa þeckiz / han. x. markum *silfers* firir fiozðon/gh huarn. er þeim elði þkuli / uarðueita. *oc* faze utlegar her þegir vm baðþtofoz

**B**aðþtofoz allar *oc* baka/rar ofnar. *oc* iarn þmi/ðir buðir þkulu þeir flytia er / eigu. o2 bö uarom. *oc* panuegh / þettia. þem gialkyzi *oc* raðz/men. þia at þt anda ma. með *konongs* raðe. En ef eigi er bzot flut innan halfs mana ðar. þeþþer gialkyzi hefir lyþt a mote. þa fare mot men til *oc* bzioþe niðar en huar seckar öyzi *silfers* er eigi / fer til niðar at bzioþa. Elðar / þkal þlöcktar uera at elðzlak/ingþ ringingh. *oc* til þeþþ er ringir at bzöðza. En ef lengar he/fir. eða fy2 kueikir nauðþvnia lauþt seckar. *mork silfers*. En raðz men / skulu meta nauðþyniar. En ef uhulðan ælð ber uti. hua2t / sem ber fy2 eða siðare. eða hef/ir i aðzum þtaðum en nu er melt / þeckar. *mork silfers*. En ef ælðar er þti goz / a tuftum. eða þtrete. bzýggium / eða i<sup>u</sup> garðum uti. eða a almennin/gum. nema huþbönðar lete bz/eða huþ þin eða þkipp. eða lik/þtra bzennir. gialðe huþbonðe *mork silfers* huar maðr skal þkylðugar til uera at taxþettia firir þat

<sup>22</sup>i written in above the line in the manuscript.

/ at með ælði er aðzuuis fare/t en logbok uattar. Sua' huś/  
bonde oc kaup men. ſem konongś men. En ef þeir men ſem  
miś/fara með ælði. er enga uarðz/lu eiga i bö. þa ſkal þa i  
ranś/akx huś ſetia. oc leta þer biða domś. En þo at þeir miś-  
faze með ælði. er uarđślu eigu i bö u/arom þa ſkal þar domara  
fal/la. her ſegir vm ælð

(*To be continued.*)

GEORGE T. FLOM.

*University of Illinois, Jan. 16, 1911.*

## SHYLOCK.

His beard was red; his face was made  
 Not much unlike a witches.  
 His habit was a Jewish gown,  
 That would defend all weather;  
 His chin turned up, his nose hung down,  
 And both ends met together.

So Shylock was made up, according to the report of the old actor Thomas Jordan in 1664, on a stage that was still swayed by the tradition of Alleyn and Burbage. Macklin kept all of this—nose and chin enough he had of his own—when, in the forties of the eighteenth century, he restored to the stage “the Jew that Shakespeare drew,” and he ventured a red hat in early Venetian style for the old “orange-tawney”,<sup>1</sup> into the bargain. “By Jove! Shylock in a black wig!” exclaimed a first-rater as Kean, seventy years after, appeared in the wings of Drury Lane for his first performance. And the part was played by Sir Henry Irving, in our day, in a grey beard and a black cap. Changes in costume (on the stage at least) are but the outward and visible tokens of change. Macklin’s grotesque ferocity gave place to Kean’s vast and varied passion, and it, in turn, to Macready’s and Irving’s Hebraic picturesqueness and pathos. Taste had changed, and racial antipathy, in art if not in life, had faded away. Macklin, in an age when a part must be either comic or tragic, and not both together, dropped the butt and kept the villain, and this he played with such effect that the audience shrank visibly from him, and, during the play and after it, King George II lost sleep. Kean made the Jew an injured human being, an outraged father. And Macready and Irving lifted him, in the words of Edmund Booth, “out of the darkness of his na-

<sup>1</sup>Usurers should have orange-tawney Bonnets, because they doe

Judaize:—Bacon’s *Essay of Usury* (Furness). See below, pp. 271f.



tive element of revengeful selfishness into the light of the venerable Hebrew, the martyr, the avenger."

With this movement criticism has kept pace, or has gone before. Macklin's conception is in sympathy with Rowe's; Kean's with Hazlitt's and Skottowe's; and Macready and Irving take the great company of the later critics with them in their notions of racial pathos, and, despite the declarations of a Spedding, a Furnivall, and a Furness,<sup>2</sup> in their plea for toleration. Few critics have recognized the prejudices of the times, the manifest indications of the poet's purpose, and his thoroughly Elizabethan taste for comic villainy. The few are mostly foreigners—Brandes, Brandl, Creizenach, Morbach, and Sarcey. Others take account of this point of view only to gainsay it. "We breathed a sigh of relief", says the *New York Nation* (as if the worst were over) in a review of Professor Baker's book on Shakespeare, "when we found him confessing his belief that Shakespeare did not intend Shylock to be a comic character;"<sup>3</sup> and the distinguished critics Bradley and Raleigh may be supposed to have done the same. As much as fifteen years ago Professor Wendell expressed the opinion that Shylock was rightly represented on the stage in Shakespeare's time as a comic character, and rightly in our time as sympathetically human; but the dramatist's intention he left in the dark. Undertaking, perhaps, to abolish this antinomy and to bridge the gap between Shakespeare's time and ours, Professor Schelling perceives in Shylock, quite subtly, a grotesqueness bordering on laughter and a pathos bordering on tears.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See Furness's *Variorum Merchant of Venice*, pp. 433-5.

<sup>3</sup> August 15, 1907.

<sup>4</sup> Since this article was finished I have come upon the third volume of Mr. W. H. Hudson's *Elizabethan Shakespeare*, which contains the *Merchant of Venice*. In the introduction Mr. Hudson declares for historical criticism almost as unreservedly as heart could wish, and except for his silence concerning the comic aspects of Shylock, his interpretation of the character is in spirit almost identical with that presented in these pages.

The dramatist's intention—that, I must believe, is the only matter of importance. A work of art is not merely a point of departure for the mind which perceives it, like the preacher's text. It is not a sacred relic, a lover's token, a fetish, which conjures up more or less irrelevant spiritual and ecstatic states. Yet such it is ordinarily taken to be. "A work of art is what it is to us," wrote a distinguished man of letters not long since, "not what it was a hundred years ago, or two hundred years ago, or even to its author. His view of it does not concern us except as a scientific curiosity. Does it move us, does it help us, does it delight us here and now? If not, it has artistically no value." Certainly, as for the last; but the fact that it does move us, help us, and delight us, is not all that determines artistic value. If it were, many qualities and distinctions that are the substance of criticism, would fade away. The unique quality of a work of art, the thing which the impressionistic critic is supposed above all to seek and strive for,—wherein does it reside if not in the author's intention as cause, in our bosom as effect? And the critic who is unwilling to be delighted today with that at which others shall be offended tomorrow, will not disdain to look narrowly, in the light of history, to see whether his delight has a cause, or whether, proceeding only out of his own bosom, it is irrelevant and vain. It may very well be, as M. Anatole France insists, that critical truth, like other truth, is but what each man troweth; but metaphysics aside, we are all reasonably aware, in principle if not in practice, of the difference between getting an idea from an author and getting it from ourselves; and if the author is to say one thing, that his Shylock is a villain, having, according to his word, already made him such, and we are to take it that he says that Shylock is a martyr and an avenger, it matters little, it seems to me, who it is that is helping, moving and delighting us, Shakespeare or Kotzebue. Our passions and preconceptions overwhelm the poet. And he now is Dowden, Swinburne, Bradley, Raleigh, indeed, not himself. Yet who cares, or ever cared, to read the sonnets of Michelangelo's

brother's grandson? Given to the world for the poet's own, they were an adaptation to the taste of a later age. Scholarship, half a century ago, rescued the poet himself,<sup>5</sup> and the taste of the ages may adapt itself to him. Scholarship is all that can rescue Shakespeare.

To get at Shakespeare's intention is, after all, not hard. As with popular drama, great or small, he who runs may read—he who yawns and scuffles in the pit may understand. The time is past for speaking of Shakespeare as impartial or inscrutable; study of his work and that of his fellows as an expression of Elizabethan ideas and technique is teaching us better. The puzzle whether the *Merchant of Venice* is not meant for tragedy, for instance, clears up when, as Professor Baker suggests, we forget Sir Henry Irving's acting, and remember that the title,<sup>6</sup> and the hero, is not the "Jew of Venice" as he would lead us to suppose, that the play itself is, like such a comedy as *Measure for Measure* or *Much Ado*, not clear of the shadow of the fear of death, and that in closing with an act where Shylock and his knife are forgotten in the unraveling of the mystery between the lovers and the crowning of Antonio's happiness in theirs, it does not, from the Elizabethan point of view, perpetrate an anticlimax, but, like many another Elizabethan play, carries to completion what is a story for story's sake. "Shylock is, and has always been, the hero," says Professor Schelling. But why, then, does Shakespeare drop his hero out of the play for good before the fourth act is over? It is a trick which he never repeats—a trick, I am persuaded, of which he is not capable.

Hero or not, Shylock is given a villain's due. His is the heaviest penalty to be found in all the pound of flesh stories, including that in *Il Pecorone*, which served as a model for

<sup>5</sup> In the person of Guasti and others.—A fuller discussion of this point of view is to be found in my article *Anachronism in Shakespeare Criticism*, *Modern Philology*, April, 1910.

<sup>6</sup> No great weight, of course, can, with justice, be given to this circumstance, but it is significant that modern critics and translators object to the title as it stands.



this. Not in the Servian, the Persian, the African version, or even that of the *Cursor Mundi* does the money-lender suffer like Shylock—impoverishment, sentence of death, and an outrage done to his faith from which Jews were guarded even by decrees of German Emperors and Roman pontiffs. It was in the old play, perhaps, but that Shakespeare retained it shows his indifference to the amenities, to say the least, as regards either Jews or Judaism. Shylock's griefs excite no commiseration; indeed, as they press upon him they are barbed with gibes and jeers. The lot of Coriolanus is not dissimilar, but we know that the poet is with him. We know that the poet is not with Shylock, for on that head, in this play as in every other, the impartial, inscrutable poet leaves little or nothing to suggestion or surmise. As is his custom elsewhere, by the comments of the good characters, by the method pursued in the disposition of scenes, and by the downright avowals of soliloquy, he constantly sets us right.

As for the first of these artifices, all the characters who come in contact with Shylock except Tubal, among them being those of his own house—his servant and his daughter—have a word or two to say on the subject of his character, and never a good one. And in the same breath they spend on Bassanio and Antonio, his enemies, nothing but words of praise. Praise or blame, moreover, is, after Shakespeare's fashion, usually in the nick of time to guide the hearer's judgment. Lest the Jew should make too favorable an impression by his Scripture quotations, Antonio observes that the devil can cite Scripture for his purpose; lest the Jew's motive in foregoing interest, for once in his life, should seem like the kindness Antonio takes it to be, Bassanio avows that he likes not fair terms and a villain's mind; and once the Jew has caught the Christian on the hip, every one, from Gaoler to Duke, has words of horror for him and of compassion for his victim. As for the second artifice, the ordering of the scenes is such as to enforce this contrast. First impressions are momentous, every playwright knows (and no one better than Shakespeare him-



self), particularly for the purpose of ridicule. Launcelot and Jessica, in separate scenes, are introduced before Shylock reaches home, that, hearing their story, we may side with them, and, when the old curmudgeon appears, may be moved to laughter as he complains of Launcelot's gormandizing, sleeping, and rending apparel out, and as he is made game of by the young conspirators to his face. Still more conspicuous is this care when Shylock laments over his daughter and his ducats. Lest then by any means the tender-hearted should grieve, Salanio reports his outcries—in part word for word—two scenes in advance, as matter of mirth to himself and all the boys in Venice. And as for the third artifice, that a sleepy audience may not make the mistake of the cautious critic and take the villain for the hero, Shakespeare is at pains to label the villain by an aside at the moment the hero appears on the boards:

I hate him for he is a Christian,  
But more for that in low simplicity  
He lends out money gratis, and brings down  
The rate of usance here with us in Venice.

Those are his motives, confessed repeatedly,<sup>1</sup> and either one brands him as a villain more unmistakably in that day, as we shall see, than in ours. Of the indignities which he has endured he speaks, too, and of revenge; but of none of these has he anything to say at the trial. There he pleads his oath, perjury to his soul should he break it, his "lodged hate", or his "humor"; but here to himself and to Tubal—"were he out of Venice I can make what merchandise I will" — he tells, in the thick of the action, the unvarnished truth. As with Shakespeare's villains generally, Aaron, Iago, or Richard III, only what they say concerning their purposes aside or to their confidants can be relied upon; and Shylock's oath, or his hor-

<sup>1</sup> *M. V.* 1. 3, 43f; *III.* 1, 55f, 133; *III.* 3, 2—the fool that lends out money gratis; line 22f:—I oft delivered from his forfeitures

Many that have at times made moan to me:  
Therefore he hates me.

ror of perjury, is belied, as Dr. Furness<sup>8</sup> observes, by his clutching at thrice the principal when the pound of flesh escapes him, just as is his money-lender's ruse of borrowing the avowed cash from "a friend" (noted as such by Moses in the *School for Scandal*) by his going home "to purse the ducats straight." His arguments, too, are given a specious, not to say grotesque, coloring. Hazlitt and other critics<sup>9</sup> say that in argument Shylock has the best of it.

What if my house be troubled with a rat  
And I be pleas'd to give *ten* thousand ducats  
To have it ban'd?

This rat is a human being, but the only thing to remark upon, in Shylock's opinion, is his willingness to squander ten thousand ducats on it. Even in Hazlitt's day, moreover, a choice of "carrion flesh" in preference to ducats could not be plausibly compared as a "humor" with an aversion to pigs or the bag-pipe, or defended as a right by the analogy of holding slaves;<sup>10</sup> nor could the practice of interest-taking find a warrant in Jacob's pastoral trickery while in the service of Laban; least of all in the day when Sir John Hawkins, who initiated the slave-trade with the Earls of Pembroke and Leicester and the Queen herself for partners, bore on the arms<sup>11</sup> which were granted him for his exploits a demi-Moor, proper, in chains, and in the day when the world at large still held interest-taking to be but theft. Very evidently, moreover, Shylock is discomfited by Antonio's question "Did he take interest?" for he falters and stumbles in his reply—

No, not take interest, not, as you would say,  
Directly, interest,—

and is worsted, in the eyes of the audience if not in his own, by the use of the old Aristotelian argument of the essential

<sup>8</sup> *Variorum M. V.* p. 233.

<sup>9</sup> See, for instance, below, p. 299f.

<sup>10</sup> *M. V.* iv, I, 35—100.

<sup>11</sup> See Hawkins in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

barrenness of money, still gospel in Shakespeare's day<sup>12</sup> in the second question,

Or is your gold and silver ewes and rams?

For his answer is meant for nothing better than a piece of complacent shamelessness:

I cannot tell: I make it breed as fast.

Only twice does Shakespeare seem to follow Shylock's pleadings and reasonings with any sympathy—"Hath a dog money?" in the first scene in which he appears, and "Hath not a Jew eyes?" in the third act—but a bit too much has been made of this. Either plea ends in such fashion as to alienate the audience. To Shylock's reproaches the admirable Antonio, "one of the gentlest and humblest of all the men in Shakespeare's theatre",<sup>13</sup> praised and honored by every one but Shylock, retorts, secure in his virtue, that he is just as like to spit on him and spurn him again. And Shylock's celebrated justification of his race runs headlong into a justification of his villainy:—"The villainy which you teach me I will execute, and it shall go hard but I will better the instruction." "Hath not a Jew eyes?" and he proceeds to show that your Jew is no less than a man, and as such has a right, not to respect or compassion as the critics of a century have had it, but to revenge. Neither large nor lofty are his claims. Quite as vigorously and, in that day, with as much reason, the detestable and abominable Aaron defends his race and color, and Edmund, the dignity of bastards. The worst of his villains Shakespeare allows to plead their cause: their confidences in soliloquy, if not, as here, slight touches in the plea itself, sufficiently counteract any too favorable impression. This, on the face of it, is a plea for indulging in revenge with all its rigors; not a word is put in for the nobler side of Jewish character; and in lending Shy-

<sup>12</sup>See below, p. 286f.

<sup>13</sup>Cf. J. W. Hales, *English Historical Review* ix, p. 652 f. Cf. p. 660 for an accumulation of the evidence for his goodness and amiableness. "A kinder gentleman treads not the earth."

lock his eloquence Shakespeare is but giving the devil his due.<sup>14</sup>

By all the devices of Shakespeare's dramaturgy, then, Shylock is proclaimed, as by the triple repetition of a crier, to be the villain, a comic villain, though, or butt. Nor does the poet let pass any of the prejudices of that day which would heighten this impression. A miser, a money-lender, a Jew,—all three had from time immemorial been objects of popular detestation and ridicule, whether in life or on the stage. The union of them in one person is the rule in Shakespeare's day, both in plays and in "character"-writing: to the popular imagination a moneylender was a sordid miser with a hooked nose. So it is in the acknowledged prototype of Shylock, Marlowe's "bottle-nosed" monster, Barabas, the Jew of Malta. Though more of a villain, he has the same traits of craft and cruelty, the same unctuous friendliness hiding a thirst for a Christian's blood, the same thirst for blood outreaching his greed of gold, and the same spirit of unrelieved egoism which thrusts aside

<sup>14</sup> It is in these passages, no doubt, that, according to Mr. Hudson, (*v. ante* p. 262 n. 4), the racial feeling rises superior to Shylock's greed and personal ferocity and Shylock becomes an impressive, tragic figure. I dislike to disagree with a critic with whom I have found myself, unawares, so often agreeing, but I think that at this point Mr. Hudson has not quite shaken off the spell of the *Zeitgeist*, of which, as he himself confesses, it is hard to rid the mind. As I show below, p. 279, these appeals did not reach the hearts of the Elizabethans as they reach ours. Mr. Hudson explains them, like Professor Wendell, as moments where Shylock "got too much for Shakespeare", and said what he liked. But that dark saying I cannot comprehend—not in itself and still less on the lips of a critic who protests, so justly, against treating the characters of Shakespeare as if they were real people in a real world. What else are Mr. Hudson and Mr. Wendell doing when they let the poet be inspired by those whom he himself had inspired, and so say things in a spirit of racial sympathy beyond his ken? "Shylock spoke as Shylock would speak"—not Shakespeare—"spoke so simply because of the life which had been breathed into him." Granting that, Mr. Hudson surrenders all the ground he had gained for historical criticism. Shylock is thereupon free to say, regardless of his maker, whatever it enters into the head of the critic to have him say; and here is the entering in of the wedge for all those modernizing tendencies which Mr. Hudson, like a scholar, abhors.



the claims of his family, his nation, or even his faith. If Barabas fawns like a spaniel when he pleases, grins when he bites, heaves up his shoulders when they call him dog, Shylock, for his part, "still bears it with a patient shrug," and "grows kind", seeking the Christian's "love" in the hypocritical fashion of Barabas with the suitors and the friars. If Barabas ignores the interests of his brother Jews, poisons his daughter, "counts religion but a childish toy", and, in various forms, avows the wish that "so I live perish may all the world," Shylock has no word for the generous soul but "fool" and "simpleton",<sup>15</sup> and cries, "fervid patriot" that he is, "martyr and avenger": "A diamond gone, cost me two thousand ducats in Frankfort! The curse never fell upon our nation until now. I never felt it till now." Such is his love of his race, which Professor Raleigh says is "deep as life."<sup>16</sup> And in the next breath he cries, "the affectionate father": "Two thousand ducats in that; and other precious, precious jewels. I would my daughter were dead at my foot, and the jewels in her ear . . . and the ducats in her coffin." This alternation of daughter and ducats itself comes from Marlowe's play, as well as other ludicrous touches, such as your Jew's stinginess with food and horror of swine-eating, and the confounding of Jew and devil. This last is an old, wide-spread superstition: on the strength of holy writ the Fathers, with the suffrage in late years of Luther, held that the Jews were devils and the synagogue the house of Satan.<sup>17</sup> In both plays it affords the standing joke, in the

<sup>15</sup> Cf. III, 3, where the word, as Cowden-Clark remarks, is significant. "This is the fool that lent out money gratis;"—"in low simplicity he lends out money gratis."

<sup>16</sup> *Shakespeare*, p. 150.

<sup>17</sup> See *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, article *Church Fathers*. Prynne in his *Short Demurrer*, (1656, Pt. i, p. 35) quotes Matthew Paris, and (p. 7) Eadmerus, in passages where the Jew is identified with the devil. Other evidence I shall present shortly in a special article. In the cases cited here and below, *devil* is not used loosely as the equivalent of *villain*. Shylock is a devil because he is a Jew.

*Merchant of Venice* nine times repeated.<sup>18</sup> "Let me say Amen betimes", exclaims Salanio in the midst of his good wishes for Antonio, "lest the devil cross my prayer, for here he comes in the likeness of a Jew". And in keeping with these notions Shylock's synagogue is, as Luther devoutly calls it, *ein Teufels Nest*, the nest for hatching his plot once he and Tubal and the others of his "tribe" can get together. "Go, go, Tubal", he cries in the unction of his guile, "and meet me at our synagogue; go, good Tubal, at our synagogue, Tubal!"<sup>19</sup> It is highly probable, moreover, that Shylock wore the red hair and beard, mentioned by Jordan, from the beginning, as well as the bottle-nose of Barabas. So Judas was made up from of old, and in their immemorial orange-tawny, highcrowned hats, and "Jewish gaberdines", the very looks of the two usurers welcomed horror and derision. In both plays the word Jew, itself a badge of opprobrium, is constantly in use instead of the proper name in question and as a byword for cruelty and cunning.

In other Elizabethan plays the Jew fares still worse. Few instances have come down to us, but in *Abyssus* in the anonymous *Timon*, Mammon in *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, Pisaro in Haughton's *Englishmen for My Money*, and Zariph in Day's *Travels of Three English Gentlemen* are to be found, in various combinations, usurer and miser, villain and butt, devourer of Christian blood and coin, and limb of the devil,<sup>20</sup> all big-

<sup>18</sup>Bartlett's Concordance, *Jew*.

<sup>19</sup>There is a medieval picture of such a meeting to be found in Lacroix, t. i., fol. viii, *Conspiration des Juifs*, a miniature in *Le Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*. How they lay their heads together! For the unrealistic red hair and beard put upon the Jews in medieval literature and art there is a deal of evidence, some of which I hope soon to publish.

<sup>20</sup>*Jack Drum*, II, 53; II, 90, etc.

nosed,<sup>21</sup> or foul-breathed, in accordance with the vulgar error,<sup>22</sup>—in some fashion or other egregiously Jewy. In Mammon and Zariph, who are manifestly done under the influence of Shylock, prominence is given to outcries of avarice and of gloating revenge; and in Pisaro and Abyssus it is the nose, enormous and fiery, that bears the brunt. All these figures, the monstrous births of feeble poets, which owe all the humanity they have to Barabas and Shylock, are nevertheless of the same class, show the same traits, an exaggeration of the same comic spirit. If they are travesties, they are such unconsciously, inevitably.

In two other plays, which certainly antedate the *Merchant of Venice*, and probably the *Jew of Malta*—Wilson's *Three Ladies of London* (1583) and the anonymous *Selimus* (1588)—the Jew has not developed so many traits. In the former play there is the single instance in the Elizabethan drama of an honorable Jew, one who forgives Mercatore a debt rather than let him go the length of adjuring his faith and turning Turk to escape it. But this episode is one with a purpose, that of satirizing the foreign merchants who are ruining England; and the Jews are painted fair only to blacken these. Gerontus is not held up to admiration as a whole, for his lending at interest is a practice bitterly attacked in this very play;<sup>23</sup> intent as he is on recovering interest and principal, he serves admirably as a foil to a love of lucre that knows no bounds. That Wilson is no advocate of the race appears from his crediting to Usury, in his next play, *The Three Lords and*

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.* pp. 140, 142, 143, etc; *Englishmen for my Money*, Hazlitt's Dodsley, x, pp. 481, 522: *Timon*, Hazlitt's *Shakespeare's Library*, pt. ii, vol. 2, pp. 396—7. In neither of the last named plays is the usurer expressly stated to be a Jew.

<sup>22</sup>Much is made of this in *Timon*. See below, p. 283.

<sup>23</sup>Dodsley, vol. vi, p. 332. Usury, robbing Love and Conscience of their house, sets them on the downward path; and he assassinates Hospitality.

*Ladies of London*, purely Jewish parentage.<sup>24</sup> In the character of the usurer in Butler's and Overbury's collections and in Rowley's *Search for Money*<sup>25</sup> (1607), however, the usual conception prevails—that of one who lends money at interest, hoards it, skimps both himself and his dependents, and is an egoist and an atheist without conscience or virtue. Butler and Overbury do not call him a Jew, but Rowley is sufficiently explicit in giving him a nose like the "Jew of Maltae's", a foul odor, and Satan for patron. And the collections of medieval *exempla*<sup>26</sup> abound in stories of usurers who are fonder of gold than of their own souls and for it have given them up to the devil.

In the English mysteries which have come down to us few traces are now to be found of a ludicrous treatment of the Jew. Like much of the other comic matter, it may have been such as does not appear in the dialogue—improvisations, gestures, noses, orange-tawny hats. Judas, with his red hair, red beard, and beetling brows was no doubt comical, for these features the later drama never forgot, and there is a farcical scene in the York Plays where Pilate's Porter refuses him admittance at sight. Medieval mysteries are everywhere, however, much the same, and the omission may be supplied. By the Germans, who, unlike the English after 1290, had the Jews always with them, they are made ridiculous, like the devils. Their looks, dress, speech and proverbial greed are not spared, and the Jews' Song in double dutch is the standing-dish at the feast of fun. This blunt and boisterous satire, goes the length, still attested pictorially, of representing them as drinking wine or beer as it gushes from a sow or a calf.<sup>27</sup> In

<sup>24</sup>Dodsley, vi, p. 457—Cf. Dr. Fernow's *Programm*, Hamburg, 1885, to which I am here indebted.

<sup>25</sup>Percy Society, ii, p. 20.

<sup>26</sup>Those of Jacques de Vitry, for instance; ed. by T. F. Crane. v. index.

<sup>27</sup>V. Flügel-Ebeling, *Geschichte des Grotesk-Komischen*, Tafel 20; Creizenach.



the Carnival plays, the newly converted are in a state of eager expectancy of the forbidden sausage; and once Hans Sachs delighted his audience by letting the devil, driven out of his patient by a physician, enter into a pair of Jewish usurers.<sup>28</sup> The Italian *Carri*, popular plays presented on wagons drawn by oxen at Carnival through the streets of Rome, were also called *Giudate*, because in them the Jews played the main part — were abused and mocked, and, in the end, hanged, choked, impaled, and burned.<sup>29</sup> And like derision they met at the hands of the Spanish.<sup>30</sup>

In the Elizabethan drama and character-writing, then, the Jew is both money-lender and miser, a villain who hankers after the Christians' blood, a gross egoist, even an atheist, though charged with dealings with the devil, and at the same time a butt, a hook-nosed niggard. A similar spirit of rude caricature and boisterous burlesque, with even less of characterization, prevails in the treatment of the Jews in early popular drama on the Continent. Such is the soil from which the figure of Shylock grew. For everything in Shakespeare is a growth, and strikes root deep in the present and the past, in stage tradition and in human life. The tradition having been examined, it now remains only to examine the opinions, or antipathies, of the time.

Critics have wondered at the knowledge of Jewish character displayed by Shakespeare, but Mr. Sidney Lee some years ago<sup>31</sup> showed that although banished from England in 1290,

<sup>28</sup>For the German plays, v. Creizenach i, pp. 205, 305, 419.

<sup>29</sup>Klein, *Geschichte des Dramas*, iv, 229—40.

<sup>30</sup>Creizenach, iii, 189—207.

<sup>31</sup>*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1880, p. 187 f. *Academy*, May 14, 1887. *Transactions of New Shakespeare Society*, 1888. Commonly they followed the trade of old clothes dealer, as appears from a passage quoted by Mr. Lee from Every Woman in her Humor (1609) and from Rowley's *Search for Money*, p. 15, as now and in the days of St. Jerome. Creizenach quotes Heywood's *Challenge for Beauty* (1635) on their character: "Your English Jewes, they'le buy and sell their fathers, prostrate their wives, and make money of their own children, the male stewes can witnesse that." (*Works*, vol. v. p. 26.)

and not admitted until the latter days of Cromwell, Jews were then not unknown. "Store of Jewes we have in England," to quote *The Wandering Jew Telling Fortunes to Englishmen* (1640); "a few in Court, many in the Citty, more in the Countrey." In 1594, a couple of years before the *Merchant of Venice* was written, one of these Jews at court made something of a stir. Lopez, the Queen's physician, was tried for conspiracy against her life. Mr. Lee<sup>32</sup> has shown the bitterness of feeling which it provoked, and the weight that was given to the fact that the offender was a Jew by prosecutor, judges, and people. "The perjured and murderous Jewish doctor," cried Coke, "is worse than Judas himself," and of a religious profession, he said again, "fit for any execrable undertaking." Even his judges spoke of him as "that vile Jew." Though no longer a Jew by faith, when he protested from the scaffold that "he loved the Queene as he loved Jesus Christ," such words "from a man of the Jewish profession", says Camden, were "heard not without laughter;" and "He is a Jew!" men cried aloud as the breath passed from his body.<sup>33</sup> "And what's his reason?" asks Shylock in the play. "I am a Jew!"

Of itself this incident is enough to show that although there was no Jewish peril in Shakespeare's day, the race-hatred of Angevin days had not burned out. Even the Reformation, in England as in Germany, had done little to quench it.<sup>34</sup> Only the later Puritans felt any relentings toward the chosen race. Hebrews of the Hebrews themselves, it was little wonder. The visionaries, the Fifth Monarchy men, the Root-and-Branch men often looked kindly upon the Jews as they made the Jewish Sabbath henceforth the British Sabbath, contemplated surrounding Cromwell with a Sanhedrim of seventy councilors, and urged on Parliament the establishing of the Torah as

<sup>32</sup>*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1880, p. 194f.

<sup>33</sup>*Annales* (ed. 1635) p. 431. All the evidence used in the paragraph is Mr. Lee's.

<sup>34</sup>Graetz (iv. pp. 540—2.)

the law of the realm.<sup>35</sup> But the nation as a whole was not so minded. With it race-hatred went deeper than religion. Cromwell admitted the Jews in 1655, but it had to be by the back door, as Graetz remarks, for the Commission which he designated to sit upon the measure had to be admonished and dissolved like Parliament itself. Prynne, who for his own faith had lost his ears, wrote what was, measured by the standard of the time, a *Short Demurrer*, in Two Parts, in which, like Luther a century before him, he raked up all the charges that had ever been made against the Jews, including usury, coining, cheating and oppression, crucifixion of children, blasphemy and sacrilege, malice toward man and God, the murder of Christ, obstinacy and hardness of heart. "Do not I hate them, O Lord, that hate thee?" he cries, with none to contradict him, in his zeal; "I hate them with a perfect hatred." And others there were like him, as appears from the petition to Parliament of Robert Rich, surnamed Mordecai, in 1653, on behalf of the Jews in England, Scotland and Ireland: "Ever since 1648, it was hoped that persecution for conscience' sake would cease and truth and mercy take its place, but contrary thereto, these three last years hundreds in England have been cast into dungeons and prisons, some have perished, and others endured whippings, stonings and spoilings of goods for matters concerning their law and conscience," etc.<sup>36</sup> Even after these persecutions had, under Cromwell's iron hand, been allayed, and the Jews admitted to rights of worship, it was upon a precarious basis. The doors of the first synagogue were threefold and double-locked. In 1660, a remonstrance upon their usurious and fraudulent practices was made by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to the King, praying for imposition on them of special taxes, seizure of their personal property, and banishment for residence without a license.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>35</sup>Cf. Graetz, v, 28.

<sup>36</sup>*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1653, p. 331.

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*, 1660—1, p. 366.

Even after the Revolution, in 1689, a bill specially to tax the Jews was introduced into Parliament.

Such were the disabilities under which the Jews labored for a century after Shakespeare's day. What is the recorded opinion of his contemporaries? Coke, Solicitor-General, is comprehensible in abusing Lopez, but he is hardly so as, no longer Solicitor but a jurist, ex-Chief Justice of the King's Bench, he abuses the Jews in his *Institutes of the Laws of England*. "Odious", he calls them in his commentary on the Statute De Judaismo, "both to God and man;"—"these cruel Jews, wicked and wretched men."<sup>38</sup> Bishop Joseph Hall, writing to Samuel Burton, Archdeacon of Gloucester, in 1607, rejoices that "our church is well rid of that accursed nation, whom yet Rome harbours . . . while instead of spitting at, or that their Neapolitan correction whereof Gratian speaks, the pope solemnly receives at their hands that Bible which they at once approve and overthrow." "The subtlest and most subdolous People," writes James Howell in 1633 to Lord Clifford, "the most hateful race of men". Jeremy Taylor thinks it is a wonder how the anger of God is gone out upon that miserable people.<sup>39</sup> And Robert South, the greatest preacher in England a century after Shakespeare's death, declares, in a long and virulent passage, that it was appointed as the bitterest humiliation of Christ's life on earth that he should be born of the race of the Jews, "the most sordid and degenerate upon the earth." "And to this very day," he continues, "how much are they disgusted in all those kingdoms and dominions where they are dispersed! They are like dung upon the face of the earth; and that not so much for their being scattered as for being so offensive."<sup>40</sup>

Nor is it a legal or theological prejudice merely. Popular literature, as the drama, is imbued with it, as we have already

<sup>38</sup>*Second Institute*, pp. 506 ff, where there is more of this.

<sup>39</sup>Of the Probable Conscience, Bk. i. ch. 4, § 28.

<sup>40</sup>*Sermons* (London, 1865), vol. 2, p. 228.



seen, and dozens of ballads, like *Hugh of Lincoln* and *Gernutus*, still handed it down orally from generation to generation. Enlightenment prevailed not against it. Many people think Shakespeare too free a spirit to have entertained it, but the freest spirit of Shakespeare's day, who, in a short life, cast from him more hearsays and superstitions than any Englishman up to the time of Hobbes, clings to this. With not a thought of their damnation or of the wrath of God upon them, Giordano Bruno yet calls the Jews a generation so "pestilente, leprosa, et generalmente perniciosa; che merita prima esser spinta, che nata;—gente sempre vile, seruire, mercenaria, solitaria, incommunicabile, et inconuersabile con l'altre generationi, le quali bestialmente spregiano, et da le quali per ogni ragione son degnamente dispreggiate."<sup>41</sup> Here is a limit at the real cause of Jew-baiting the world over—the ways and manners of the Jews, their *mores* as Professor Sumner says, those traits and customs which keep them to this day a nation, though of exiles. History is in accord with this. The ancients—Greeks, Romans, Syrians, and Egyptians—hated them, and at times persecuted them, with no pious scruple to justify it, almost as heartily as the medieval Christians.<sup>42</sup> The frightful persecutions, the Jew-burnings, which in times of great emotional exaltation or depression raged through Europe in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, were almost always popular movements, not instigated or directed by the church; and princes, kings, emperors, popes like Clement VI, fanatics like Saint Bernard, the Dominicans and the Franciscans time and again had to intervene between the Jews and the

<sup>41</sup>*Spaccio della bestia*, ed. Largarde, p. 500; *Cabala del cavallo Pegaseo*, p. 576.

<sup>42</sup>*v. Jewish Encyclopaedia, Diaspora*, for an account of the horrible massacres and manifold persecutions at Seleucia and Alexandria, in Syria and Mesopotamia; and for the almost universally unfavorable opinion of them held by the ancient writers. Cf. Graetz, ii, pp. 178—9; Mommsen (N. Y. 1871), iv, p. 642; South, *Sermons*, ii, p. 288.

violence of the mob.<sup>43</sup> Converts fared little better than the faithful.<sup>44</sup> And it was not the priest-ridden countries but those which first attained to a consciousness of national unity—England, France, Spain—as Wellhausen has shown, that expelled the Jews from their borders. In Italy, hard by the papal throne, they enjoyed greater security. In England, in the twentieth year of Henry III, the inhabitants of Southampton petitioned the king for a like privilege with the men of Newcastle, that no Jew should dwell among them,<sup>45</sup> and Parliament granted Edward I a fifteenth<sup>46</sup> in return for the favor of expelling the people as a whole. If, then, the hatred of Jews is at bottom a racial and social, not a religious, prejudice, and not Protestantism, not even the free thought or the Renaissance, but only Puritan fanaticism, late in the seventeenth century, availed, in any measure, to dispel it, why should we refuse to recognize it in Shakespeare, who, more than any other poet, reflected the settled prejudices and passions of his race?

Consider the mediæval sentiment of the comedy, for to the Middle Ages, in the dearth of Jews and contemporary references to Jews in Elizabethan England, we must turn for illustration. It matters little, for scholars are more and more recognizing that, so far as manners, morals, and human relations are concerned, the difference between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, particularly the English Renaissance, is not great. Most readers and critics nowadays resent the despoiling of Shylock at the end. Indeed, where is there another instance of a villain in a Shakespearean comedy, with such cause for his villainy, coming off so ill? But even a century later,

<sup>43</sup>Lacroix, *Moyen Age et Renaissance*, t. i, *Juifs*, fol. 5; Green's *History*, i, p. 338; Graetz, *passim*, from whom a long list of rulers might be made.

<sup>44</sup>Lacroix, *ibid.* fol. 16, for the religious persecution of converts in France and Portugal in the sixteenth century.

<sup>45</sup>Tovey, *Anglia Judaica*, Oxford, 1738, p. 105.

<sup>46</sup>Green i, p. 340; *Annales De Dunstaplia* (Rolls Series), p. 362.

as we have seen, a sense of justice did not keep the government from the consideration of measures of confiscation and special taxation, and all the European history of the Jewish race for a thousand years before is made up of such measures put, without consideration, into effect. In the days of Titus, and afterwards in every nation and principality of Europe, they were *servi camerae*, and, in return for the slight protection they received, they were pillaged and plundered, legally or illegally. Every feudatory-in-chief spoke of his Jews as of his serfs or his hounds,<sup>47</sup> and he sold them, or bought them, or mortgaged them, or, like William Rufus, waxed furious in defense of them, as his needs required.<sup>48</sup> The king took possession of all the real property of which a Jew was seized, in case of his "death, outlary, or departure hence"<sup>49</sup> (or, in some parts of Europe, as soon, apparently, as he was known to have purchased it), and in defiance of the fourth Lateran Council, of all property whatsoever, as the fruits of usury, on his conversion.<sup>50</sup> "*Judaeus vero nihil proprium habere potest*", says Bracton (and the principle prevailed far beyond the Channel), "*quia quidquid acquirit non sibi acquirit sed regi, quia non vivunt sibi ipsis sed aliis, et sic aliis acquirunt et non sibi ipsis.*"<sup>51</sup> "They are doomed to perpetual servitude," writes

<sup>47</sup>Lacroix, *op. cit.* fol. 8.

<sup>48</sup>Du Cange, *sub voc. Judaei*; Tovey. Matthew Paris (Du Cange) makes a medieval jest of it when Henry III mortgages the Jews to Earl Richard, his brother, *ut quos Rex excoriaverat Comes evisceraret*. The poor Jews came back within a year or two into his hands, to be made over by deed to Prince Edward and by him assigned for two years to the Cahorsins! Cf. *Lettres par les quelles le Roi donne un Juif a son frère—achète un Juif. Recueil des lois francaises*, ii, p. 709.

<sup>49</sup>Prynne, *Demurrer*, Pt. ii. p. 39, citing a preamble of a writ of 34 Henry III. Cf. Du Cange.

<sup>50</sup>Hyamson, *Jews in England*, p. 25; Du Cange, etc.

<sup>51</sup>*De Warrantia*, cap. vi. To the same effect, the *Leges Anglicanae*. Hoveden (Rolls Series) ii., p. 231. *Leges Edwardi Confessoris* (earlier version, c. twelfth century) cap. 25. Du Cange, *Judaei*.

Saint Thomas Aquinas, "and the lords of the earth may use their goods as their own."<sup>52</sup> "The curse of the Patriarch rests upon the descendents of Ham," declared in 1851 the Supreme Court of Georgia, with reference to another subject race; "the negro and his master are but fulfilling a divine appointment."<sup>53</sup> A medieval sentiment, but alive in Shakespeare's day and not extinct in ours.

Nor were men content with injustice that was legal. Not for their own behoof did the Jews live, as Bracton puts it, nor merely for the king's, but also for that of the people at large. Philip Augustus in 1182 remitted to every man his debts to the Jews on payment of a fifth part into the royal treasury.<sup>54</sup> Saint Louis remitted a third part of all such debts for the salvation of his own soul and the souls of his ancestors; "et quia pacem operatur justicia," continues the chronicler, naive in morals as in grammar, "dedit Deus sibi pacem et regno tranquillitatem."<sup>55</sup> And there is an edict of Henry III in the year 1266, recorded in the *Red Book of the Exchequer*, to annul the debts of Christians to Jews in toto, as well as many special orders, in the reign of John particularly, annulling the debts of individuals.<sup>56</sup> At the last, when the Jews were banished from England, they were deprived of all their landed property at one blow; and as late as 1542 the great leader of the Reformation proposed to the princes and people of Germany, in his sorry pamphlet *Von den Juden und ihren Lügen*, that their synagogues and houses should be burned or destroyed, and they themselves deprived of all their wealth, their books and their

<sup>52</sup>Van Bruyssel, *Histoire de commerce belge*, i, p. 239, letter to Alice of Burgundy. (Lecky)

<sup>53</sup>Neal vs. Farmer, Georgia Reports, 1851, p. 582.

<sup>54</sup>*Recueil des lois*, i, p. 170.

<sup>55</sup>Hallam, *Middle Ages* (N. Y. 1854) ii, p. 484.—*Beati Ludovici Vita, Recueil des historiens des Gaules*, t. 23, p. 164.

<sup>56</sup>*Red Book* (Rolls Series) p. 978: Ke totes les dettes a Gyus seent quites a Crestiens ke les deyvent et a lur eyres a tuz jurs.—Madox, *History of Exchequer*, p. 157. (Larocroix)



prayer-books, and put to work with spade or spindle.<sup>87</sup> With such treatment of the race lingering in men's memories, it is small wonder that Jessica, as she runs away with the Christian, should, to the satisfaction of everybody on the stage or off it, carry her father's ducats and jewels with her, and that the Duke, in the simplicity of his soul, should think it a virtue and a mercy to spare the life of the outraged Jew at the cost of all his goods. "Thou shalt see the difference of our spirits," Shakespeare lets him say, in perfect good faith.<sup>88</sup>

Enforced conversion, or rather conversion suborned, a feature as we have seen, not to be found in other pound of flesh stories, and to be attributed to Gosson's old play<sup>89</sup> or to the *Jew of Malta*, is another matter which shocks us. It need not do so: it is a better way than the ways of Whitgift, Bancroft, and Laud. Even so late as 1635 there is a case recorded as before the High Court of Commission, of one Mary Chester, a Jewess, prisoner in Bridewell, who was 'enlarged' upon acknowledgment and recantation of her errors in holding certain Judaical tenets touching the Sabbath and distinction of meats, after putting in bond to appear.<sup>90</sup> Coercion of unbelievers was an immemorial practice, not, in Shakespeare's day, by any means discredited, and never condemned by Shakespeare himself. "Personal religion", "convictions" were terms not then current, and according to the rough-and-ready manners of the time, Antonio's mercenary stipulation—not much more so, by the way, than that with which nowadays a Catholic king offers his hand and crown to a Protestant princess—is of course to be reckoned as an exemplary kindness, or, as Portia calls it, a mercy rendered him. "Provided that for this favor he presently be-

<sup>87</sup>*Werke* (Altenburg, 1662) Theil viii, p. 260.

<sup>88</sup>IV, 1, 368.

<sup>89</sup>The lost play representing "the greediness of worldly chusers, and bloody mindes of Usurers," mentioned by Gosson in his *School of Abuse*. (1579). In the *Jew of Malta*, 1, 2, the Jews are given the alternative of losing their property or becoming Christians.

<sup>90</sup>*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1635—6, p. 132.

come a Christian"! The idea is old-fashioned, like the Duke's notion of clemency to the Jews, or Saint Louis's expedient for making his own and his ancestors' salvation sure, but nothing could be farther from Shakespeare's thought than Professor Jastrow's suggestion of satire or irony.<sup>61</sup>

Once Launcelot rallies Jessica on the subject of Jewish damnation, and Doctor Brandes<sup>62</sup> thinks it proof that Shakespeare does not entertain that belief. But it is jesting pure and simple, without touch of satire, and although such jesting would hardly be expected, say of a Puritan or of a Methodist, one who takes his religion or others' much to heart, it might easily be expected of Shakespeare. Hell and damnation in general are a favorite subject of mirth with him—witness the Porter scene in *Macbeth*—as with the world before and since; and he would hardly have pulled a long face when the joke touched the Jews. The damnation of the Jews was a doctrine of the Fathers, never doubted, daily, idiomatically reaffirmed; and it was warrant for endless insult and discrimination. In the Middle Ages and after they were treated as a thing unclean. Their blood, it was thought, was black and putrid; the stench, a notion prevalent in England as late as the middle of the eighteenth century, came, not, as might have been expected, from the devil who possessed them, but as a curse from Christ.<sup>63</sup> They were forbidden to touch at market food which they did not buy, and to consort with Christians at the ale-house, the bath, or one another's houses;<sup>64</sup> and they were barred

<sup>61</sup>Mr. W. H. Hudson (*op. cit.* xlv) takes notice with just scorn, of an equally remarkable opinion to the effect that Shylock had been brought to realize that, in insisting upon his conversion to Christianity, Antonio was acting only for his good. For this, as for irony, there is no jot or tittle of evidence. But evidence, it seems, your true-blue Shakespearean does not seek—he is engaged in exploring his own consciousness.

<sup>62</sup>William Shakespeare (London, 1909) pp. 165—6.

<sup>63</sup>Browne, *Pseudodoxia*, bk. iv, ch. 10, Tovey, *Anglia Judaica* (1738) p. 95.

<sup>64</sup>Ducange, *Judaei*; Lecky.

from the church and the brothel.<sup>65</sup> Inter-marriage with them was an abomination, and in the reign of St. Louis a Christian who kept a Jewish concubine was burned. Because of their unholy influences they were forbidden to hold Christian slaves, and for the strangest of reasons, to hire Christian nurses.<sup>66</sup> They were assigned a special dwelling-place, cemetery, and daily garb, and, by decree of œcumenical councils, the Jew-badge and the high-crowned yellow hat, or *pileus cornutus*. Provoked by these distinctions there arose a world of insult and savage jest. At Toulouse in Holy Week a Jew was compelled to stand at the cathedral door to receive buffets from the worshipers as they came in and out. At Béziers the populace stoned Jewish houses. The tariff of tolls at bridges and turnpikes in France distinguished between Christians and Jews, Jews and Jewesses, and Jewesses fat and lean, and put them all on a level with cattle; and in the same country until the fourteenth century, when a Jew was hanged, it was head downwards between two dogs.<sup>67</sup> The race between Jews and horses at the Roman Carnival was, we may be sure, the hughest jest offered the rabble in the year, and the Jews paid the magistrates three hundred scudi annually to be rid of it. It was in the atmosphere of such abhorrence and inhuman contempt and ridicule that Antonio learned to call Shylock devil, misbeliever and cutthroat dog, to kick him and spit upon his beard and Jewish gaberdine. In 1381, according to a letter in the royal archives, cited by Du Cange, a certain Jehan La Barbe, 'having been spit upon in the face, was moved to wrath at the outrage, seeing that he was no Jew, in whose face it behooves one to spit'.<sup>68</sup> Such a method, we have

<sup>65</sup>By the Council of Oxford, 1222; Lecky, *History of Rationalism*, (N. Y. 1875), ii, p. 265.

<sup>66</sup>Tovey, 103-105, letter of Innocent III to the Archbishop of Sens and proclamation of Henry III of England. The reason given is the impiety of the Jews in forcing the nurses to milk themselves into a privy for three days after taking the Sacrament.

<sup>67</sup>Lecky, quoting Michelet, *Origines du Droit*, p. 368. Lacroix, *Moyen Age, Juifs*, fol. IX.

<sup>68</sup>*Sub. voc. Judæi: à qui on deust cracher au visage.*

seen, Bishop Hall would recommend to the Pope for receiving the Jews when they came to him with the Bible: and certainly it had already something of hieratic sanction, for in the Eastern Church spitting at the devil was part of the ritual of baptism.<sup>99</sup> That the Jew was a devil, we remember, was a matter of common belief and pleasantry. Nor was the Jew, in medieval imagination at least, to be outdone, for according to Luther, who in his diatribe has all too much to say of spitting, metaphorically or literally, a threefold expectoration accompanied the Jewish curse of Christ.<sup>100</sup>

Here we touch on one of the charges against the Jews which lie embedded in Shakespeare's other work, among the few casual references which he makes to them. "Liver of blaspheming Jew" is cast into the cauldron by the Witches in *Macbeth*, along with other unholy odds and ends:—

Nose of Turk and Tartar's lips,  
Finger of birth-strangled babe  
Ditch-deliver'd by a drab.

Blasphemy is a charge made from the time of the Fathers.<sup>101</sup> Three times daily the Jews were supposed to rail against Christ in their prayers. That they should be restrained from such blasphemy was a special recommendation of the committee appointed by the Council in 1655 to consider the re-settlement of the Jews in England.<sup>102</sup> In that day when a man had to look out for his God as well as for himself, Luther took this matter of blasphemy particularly hard. Again and again in his tractate he belabors the Jews for it; and he would have their synagogues and their houses, as the scenes of such impiety, burned down and removed forever from the sight of man. "Und solchs sol man thun unserm Herrn und der Christenheit zu Ehren,

<sup>99</sup>Roskoff, *Geschichte des Teufels*, i, p. 291.

<sup>100</sup>*Op. cit.* p. 254.

<sup>101</sup>Justin, Origen, Epiphanius, Jerome. V. *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, article *Church Fathers*.

<sup>102</sup>Hyamson, *Jews in England*, p. 205.



damit Gott sehe dass wir Christen seyn!" Hardness of heart is another implied accusation, several times repeated. "A Jew would have wept," sobs Launce, before his cruel-hearted cur, "to have seen our parting." Shylock himself is intended as a capital instance: the Duke, Antonio, Bassanio and Gratiano all recognize in him the "Jewish heart", "uncapable of pity"—"than which what's harder?"—and it is this that gave point, now lost, to Portia's praise of mercy. People generally—Protestants like Luther and Prynne, for instance—believed, as in some parts of Europe they believe still, that the Jews, especially about the time of the Passover, caught little Christians and crucified them, poisoned the wells or the air, and dealt death and destruction about them as freely as Barabas in the play." After all this, one other charge, no more than vaguely hinted at in Shakespeare but made explicit, as we have seen, in Marlowe, that of atheism, need not surprise us. Absurd as it is, it comes down from ancient times, and it is no more absurd than Luther's charge of blasphemy and idolatry,<sup>74</sup> made a few years before Marlowe wrote.

Shylock, we do not forget, was also a usurer. Dr. Honigmann, who is of those who interpret the *Merchant of Venice* as a plea for toleration, says that in Shakespeare's day the word did not carry with it any stigma.<sup>75</sup> Never was opinion more mistaken. By laws civil and ecclesiastical, usury—that is, the exaction of interest of any sort—was a crime. With expanding trade and manufacture the practice was widening, but no one approved of it in principle. By 37 Henry VIII, cap. ix, the old laws against usury are, indeed, abolished, and a rate of ten per cent is indirectly legalized by the fixing of severe penalties for any rate higher; but the practice is condemned and classed with corrupt bargains, and the reason given for the present enactment is that the old "Actes bene of so little force and effect

<sup>73</sup>See Graetz passim; or any history of the Middle Ages.

<sup>74</sup>*Von den Juden und ihren Lügen.*

<sup>75</sup>*Jahrbuch*, xviii, p. 216.

that by reason thereof litle or noe punyshment hath ensued to the offenders of the same". In 1552, however, by 6 Edward VI, cap. xx, the act of Henry VIII is annulled, though "not ment or intended for mayntenance and allowaunce of Usurie, as dyvers parsons" blynded with inordinat love of themselves have and yet doo mistake the same"; and severe penalties are enacted against any usury whatever, "forasmuch as Usurie is by the worde of God utterly prohibited, as a vyce most odyous and detestable, as in dyvers places in the hollie Scriptures it is evydent to be seen, which thing by no godly teachings and perswations can syncke in to the harte of dyvers gredie, uncharitable and couvetous parsons of this Realme, nor yet by anny terrible threatenings of Godd's wrathe and vengeance," etc. In 1570 by 13 Elizabeth, cap. viii, 6 Edward VI is annulled and 37 Henry VIII reënacted, but, "forasmuch as all Usurie, being forbydden by the Lawe of God is synne and detestable," it ordains that even interest at ten per cent or under is forfeitable. In case of interest above ten per cent the penalty of 37 Henry VIII remains, that of thrice the principle. In both this act and the next following, 21 Jac. I. cap. xvii, which introduces further modifications, it is expressly provided that all offenders shall "also be punished and corrected according to the ecclesiastical laws heretofore made against usury".

What were these? By the canons of 1603, cap. cix, it is ordained that "if any offend their Brethren, either by Adultery, Whoredom, Incest, or Drunkenness, or by Swearing, Ribbaldry, Usury, or any other Uncleaness and Wickedness of Life. . . . they be punished by the severity of the Laws, according to their deserts; and such notorious Offenders shall not be admitted to the holy Communion, till they be reformed."<sup>76</sup> And by 5 Eliz. cap. xxiii, usury is one of the crimes expressly specified in case of which, if duly charged in the writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, the writ shall have force. "Incontinency, usury, simony,

<sup>76</sup>"Persons", as the context shows. In these passages I cite the *Statutes of the Realm*.

<sup>77</sup>Gibson's *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani* (1761), p. 964.

perjury in Ecclesiastical Court, and idolatry", is the list.<sup>78</sup>

Such was the law of Church and State, and it was fully supported by popular sentiment. No doctrine of the Church was ever less disputed, or less obeyed: as usual, the prejudice of the public, which borrows rather than lends, prevailed. Supported by the teaching of the Fathers,<sup>79</sup> on the basis of the Old Testament prohibition of usury and a mistaken interpretation of a passage in the Vulgate New Testament, but really more by the general sentiment of the ancient world, as voiced, for instance, by Plato, Plutarch, Cicero, Seneca, and, above all, Aristotle, the Catholic Church, in the decrees of twenty-eight councils and seventeen popes,<sup>80</sup> declared against it with almost uniformly increasing severity up to the promulgation of the bull of Benedict XIV, *Vix pervenit*, in 1745, not abrogated at the present day.<sup>81</sup> Lactantius called it robbery; Ambrose, as bad as murder; the theologians of the seventeenth century, a mortal sin. Dante thrusts usurers down to the seventh circle of hell, to sit, each with a pouch hanging from his neck, under the falling flames, on the baking sand, scratching like dogs bitten by fleas, or flies, or gad-flies. The ecclesiastical penalties in the Middle Ages were exclusion from communion and the rights of testation and Christian burial.<sup>82</sup> In England (and generally on the Continent), where by repeated enactments usury was forbidden from the time of Alfred,<sup>83</sup> the property of the usurer escheated at his death, as if deodand, to the king. A will he

<sup>78</sup>*Ibid.* p. 1058.

<sup>79</sup>See list in White's *Warfare of Science*, ii, p. 265-6.

<sup>80</sup>Lecky, *Rationalism* (N. Y. 1873), ii, p. 255.

<sup>81</sup>H. C. Lea, *Yale Review*, 1894, *The Ecclesiastical Treatment of Usury*.

<sup>82</sup>Lea, *op. cit.*, p. 374: St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa*, iv, 496. The penalties were imposed by the oecumenical Council of Vienne, 1311.

<sup>83</sup>*Laws of Alfred*, Camb. Ms., Introd., cap. 35—"ne niede ðu hine swa swa niedling, ne gehiene þu hine mid ðy eacan. Cf. the so-called *Leges Edwardi Confessoris*, cap. 37; etc.

could no more make than a felon or a traitor.<sup>84</sup> As with many another popular prejudice and superstition, that against the Jews for instance, the Church took it up from the people and rendered it back again, doubly dear. It was the English people in Parliament assembled that enacted the statute *De Judaismo*, forbidding usury to the Jews. In 1390 the City authorities forbade the putting of gold or silver into the hands of any person to receive gain thereby, and in the same year the Commons prayed the King that the laws of London might have the force of statutes throughout the realm. Burckhardt repeats a striking story of the people of Piacenza, who, in 1478, suffering from torrential rainfall, hit upon the cause of it in the recent burial of a usurer in consecrated earth, and, as the bishop was slow to act, dug it up, dragged it about the streets, offered it to be insulted by former debtors, and at last threw it into the Po.<sup>85</sup> According to the medieval principle, not yet outworn, the money-lender is a blood-sucking monster, and the man who had the spending of the money, his prey.

It is before a public of like mind that Shylock gingerly avows his practices: "my well-won thrift" (the word itself seems to taste but ill) "which he calls interest." "Ein Wucherer", said, in 1542, the greatest of reformers, "ist ein Ertzdieb und Landräuber, der billich am Galgen siebenmal höher denn andere Diebe hengen solt."<sup>86</sup> Bacon is often cited as the first Englishman to show modern insight in treating the subject; but there is much misapprehension current as to what he has

<sup>84</sup>Cf. Coke, *Third Institutes*, cap. 70, where the Statute of Merton and the jurists Glanvil and Bracton, etc., are cited, Stephen, *History of the Criminal Law of England*, iii, 196f. Blackstone (ii, 499), observing that in his day the usurer was not deprived of the right of testation, expresses a doubt whether he ever was deprived; but the preceding authorities settle the matter. *Manifestus usurarius est intestabilis* (Fleta); *usurarii omnes res, sive testatus, sive intestatus decesserit, domini regis sunt* (Glanvil, lib. 7, 16; cited from Coke). So it was, too, under the Civil Law, on the Continent.

<sup>85</sup>*Cultur der Renaissance* (Leipzig, 1878) ii, p. 291.

<sup>86</sup>Luther, *op. cit.*, p. 249.



to say. In the essay on Seditions he expresses the opinion that "money is not good unless spread, and that this is brought about chiefly by suppressing, or at least keeping a straight hand upon the devouring trades of usury, engrossing", etc.<sup>87</sup> In the History of Henry VII he approves the laws made by Parliament against usury, which, strict Aristotelian for once, he declares to be "the bastard use of money."<sup>88</sup> And in his Essay on Riches he avers that though usury is "the certainest means of gain it is one of the worst: as that whereby a man doth eat his bread *in sudore vultus alieni*". Nowhere in the Essay on Usury does he sanction it, and he takes care that he should not be so understood. He looks upon it as "concessum propter duritiem cordis," and as "inevitable," as "idle to oppose." Like Calvin, who is reckoned the first to hold that usury was not forbidden by Scripture, he has no conception of the modern theory of interest as a just share due to the lender of the money in the profits of the borrower. Chief Justice Coke,<sup>89</sup> Doctor Roger Fenton, and Bishop Joseph Hall attained not even to this measure of enlightenment. Not before the day of Saumaise and Filmer, about the year 1640, was the modern doctrine of interest approached, and by moralists and by public opinion these were followed from afar.

But, again, tenets and doctrines matter little, except as the reflection of popular opinion. The word is a borrower, and "I question," to quote Jeremy Bentham, "whether among all the instances in which a borrower and a lender of money may have been brought together upon the stage, from the days of Thespis to the present, there ever was one in which the former was not recommended to favor, in some shape or other, either to admiration, or to love, or to pity, or to all three; and the other, the man of thrift, consigned to infamy."<sup>90</sup> The Eliza-

<sup>87</sup>Works, (Boston, 1860) xii, p. 128.

<sup>88</sup>Works, xi, p. 134.

<sup>89</sup>Second Institutes, cap. V.

<sup>90</sup>Defense of Usury, (Philadelphia, 1796) p. 93.

bethan stage is of course no exception: Professor Creizenach remarks with justice upon the prejudice of Elizabethan dramatists against the prudent citizens and in favor of the aristocrats, who idle away their time, fritter away their money, and fall in debt. Even in a court of justice at the present time the same sentiment prevails when a professional money-lender appears, and juries will always find against him, according to Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, if they have any sort of excuse for doing so. "I have known cases," he says, "where in defiance of strong evidence, and in spite of adverse summings up, persons have been acquitted of perjury, conspiracy, and the obtaining of money on false pretenses, because the prosecutor was a money-lender."<sup>1</sup> Shylock was both money-lender and Jew. In him are embodied two of the deepest and most widely prevalent social antipathies of two thousand years, still sanctioned, in Shakespeare's day, by the teachings of religion. What was religious in them Shakespeare probably shared, like any other easy-going churchman, but all that was popular and of the people was part and parcel of his breath and blood.

It is impossible to undertake a minute and particular refutation. To show that Shakespeare is entering a plea, Shylock has on the one hand been conceived as a good man, much abused; and on the other hand as a bad man made bad. The misconception in the first case is so gross—as Professor Schelling has said, so preposterous—that we will not linger upon it. It is the result of reading Shakespeare as if he wrote but yesterday. Shakespeare, as we have seen, takes pains with first impressions and general effects, and is careless of detail: if the detail is important it is repeated or expatiated upon. Modern poets, as Browning, Ibsen and Maeterlinck, frame characters and plots that are problems and puzzles, in which detail is everything. We are likely at first to sympathize with Helmar instead of Nora, in the *Doll's House*, and with Guido instead of Prinzi-valle or the heroine, in *Monna Vanna*. If we lose a word or a look, we lose the meaning of the whole. Turning straight from

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Criminal Law of England*, ii, p. 195.

these to Shakespeare, we are likely to lose the meaning of the whole in our eagerness to catch every wandering word or look. Clues to the situation are found in matters such as the bits of satire in which Shylock, like Barabas, lets fling at the ways of Christians, which one might as wisely take for one's leading-strings as the gibes of Mephistopheles in Faust;<sup>82</sup> or such as the Christians' willingness to feast with the Jew, Launcelot's scruples against running away from him, or the Jew's opinion of Launcelot as a lazy and gluttonous fellow. It is by this process of making the big little and the little big, as in the reflection of a convex mirror, this process of reading into Shakespeare a lot of considerations of which he knew nothing, and reading out of him all his minor improbabilities and inconsistencies,<sup>83</sup> that Dr. Honigmann<sup>84</sup> and Professor Jastrow<sup>85</sup> arrive at the conception of Shylock as advocate and avenger,—injured by a daughter ill brought up, they say, by this Launcelot, actuated by a sense of justice, swearing his oath in a paroxysm of moral self-coercion like another William Tell, hating Antonio, not because he is a Christian, but because by lending money gratis he deprives Hebrews of the means of livelihood, and inveigling him into signing the bond that he may humble him and then by an act of generosity heaps coals of fire on his head! One wonders whether the language of Shakespeare is any longer capable of conveying thought, or is become indeed a cryptogram. The Christians feast the Jew not from respect for him, but to

<sup>82</sup> Shakespeare's intention is nowhere so evident as in the case of Shylock's outcry:

O Father Abraham, what these Christians are  
Whose own hard dealings teaches them suspect  
The thoughts of others!

The satire is not bad; but the critics forget (what Shakespeare had seen to it that the audience should not forget) that this is unctuous piety, to hide "a villain's mind." It is such satire as that of the atrocious Barabas and Zariph and the devils in the mysteries.

<sup>83</sup> See quantities of these in the appendix to Professor Bradley's *Shakespearean Tragedy*.

<sup>84</sup> *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, xvii, p. 200 ff.

<sup>85</sup> *Penn Monthly*, 1880, p. 725 f.

give Lorenzo a chance to run away with Jessica; just as Lorenzo runs away with Jessica and the ducats, not, as François Victor Hugo thinks, to satisfy his own or the dramatist's enlightened convictions on the subject of intermarriage, but, so far as the purposes of the play are concerned, to give point to Shylock's revenge. Both are matters of story, of improbabilities not, in modern fashion, smoothed away, or, very likely, if Gosson's play were known, a matter of sources. And as for Launcelot's scruples, they, like his laziness and gluttony, are a joke, as in Shylock's sneer at<sup>96</sup> "these Christian husbands," Bassanio and Gratiano, who, in the presence of their newly wedded wives, as only the audience is aware, vow, in the fervor of friendship, that to save their friend they would sacrifice their wives and all. "Censure of profane swaggering about the purest sentiments," observes Professor Jastrow, severely.

Those who will have it that Shylock, though bad, was made so, do violence to Shakespeare in two different quarters. In the first place, they have recourse to an all-pervading irony. Antonio, gentlest and humblest of Shakespeare's heroes, kicking and spitting at Jews and thrusting salvation down their throats,—such, they say, is the spectacle of race-hatred to which Shakespeare points.<sup>97</sup> And those others who will have it that Shylock is a noble spirit brought to shame, carry the irony still farther, into the characterization of Antonio and his friends. He, not Shylock, is the caricature!<sup>98</sup> His virtues are but affectations and shams; his friends are debauchees, parasites, and fribbles! That is, nothing is what it seems; a comedy ending in moonlight blandishments and badinage is a tragedy, and the play written for the customers of the Globe flies over their

<sup>96</sup> *M. V.* iv, 1, 205-7.

<sup>97</sup> C. A. Brown; Sir Theodore Martin; J. W. Hales, *English Historical Review* ix, p. 656; Frederick Hawkins, *Theatre*, Nov. 1879, p. 194 (quoted by Furness):—"In availing himself of the greatest popular madness of the time, he sought to appease it." I sympathize with Mr. W. H. Hudson's impatience with the theory—"perilously near to talking downright nonsense." (*op. cit.* p. xxxviii.)

<sup>98</sup> Jastrow, *op. cit.*, p. 737.



honest heads to the heights of nineteenth-century transcendentalism! Irony is surely unthinkable unless the author intends it, and here not the slightest trace of such an intention appears. Moreover, a play of Shakespeare's is self-contained; the irony is within it, so to speak, not underneath it. There is irony in the appearance of Banquo at the moment when Macbeth presumes hypocritically to wish for his presence at the feast, or, more obviously still, in the fulfillment of the Witches' riddling oracles, but there is no irony such as Mr. Yeats discovers in the success of Henry V and the failure of Richard II.<sup>99</sup> Shakespeare does not dream that to fail and be a Richard is better than to succeed and be a Henry—or an Antonio. He knows not the ways of modern idealism, which sets the judgment of the world aside, nor the ways of modern artistic expression, which withholds the purport of the higher judgment from the world. No abysmal irony undermines his hard sense and straightforward meaning. Shylock is indeed condemned: Sir Henry Irving took no counsel of the poet when he made his exit from the ducal palace in pathetic triumph.

In the second place, they do violence to Shakespeare in representing Shylock as the product of his environment.<sup>100</sup> The thoughts of men had not begun to run in those channels; the ancient rigors of retribution held fast; men still believed in heaven and hell, in villains and heroes. Though in him there is little of George Eliot's moral rigor, as brought to bear on Tito Melema, for instance, Mr. Yeats errs, I think, in his opinion that Shakespeare's plays are, like all great literature, "written in the spirit of the Forgiveness of Sin." Macbeth is not forgiven, nor is Othello. Richard III and Iago were damned even in the making. And though the shortcomings of Falstaff, Bardolph, Pistol, and Nym serve a while as food for mirth, Shakespeare is in full accord with Henry V as he casts his fellows out of his company and out of his mind, to meet their end in the brothel or on the gallows. Except in comedy, he has not the

<sup>99</sup>*Ideas of Good and Evil*, Essay entitled "At Stratford on Avon."

<sup>100</sup>Mr. Hudson also remarks upon this, *op. cit.*, p. xxxvii.

spirit of forgiveness which, like Uncle Toby's for the Devil, comes of mere kindness of heart; and neither in comedy nor in tragedy has he the forgiveness of our psychological and social drama and novel, where villains and heroes are no more, which comes of fulness of knowledge. Thus he deals with poverty, the hard-handed, greasy, foul-smelling, ignorant and ungrateful multitude for which he so often utters his aversion; and thus he deals with the kindred subject of heredity. If a scoundrel is a bastard, or is of mean birth, the fact is not viewed as an extenuating circumstance, but is turned to a reproach. It may in a sense explain his depravity, but never explain it away. It sets the seal upon it. It confirms the prejudice that there is a difference between noble blood and that of low degree. So, though our hearts are softened by Shylock's recital of the indignities he has suffered, the hearts of the Elizabethans, by a simpler way of thinking, are hardened. It confirms the prejudice that there is a difference between Christian and Jew. The Fathers, Protestant theologians like Luther, seventeenth-century lawyers like Coke and Prynne, review the pitiful story of the Jews in Europe grimly, with at best a momentary and furtive pathos.<sup>101</sup> It proves their notion of the curse. What else, in an age when it was the universal belief that Jew and Gentile alike took upon their heads the curse of Adam's sin on issuing from the mother's womb? Even today a man who is abused in the street is supposed, by bystanders, to deserve it; the world barks at rags and poverty like the dogs; and every one knows that there are certain scars—as of branding—which a wise man does not exhibit or complain of. And how much more in the days of literary and theological bludgeoning; when the reformers were to the common enemy, and to one another, dogs, hogs, and asses; when Shakespeare himself let one of his noblest

<sup>101</sup> In his *Short Demurrer* Prynne tells at length the story of their sufferings, seldom with an epithet of commiseration, frequently in terms of reproach. Coke, in his comment on the Statute De Judaismo, tells the tale of the outrage committed in 1290 at the mouth of the Thames not without tokens of satisfaction at the "divine ultion."

characters cast it up to another that he possessed but one trunk of clothes; when Milton was reviled, in scholarly Latin, for his blindness and (in defiance of fact) for his guttering eyelids; and when Dryden never heard the last of the beating he got at the instigation of a fellow poet in a London street. For everything there is some one to blame, is the point of view, and who so much as he who has the worst of it?

And every loss the men of Jebus bore,

They still were thought God's enemies the more!

Such is the logic of Luther as he puts to the Jew the crushing question (naively exhorting Christians, if they must speak to Jews at all, to do likewise, and "not to quarrel with them"): "Hear'st thou, Jew, dost thou know that Jerusalem, your temple, and your priesthood have been destroyed now over fourteen hundred and sixty years?"<sup>102</sup> Even at the end of the seventeenth century Robert South, as he considers the universal detestation in which, through the ages, Jews have been held, must conclude that there is "some peculiar vileness essentially fixed in the genius of this people."<sup>103</sup> It does not occur to him that there is no one to blame, and that the cause of the detestation lies in race-hatred, the incompatibility of temperament and customs. "What's his reason?" cries Shylock. It is the reason which Antonio—that is, Shakespeare—is not analytical enough to recognize or cynical enough to avow. Steadily the Jewishness of Shylock is kept before us; like Barabas, he loses his name in his nationality—"the Jew," "the dog Jew," "the villain Jew," "his Jewish heart;"—and it is not merely according to the measure of his villainy that at the end and throughout the play he suffers. Shakespeare himself would have said, with Robert South, that the reason was his "essential Jewish *vileness*;" but we, who in the light of modern psychology and the history of society are aware that no man and no age can render adequately the reason why they themselves do anything, recog-

<sup>102</sup>*Op. cit.*, p. 208.

<sup>103</sup>*Sermons* (London, 1865) ii, p. 228.

nize that the famous reason given by Shylock himself, in the heat of his *ex parte* pleading with which Shakespeare so little sympathizes, curiously enough hits the mark.<sup>104</sup>

With this conventionality in mind we may approach the final question, whether villain and butt as Shylock is, he may not also be, as Professor Schelling thinks, a pathetic creation. Mr. Schelling speaks of Shylock as "semi-humorous,"<sup>105</sup> a character in whom there is a grotesqueness bordering on laughter and a pathos bordering on tears.<sup>106</sup> The union of butt and villain is, as we have seen, common in Shakespeare's day, and it is as old as the stupid devils of the miracle-plays; and the union of villain and droll goes back to the cleverer devils, those of Dante, too, and medieval painting, and underlies the characterization of most of the villains—Aaron and Iago, for instance—in Shakespearean and Elizabethan drama. But villain, butt, and pathetic figure, all in one, is a thing hard to conceive. Drollery or ludicrousness and pathos coalesce, then as now, in Ibsen's Ulric Brendel or in Shakespeare's Mercutio and his clowns; but derision mingling with pathos would be like water poured into the fire. Round Shylock's words about Leah and the turquoise the question centers.

*Tubal*: One of them showed me a ring that he had of your daughter for a monkey

*Shylock*: Out upon her. Thou torturest me, Tubal. It was my turquoise; I had it of Leah when I was a bachelor. I would not have given it for a wilderness of monkeys.

This, most critics assert, the great historian of the drama<sup>107</sup> almost alone dissenting, is pathos: it is not the ducats behind the turquoise (a diamond gone, cost me two thousand ducats

<sup>104</sup>Yet it is no case of poetic divination or of writing for the comprehension of a later age. "I am a negro!" a victim of race-hatred will say today, with as little comprehension of the psychology of race-hatred or of Professor Summer's theory of the *mores*.

<sup>105</sup>*Elizabethan Drama*, i, p. 232.

<sup>106</sup>*Ibid*, p. 373.

<sup>107</sup>Creizenach, iv, pp. 279-80.



in Frankfort!) but the thought of Leah that wrings his heart. "What a fine Hebraism is implied in this expression!" cries Hazlitt. "He has so deep a veneration for his dead wife," says Hawkins, with impenetrable gravity, "that a wilderness of monkeys would not compensate for the loss of the ring she had given him in youth."<sup>108</sup> More Elizabethan wit running to waste! We may not be used to laughing at a man as he mourns the flight of his daughter, the memory of his wife, or the theft of his ducats; but neither are we used, any more than Salanio or the boys of Venice, to the manner of his mourning.

I never heard a passion so confus'd,

So strange, outrageous, and so variable.

Shylock is a puppet, and Tubal pulls the string. Now he shrieks in grief for his ducats or his daughter, now in glee at Antonio's ruin. In his rage over the trading of a turquoise for a monkey, he blurts out, true to his instinct for a bargain, "not for a wilderness of monkeys," and the Elizabethan audience, as well as some few readers today, have the heart—or the want of it—to think the valuation funny. The rest may find it hard to laugh at that, as, in the opinion of Rousseau, Taine, Mantzius, and many another candid spirit, it is nowadays hard to laugh at the plight of Moliere's *Alceste*, Georges Dandin or *Arnolphe*, or, to come nearer home, as it is hard to laugh at the torments of *Malvolio*; but in all these instances the invitation to hilarity is plain and clear. It is too late in the day to modernize and transmogrify Molière; but in lands where Shylock's love for Leah moves men to tears, Mr. Sothern may presume as Professor Baker has noted to elicit sympathy for the "affection'd ass," pleading in his madman's chains to be set free. The mistake of the critics in the present case, however, is in part that of viewing the text piece by piece and not as a whole. Torn from the context, there are phrases, even sentences, that may, indeed, seem pathetic. But Shakespeare plays the familiar dramatic trick of taking the audience in for a moment—of

<sup>108</sup> Quoted by Furness, p. 433. Cf. Jastrow, *op. cit.*, p. 733, for a like interpretation.

clapping upon a seemingly pathetic sentiment a cynical, selfish, or simply incongruous one. Shylock cannot wish that his daughter were dead at his foot (if that be pathos) without, while he is at it, wishing that the jewels were in her ear, the ducats in her coffin;<sup>109</sup> he cannot think of Launcelot's kindness, as he parts with him, without also thinking of his appetite; and when he hears of his turquoise traded off for a monkey, thoughts of Leah, his bachelorhood, and a wilderness of monkeys clatter through his brain. Here is pathos side by side with laughter, but not according to Mr. Schelling's thought. The nuances, the harmony is lacking—in true Elizabethan style, there is glaring contrast instead. The pathos is a pretense, the laughter alone is real. The laughter is not restrained, either, but would be nothing less than a roar: the grotesqueness goes over the border of laughter—perhaps of tears.

The trial scene is another place where Shylock has seemed pathetic. Almost all critics make him so, in spite of the scales and the knife-whetting and the jeers at the Jew's discomfiture. Professor Baker holds that Shakespeare evinces a sense of dramatic values in presenting Shylock's disappointment as tragic through his eyes, amusing through Gratiano's. How is the tragic value presented? By the miser and usurer's prostrate prayer to the Duke to take his life if he will take his wealth, or by his plea that he is not well? The biter bit, is the gibe cast at him at the end of *Il Pecorone*;<sup>110</sup> and that, exactly, is the spirit of the scene. Nor is Gratiano the only one to crow. "Thou shalt have justice, more than thou desir'st.—

<sup>109</sup> Professor Jastrow and Dr. Honigmann see no fun in these prompt afterthoughts, these anti-climaxes, which, if they had stood in the text of one of Robertson's plays, would have been printed each with a dash before it. "He would prefer *burying his child and his gold*," says the former, "to knowing them to be in the possession of the Christian fools."

<sup>110</sup> Talche chiunque v'era presente, di questo faceva grandissima allegrezza, e ciascuno si faceva beffe di questo Giudeo, dicendo, Tale si crede ucellare ch'è ucellato. Hazlitt's *Shakespeare's Library*, Pt. ii, vol. i, p. 348.

Soft! The Jew shall have all justice—Why doth the Jew pause? Take thy forfeiture—Tarry, Jew; the law hath yet another hold on you—Art thou contented, Jew? What dost thou say?" Aimed at Shylock as he pleads and squirms, these words fall from lips which a moment before extolled the heavenly qualities of mercy! But here, as in Antonio's notion of conversion, or the Duke's notion of clemency to Jews, is the irony of history, not of art. Shakespeare's thought is as simple and sincere as is the old hagiographer's about the balancing of Jews' ledgers by royal edict. *Pacem operatur justicia.*

Professor Baker asks why "if Shakespeare wished to create laughter by Shylock, he kept him out of the fifth act, thus losing the many opportunities which his forlorn, defeated condition would have given to delight the Jew-baiters." But that would have been to make a point of the matter, and to raise the Jewish question in a play where the Jew's story is, and is meant to be, but an episode. That question, or the slavery question, which Professor Jastrow—not Shylock—raises,<sup>111</sup> or the sex<sup>112</sup> question, or any other, had for Shakespeare, or his brother playwrights, no existence. To him things were solid and settled; he was a conservative in art, as well as in life; and in his plays he held no brief, followed no program. The Jews he made ridiculous not because he himself had a grudge against them, but, just as he made London citizens, Puritans, Frenchmen, and Welshmen ridiculous, because, as he might have said, they were so. He took the world as he found it, and in no respect more than in matters of mirth.

Nor by nature was Shakespeare a satirist. Shylock is the only full-length caricature, perhaps, he ever drew, and he is rather a burlesque,—a burlesque by virtue not only of the extravagance of the portrayal but of the inadvertent indulgence

<sup>111</sup> P. 737: "The Jew reproaches the Christian with his sinful traffic in human flesh." Surely not; that would have spoiled Shylock's argument from analogy.

<sup>112</sup>Cf. my article cited on p. 264.

of it. Unlike Mr. Sidney Lee<sup>113</sup> (if he still holds to the view), I cannot find pathos in the remark

The patch is kind enough,  
which Shylock makes as he looks after Launcelot dancing out the door, any more than I can in that about the turquoise. Our sympathies—even ours today—are engrossed and forestalled by Launcelot and Jessica, and we are not likely to concern ourselves, as Mr. Lee would have us do, about Launcelot's present deceptions and scant deservings. Any pathos, moreover, that the remark might have evoked would immediately have been swallowed up, as is the thought of Launcelot's kindness in the miser's breast, by the words "but a huge feeder" which follow. The real significance of the remark, as of the other little touches in Shylock's character, his pride in his sober house, his memories of Leah, or the simplicity of his last words on the stage, lies in the casual quality of it—beyond the satiric scheme—a cozy individuality which Shakespeare adds almost unawares. Thus the logic of the characterization is disturbed, but the reality of it is heightened. It is thoroughly English, free-handed art, not French. Here, no doubt, lies one of the difficulties of the critics, imbued, as is all the modern world, with Gallic regularity and restraint. That at Harpagon, miser every inch of him, we are meant to laugh, there can be no question; but at Shylock, miser, usurer, and Jew we hesitate, at times, to laugh, because at those times he is something more.

So far and so far only is there any basis for the modern notion of Shylock as a sympathetic character. Yet most critics, I apprehend, will hold, as some hold already,<sup>114</sup> that to us he must be a man more sinned against than sinning, a hero or

<sup>113</sup> *Academy*, Nov. 27, 1880.

<sup>114</sup> See p. 1 for what Professor Wendell, a pioneer to whom we are grateful, used, at any rate, to believe; and my article on *Anachronism*, cited above, p. 264, last pages, where I attempt to overthrow this "two-fold truth" so far as it concerns Hamlet. The article takes up aspects of the subject which I cannot here take up again.



martyr, despite the fact that to Shakespeare he was nothing of the sort. From of old the inroads of science and history have driven men to their refuge of the "two-fold truth." It is the weakness of our minds, perhaps their safeguard. The Romans enthroned the Greek and Egyptian gods by their own. A century and a half after Copernicus, Milton, the iconoclast, ventured to make room in his great poem for the Solar System only by the side of the Ptolemaic. But truth is not twofold, for all "the higher synthesis." The question is, is the earth—the twentieth century—the hub and centre of things? Is criticism to remain as naive and arrogant as the philosophy of many a primitive people, which has it that the navel of the earth is in Delphi, the Forum, or a certain spot in Greenland, and that the name "people" belongs to them alone?<sup>115</sup> If for us the real and permanent meaning of the *Merchant of Venice* was reserved, then Shakespeare must have reserved it knowingly or unknowingly. That the actor and gentleman-sharer, who never published a play, should have written for the globe a burlesque part which he meant, in some milder time, to be taken for nothing short of pathetic and tragic, is an hypothesis too colossal for my mind, at least, to compass. He, of all men, surely, was no alien and stranger to his age, no "pilgrim of eternity." And as for unconscious deviation from his purpose and inadvertent relenting toward the mark of his ridicule, traces of that I have pointed out above. But why not go farther? Why is Shylock, though meant to be butt and villain, not, in spite of the poet, a hero, like Milton's Satan? But Milton's Satan, like Dante's Farinata, is not a hero—we sentimentalize and wrest the text when we make him such—and is just such an instance of unconscious sympathy, artistic rather than moral, as we have already found. And neither Milton nor Dante swerves so far, consciously or unconsciously, as to turn burlesque comedy into tragedy, or villainy into vengeance

<sup>115</sup> Cf. the etymology of the word Dutch or Deutsch, and similar instances of ethnocentrism in language given in Sumner, *Folkways*, p. 14.

and martyrdom? What poet could? For genius, though mysterious, is nothing mystical, and is not uplifted beyond reach of reason and common sense. It is no oracle, but the true and troubled voice of the age. It has no knowledge of the future—*sortes Homericæ, Virgilianæ, Biblicæ*, forsooth! When will criticism have done with Apollo and his tripod, cast aside by poetry long ago? At present, the word "prescience" or "omniscience of genius" is little else than a critic's innocent method of begging the question. It lends color to the foisting into a sixteenth-century playhouse book of twentieth-century morals, ideas, and scientific facts. Why do they not find them in Beaumont or Webster, Jonson or Marlowe? Shakespeare's ways are their ways, and his thoughts their thoughts (and the ways and thoughts of many another, for that matter, before him); nor does his genius differ from theirs except in rank and degree. To hear the critics, you would think that on the twenty-third day of April, 1616, the earth yawned and the light of the sun and moon was darkened.<sup>116</sup>

As we have done with many another monster in history, literature, or holy writ, we have tamed and domesticated the "dog Jew", and drawn his "fangs." "He will speak soft words unto us," he no longer grins or bites. But Shakespeare and the Elizabethans, as we have seen, shuddered at him and laughed at him, and except at popular performances, where racial antipathy is rather to be allayed than fomented, so should we, as much as in us lies, today. Thus we shall come into sympathy with the manifest intention of the poet, with the acting of the part on the Elizabethan stage, with the conception of the money-lending Jew in the contemporary drama, character-writing, and ballad, and with the lively prejudices of the time. A villain and a butt, "une simple figure a gifles," as Francisque Sarcey shrewdly observes, "un monstrueux

<sup>116</sup>See a sensible scientific discussion of "inspiration" and the relation of the genius to his age in Joly, *Psychologie des grands hommes*, ch. v and vi. I hope to return to the subject so far as it concerns Shakespeare, before long.

grotesque, sur le nez de qui tombent à l'envi d'effroyables nasardes''<sup>117</sup>—such, save for a few happily irrelevant touches, and for the splendor of poetry shed, like the rain and the light of heaven, on the just and the unjust, is the impression which Shylock makes after he has been duly restored to the sixteenth century, an impression in which pathos has no place, and with which our notions of justice and social responsibility, on the one hand, or of ironical art, on the other, have, so far as they are merely modern, nothing to do. So he is not lost to us. That Hebraic and picturesque figure will be remembered long after he has retreated from the warm circle of our sentiments, and be visited again and again, by an exhilarating sally of the imagination, in the midst of the harsh and sturdy life where he belongs.

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<sup>117</sup>*Quarante ans de théâtre: Shylock.*

## THE DRAMATIC UNITIES IN ENGLAND.

(Continued.)

It is needless, for the purpose of this paper, to give more than a brief summary of the involved and at times acrimonious dispute over the unities in France. The question has been studied in its various phases, though not, so far as I am aware, by one scholar in its completeness.<sup>1</sup> From the very first, French dramatists and French theorists fell ready victims to the neo-classic influence in this, as in other matters. They were armed with no national traditions to render them proof against foreign literary encroachment and conquest,—and Italian thought soon held almost undisputed sway in France. “The Pléiade made closer and closer approximations to the absolute Trinity of Unities”,<sup>2</sup> and this tendency was gradual until it triumphed in the rigor of Chapelain and the Academy. As Dannheisser puts it, “Ihre (the French dramatists’) Muse machte die Bekanntschaft der Regeln und diese werden schliesslich, wie *Tartuffe*, dem Herrn des Hauses die Thüre weisen.”

On the other hand, the note of opposition was by no means faint, even from the very start,<sup>3</sup>—and the chorus of the dissident was strengthened in time. Hardy, Scudéry, Balzac, Ogier, and many another are more or less outspoken against strict construction of the rules. The first—a dramatist chiefly—says, “mais de vouloir restreindre une Tragédie dans les bornes d’une Ode ou d’une Elegie, cela ne se peut ny ne se doit.”

<sup>1</sup>Vd. Dannheisser, Hunger, Kuhr, Vial et Denise,—in Bibliography.

<sup>2</sup>Saintsbury, *Hist. of Crit.* vol. 2, p. 127.

<sup>3</sup>*Op. cit.* p. 23.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Jean de Beaubreuil, and De Laudun, (Vd. Spingarn, *Hist, etc.*, Section on Unities in France.)

<sup>5</sup>*Théâtre*, V. III, Au Lecteur.



Scudéry speaks of "ces bornes trop estroites",<sup>6</sup> and Ogier, with the nearest approach to the independence of de Laudun, or of Ricci among the Italians, proves, from the practice of the ancients, that "les plus excellents maistres due mestier n'ont pas toujours observé ceste reigle, que nos critiques veulent nous faire garder si religieusement a ceste heure." The "reigle" he is speaking of is the unity of time, which for him is "entre deux soleils".<sup>7</sup>

In reading the opinions of these critics and dramatists, one is struck by the noteworthy fact that not a single man of them is willing to go the full gamut of opposition. A certain air of hesitancy, of readiness to hedge and compromise, is in evidence everywhere in their theorizing. The fact is that the French drama was linked to the Italian with too many and too close bonds; and innovation was not to be thought of. From the time of Jean de la Taille's first formulation of the rules (1572) to the year 1630, the Italian tradition was strengthening its influence on French soil, and in the latter year it became paramount. Thus, 1630 was the date when the unities are recognized as hard and fast rules of the French stage. Nor was the tide to be stemmed by casual voices of remonstrance, like that of Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin, who, in *Les Visionnaires*, attacked the rules with wit and adroitness.<sup>8</sup>

Just as Jean de la Taille was the first in France to formulate the rules, so Chapelain was the first to bind them into a code, and with the aid of Richelieu and his Academy, to make them gospel. It would be a needless digression to enter here into the particulars of the "Cid-strife", which led to the unbending attitude of the Academy on the question. Corneille, the chief dramatic figure of the day, was forced to

<sup>6</sup> *Ligdamon et Lidias* (1631).

<sup>7</sup> *Préface à . . . . . Tyre et Sidon* de Jean de Schelandre—1628.

<sup>8</sup> E. g.,—"Si l'on void qu'un sujet se passe en plus d'un jour,  
L'Autheur, dit on alors, m'a fait un mauvais tour;  
Il m'a fait sans dormir passer des nuits entieres  
Excusez le pauvre homme, il a trop de matieres."

kiss the rod of authority, in penitence for a latitude which Richelieu feared would tend to undermine the Academy's autocracy. Corneille's recantation made, the French stage was henceforth to be in the grip of the Unities;—no further heresy was tolerated, nor indeed attempted,—so that to the end of the 17th century, French critics,—Boileau, Dacier, D'Aubignac, LeBossu, Rapin,—do nothing more than re-mince the "mincings" of their fore-runners, both native and Italian.

It is well to sum up at this stage, the contribution of French speculation on our subject. To begin with, the French theorists, with their genius for codification, worked out the corollaries that follow from rigid enforcement of the minor unities—the *liaison* of acts and of scenes. In his third *Discours*, Corneille expressed his desire for "the exact adjustment of all parts of a tragedy", and deduces the two *liaisons*. As early a playwright as Hardy,—by no means a rigorous conformist—had announced a preference for a certain kind of *liaison*. He says, "J'approuve fort une grande douceur au vers, une liaison sans jours." With Corneille, *liaison* is, at first, not a rule of the stage; he affirms this in saying that "*liaison que unit toutes les actions particulieres de chaque acte l'une avec l'autre est un grand ornement dans un poème*",<sup>10</sup> and this after having conformed to it for a generation and more. The fact is important, for we find in Corneille's discussion the source of the *liaison des scènes* of Dryden and other English critics.

Another topic that merits attention is the French treatment of the vexed question of verisimilitude. Here again the theorists—like their English imitators—invoke the aid of rational precision and "common-sense". D'Aubignac is naively dogmatic on this point: "*Les règles du théâtre ne sont pas fondées en autorité, mais en raison. Elles ne sont pas établies sur l'exemple, mais sur le jugement naturel*",<sup>11</sup>—and

<sup>9</sup>*Théâtre*, vol. 3, *idem*.

<sup>10</sup>Dryden and others in England class *liaison* with the "mechanic graces" of a play.

<sup>11</sup>*Pratique*, II, 4.

these views are the direct outcome of the reasoning of Chapelain. The latter, in his *Sentiments de l'Académie sur le Cid* (1638) delivers himself of the following weighty considerations: "The beauty of a drama is measured, not by the pleasure it gives, but by its conformity to the rules. If an irregular play, full of disorder and confusion, has any elements of pleasure in it, they are due to whatever regularity the author has included. If on the other hand, some regular dramas give little satisfaction, 'il ne faut pas croire que ce soit la faute des règles, mais bien celle des auteurs, dont le sterile genie n'a pû fournir a l'art matière qui fust assez riche.'" <sup>12</sup>

Having taken this as his unshakeable axiom, Chapelain is ready to go to any length in establishing the rules. Indeed, he says, "The essential rule of the theatre is *la vraisemblance*, and not *le vrai*,—which latter cannot be *vraisemblable*."<sup>13</sup> And again, "The rule of the three unities is necessary for the production of *vraisemblance*." In keeping with this narrow spirit—already familiar to us in Italian theorizing—Mairet, in his "Preface de *Silvanir*" (1631), argues for the unity of twenty-four hours. On the unity of place his comments are something like those of Sidney:—"Il est impossible que l'imagination ne se refroidisse, et qu'une si soudaine mutation de scène ne la suprenne et ne la dégoute extrêmement, s'il faut qu'elle coure toujours après son objet de province en province, et que presqu'en un moment elle passe les monts et traverse les mers avec luy."<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Compare the almost verbatim agreement with this, of the coterie of Rymer, Dennis, Jeremy Collier, *et al.* Against the views of Chapelain, Ragan inveighs in a letter to Menage, 17 octobre, 1654, (quoted Vial et Denise, p. 106 note).

<sup>13</sup> *Lettre sur l'art dramatique*, 1630.

<sup>14</sup> Boileau (*L'Art Poet.* III, 45 ff.) cries out against this misuse of the imagination, in words that Soame has well rendered:

"Your place of action must be fixed, and rest.

A Spanish poet may with good event

In one day's space whole ages represent;

There oft the hero of the wandering stage

Begins the child and ends the play of age....."

Such are the shackling views that led the really logical mind of Corneille into the absurdities of fine-spun reasoning. With true dramatic instinct he realized, and even made bold to say at first, that the unities do not conserve *vraisemblance*. But the evil genius of the day made it impossible for him to maintain a consistently independent attitude, and led him to make concessions that proved fatal. He seeks to justify the law of time by a wrenching of the Aristotelian "imitation". As tragedy, he says, imitates human life, it is necessary that the representation of life it gives should last exactly as long as the actual incidents in real life would last. This is imitation in a lifeless, literal sense. How impossible it is to follow the rule rigorously is evident enough to Corneille, though he dodges the issue quite skilfully. The *Discours* will always stand as an instance of genius sadly misdirected.

Yet another feature of the French treatment of the unities is that the unity of action comes again into its own—and with a vengeance. The tendency culminates in the definitions and explanations of Corneille. He says, for instance, "L'unité d'action consiste dans la comédie, en l'unité d'intrigue ou d'obstacle aux desseins des principaux acteurs, et en l'unité de péril dans la tragédie." But he is not opposed to having several "dangers" in tragedy, nor more than one intrigue in comedy, providing they are well articulated. Corneille is most rigorous with regard to the major unity,—and the majority of his *Examens* are taken up with it. It was not long before the actions of French plays were reduced to slender, attenuate threads.

The French critics, as is seen, inherit the mantle of Italian theorizing, and wear it with graceful attitudinizings of

One Spanish playwright who is in essential disagreement with Boileau is Tirso de Molina. In *Cigarrales de Toledo* he includes a play of his own, *El Vergonzoso en Palacio*, where one of the characters says—"How can a gallant fall in love with a lady, court her, treat her, win her and marry her, all in a day?"

(Vd. *Bulletin Hispanique*, 1901-2, Ed. M. Morel-Fatio. Quoted from Saintsbury's *Loci Critici*.)



their own. Imagination,—the free swing of fancy—is a dead letter to them, a thing undreamt of. The reign of reason is supreme. It remains for us to see how the English drama fell under this benumbing spell. It is going too far, however, to ridicule without reserve, the attitude of the French theorists. Unsparring condemnation of this sort is often prompted by lack of sympathy—national or other. Therefore, it is well to remember that we must view as expressions of national tendencies both the French Academy and the opinions it has moulded,—and that to these belongs the credit of what is most valuable in French literature, notably the fine flavor and the sparkling clearness of the language. If, then, French teaching was not a happy force in the English drama at a time when that drama had but few, if any, inherent elements of greatness,—how noble was the atonement of this same teaching in helping to create, at last, English prose—lucid, racy, and strong. Such is the prose of Dryden, the central figure of our second period. At this day, when Dryden is perhaps coming to his own as a literary critic, may we not speculate upon how far his perfect medium of expression aided him in attaining, every now and then, the ring of modernness so peculiar to him?

Dryden's pronouncements on the unities are the largest in bulk of any English critic. Unfortunately, however, here, as in so many other things, Dryden does not maintain a consistent policy or set of ideas, nor can we trace in him the slow growth of the hardening classicism that is evident in Jonson. On the other hand, he is akin to Jonson in seizing every opportunity for giving utterance to critical thought. Prolegomena to plays, prologues and epilogues, defenses, essays—all were vehicles for the thought of an eminently critical and fundamentally logical mind.

It will best serve the purpose of this study to take up Dryden's views in chronological order. In this connection the interesting paper by Mr. Wm. E. Bohn, on *Dryden's Literary Criticism*<sup>15</sup> may be used as a check. Mr. Bohn divides Dry-

<sup>15</sup> *Modern Lang. Ass'n, Pub.*, 1907, no. 3.

den's life and critical activity into five periods: of alternate independence and classic "rationalism". As Dryden had not turned his attention to the unities during the first of these periods, we can begin with the second, which Mr. Bohn dates from 1666 to 1675. Within these time limits,—when Dryden was "the favorite of the court", and "a court critic"—falls the major portion of his exposition of the unities.

The earliest reference, somewhat indirect, that I have noted occurs in the Dedication to the *Indian Emperor* (1667).<sup>16</sup> Dryden shows he is aware of the rules and of French example, when he says, "It (the play) is an irregular piece, if compared with many of Corneille's". The next year, 1668, (the "unities" year, *par excellence*) Dryden has become a conformist,—though with a certain doubt and reservation which he is never at pains to suppress. Both these facts are apparent in the first Prologue to the *Maiden Queen* (1668):<sup>17</sup>

#### I.

"He who writ this, not without pains and thought,  
From French and English theatres has brought  
The exactest rules, by which a play is wrought.

#### II.

The unities of action, place and time;  
The scenes unbroken;<sup>18</sup> and a mingled chime  
Of Jonson's humour, with Corneille's rhyme.

#### III.

But while dead colours he with care did lay,  
He fears his wit, or plot, he did not weigh,  
Which are the living beauties of a play.

<sup>16</sup>*Works* ed. Scott-Saintsbury, vol. 2, p. 282.

<sup>17</sup>*idem*, p. 422.

<sup>18</sup>Cf. Shadwell, *infra*, on "scenes unbroken".

The same fear is expressed in the Preface to the work,"—"For what else concerns this play, I would tell the reader that it is regular, according to the strictest of dramatic laws; but that is a commendation which many of our poets now despise, and a beauty which our common audiences do not easily discern. Neither indeed do I value myself upon it; because, with all that symmetry of parts, it may want an air and spirit (which consists in the writing) to set it off."

This saving sense of the "air and spirit" characterizes all of Dryden's critical utterances. In his most rigorous moments he is still at bottom aware of something that transcends the rules. He is never a classicist in the grain.

We now come to the justly famous *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* (1668). It is written as a friendly argument among four gentlemen: Crites (Sir Robt. Howard), Neander (Dryden), Lisideius (Sir Chas. Sedley) and Eugenius (Lord Buckhurst). Of the views credited to these men in the *Essay*, it is impossible to speak at length; all that can be attempted here is a summary.

The case for regularity is opened by Crites who (against the real opinion of Sir Robt. Howard) is made to plead for the superiority of the ancients over the moderns and of the French drama over the English. In this he is ably seconded by Lisideius,—so that we get from the two a clear statement of contemporary French theories. Partly unlike Sidney, who, it will be remembered, bases the rules on Aristotle's precept and the practice of Italian "player", Crites finds them "extracted" by the French from Aristotle and "Horace". The compass of time he would make the natural day of twenty-four hours, "or as near it as it can be contrived". In supporting this view he harks back to the old theory of "verisimilitude":—"The time", says he, "of the feigned action or fable of the play, should be proportioned as near as can be to the duration of that time in which it is represented: since, therefore, all plays are acted on the theatre in the space of time much within the compass of

<sup>1</sup>*idem*, p. 418. Cf., also, the Epilogue to the play.

twenty-four hours, that play is to be thought the nearest imitation of nature, whose plot or action is confined within that time." Crites would have, too, the parts of a play "equally subdivided", so that each act may take up a like part of the imagined time. He is well aware of the practice of the ancients as to "the rule of time", and his account of this phase of the Greek drama is finely vivid:—"(The Ancients) set the audience, as it were, at the post where the race is to be concluded; and, saving them the tedious expectation of seeing the poet set out and ride the beginning of the course, they suffer you not to behold him till he is in sight of the goal and just upon you." Toward the unity of place, his attitude is profoundly orthodox. "I will not deny," he says "but, by the variation of painted scenes, the fancy.....may sometimes imagine it several places, with some appearance of probability; yet it still carries the greater likelihood of truth, if those places be supposed so near each other, as in the same town or city, etc....."

One possessed of this high regard for symmetry, may be expected to delight in *liaison des scènes*, and indeed Crites praises the "mechanic grace", as "a good mark of a well-contrived play, when all the persons are known to each other, and every one of them has some affairs with all the rest." Of the unity of action Crites accepts the Greek conception,—everything, "even the obstacles, are to be subservient to it". Double action is an abomination,—"not but that there may be many actions in a play, as Ben Jonson has observed in his 'Discoveries'"; but they must all be true and subordinate underplots. Then as a parting shot he hurls against typically English plays the well-worn charge that, "That which should be the business of a day, takes up in some of them an age; instead of one action, they are the epitomes of a man's life; and for one spot of ground, which the stage should represent, we are sometimes in more countries than the map can show us." Here he may be said to rest his case.



Eugenius takes up the cudgels for the native theatre. He begins by refuting the argument of the authority of the ancients, alleging that "the plots of their plays being narrow, and the persons few, one of their acts was written in less compass than one of our well-wrought scenes". His general views seem to have been those of Dryden who says, "Eugenius, who seemed to have the better of the argument, would urge no farther."<sup>20</sup> Lisideius, while decrying French over-scrupulosity with regard to time, expresses pleasure at their *liaison*, thus allying himself with Crites. The other side is nobly upheld by Neander,—and who does not hear the clear voice of Dryden ringing in the following words: "And this leads me to wonder why Lisideius and many others should cry up the bareness of the French plots, above the variety and copiousness of the English"? A most telling blow is delivered when Neander says, "They (the French) have brought on themselves that dearth of plot, and narrowness of imagination, which may be observed in all their plays. How many beautiful accidents might naturally happen in two or three days, which cannot arrive with any probability in the compass of twenty-four hours?....."

Dryden, then, is by no means, in his theories, a hide-bound follower of the "French" rules. That doubt which he hinted at in his first utterance on the question is here openly declared and defended. To this view he held firm throughout his life, though it must be said, in support of Mr. Bohn's opinions, that there is too often, as in the case under discussion, a wide disparity between Dryden's practice and his criticism. In this, as in the general trend of his thought on the drama, the analogy between him and Corneille is of the closest. Mr. Ker states the case happily<sup>21</sup> in saying, "Dryden's position in criticism is very like that of his two forerunners, Tasso and Corneille, both of whom felt themselves obliged on the one hand to pay reverence to the Ancients, and on the other hand

<sup>20</sup> p. 38 (edition of Wm. Strunk, Jr.).

<sup>21</sup> Vol. I, p. xix, *Essays of John Dryden*.

to consider their own genius and the claims of contemporary fashion."

The same year that gave to the world the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* saw the culmination of the so-called Howard controversy. This little dispute between Sir Robt. Howard and Dryden dated from 1664, when, in the Dedication to *The Rival Ladies*, Dryden advanced a plea for rhyme in plays. With this view Howard disagreed in the Preface to his *Plays* (1665). There was little, if any, animosity between the two at this time as they were actually collaborating on a comedy acted the same year. Dryden's reply—the *Essay* we have just discussed—appeared three years later. By this time the ground of dispute had broadened out and included other questions besides that of rhyme. Howard's retort appeared almost immediately after the *Essay*, in the form of a Preface to the *Great Favourite, or The Duke of Lerma* (1668). On the doctrine of the unities Howard's statement in this Preface is perfectly clear-minded. He says, "To show therefore upon what ill grounds they dictate Lawes for 'Dramatick Poesie' I shall endeavor to make it evident that there is no such thing as what they all pretend; for, if strictly and duely weigh'd, 'tis as impossible for one stage to present two Houses or two Roomes truely, as two Countreys or Kingdomes; and as impossible that five houres should be two houres and a halfe, as that a thousand houres or yeares should be less than what they are;" etc. Nevertheless, Howard is not dogmatic on the matter. His readiness to leave it to the author's discretion is admirably cool-headed. "I would," says he, "have all attempts of this nature be submitted to the fancy of others, and bear the name of Propositions, not of Confident Lawes, or Rules made by Demonstration; and then I shall not discommend any Poet that dresses his play in such a fashion as his fancy best approves; and fairly leave it for others to follow, if it appears to them most convenient, and fullest of ornament."<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Yet, as Professor Spingarn points out (*Crit. Essays*, vol. 2, note to p. 108), "Howard finds fault with the laxity of the Spaniards."

But the two playwrights were not to have their quarrel entirely to themselves. In the Preface to the *Sullen Lovers* (1668) Thomas Shadwell is obviously taking his stand on a mooted question.<sup>23</sup> As a professed disciple of Jonson,<sup>24</sup> Shadwell is committed to regularity, and his Preface dispels all doubts on the point:—

“I have in this play, as near as I could, observed the three Unities of Time, Place and Action; the time of the Drama does not exceed six hours, the place is a very narrow compass, and the Main Action of the Play, upon which all the rest depend, is the Sullen Love betwixt *Stanford* and *Emelia*, which kind of love is only proper to their Characters. I have here, as often as I could naturally, kept the scenes unbroken, which (though it be not so much practiced, or so well understood, by the English) yet among the French Poets is accounted a great Beauty.”<sup>25</sup>

Further on in the Preface, however, Shadwell admits frankly and fully, the difficulty of observing the unities in their straitest sense: “Nor can you expect,” says he, “a very Correct Play, under a Year’s pain at the least, from the Wittiest Man of the Nation; it is so difficult to write well in this kind.”

Perhaps the most striking feature of the controversy thus far is that, in essentials, the opinions of the three dramatists coincide;—they are all liberal in their views, though Howard is perhaps the most so,—and one wonders at this much ado

<sup>23</sup> “In his first Comedy Shadwell had caricatured Howard as the positive knight, and in the ‘Preface’ had attacked Dryden’s ‘Essay on Dramatic Poesy’”—Ward, *Hist.*, etc. vol. 3, p. 356, note 3.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. The Prologue to his *Squire of Alsatia*,

“Pray let a Comedy once more be grac’d:

Which does not Monsters represent but men,

Conforming to the rules of Master Ben.”

Ben, as we have noted, was still flourishing in his “mastership.”

<sup>25</sup> Yet, Shadwell says in the Prologue to his *Libertine*, that it is “the most irregular Play upon the Stage.”

about nothing. Nor is their attitude unlike that of Corneille when he makes bold to declare the views closest to his heart.

The only other document in the controversy—for the chief disputants were soon after reconciled—is Dryden's *Defense of an Essay of Dramatic Poesy*.\* This work, while by no means acrimonious, is more direct than the others in its statements,—as Dryden later realized with regret. In effect, the *Defense* is a re-statement of the critic's position as already elaborated in the *Essay*—even to the quoting of some of his earlier *dicta*. In the heat of refutation, Dryden is impelled to go further than perhaps he would otherwise have gone. He is ready to grant Howard's contention that the stage cannot be two places,—“yet the stage may properly represent them, successively, or at several times,..... We distinguish place, as it relates to plays, into real and imaginary. The real place is that theatre, or piece of ground, on which the play is acted. The imaginary, that house, town, or country where the action of the drama is supposed to be.” This leads our theorist directly to the question of the imagination. “The imagination of the audience, aided by the words of the poet and painted scenes, may *suppose* the stage to be sometimes one place, sometimes another.” Dryden then goes on—with too servile following of the French—to hem in this imagination most wofully. It is to be dutiful, and accommodate its pace to that of the more sober reason. “Reason, therefore, can sooner be led by imagination to step from one room into another, than to walk to two distant houses, and yet rather go thither, than to fly like a witch through the air, and be hurried from one region to another. Fancy and reason go hand in hand; the first cannot leave the last behind; and though fancy, when it sees the wide gulf, would venture over as the nimbler, yet it is withheld by reason, which will refuse to take the leap, when the distance before it appears too large.”

In his summary, Dryden points out the underlying difference between tragedy and comedy with regard to the time

\* Prefixed to the second edition of the *Indian Emperor* (1668).



unity. He here expresses what Jonson must have realized more than once, and as a matter of fact, he justifies the contrast by appealing to the practice of the earlier dramatist. Says Dryden, "In comedy I would not exceed twenty-four hours or thirty hours; for the plot, accidents, and persons of comedy are small and may be naturally turned into a little compass: but in tragedy the design is weighty, and the persons great; therefore there will naturally be required a greater space of time in which to move them."<sup>27</sup>

This completes Dryden's "second period". His main contributions to dramatic criticism belong to this time. Henceforth his ideas on play-making are to appear as occasional utterances only, and he is to show a leaning to one side or the other as circumstances, and the play in hand, compel. This latter is so evident that it becomes practically impossible to divide his critical tenets, considered from the standpoint of the unities, into hard and fast "periods".

The criticism we have reviewed reveals Dryden in the attitude of a compromiser, an opportunist. He unites in himself the ancient tradition as modified by contemporary French theorizing, with the characteristic independence of the Englishman. The unity of time he views with more than the laxity of Corneille, yet he asserts its desirability for comedy. On place he is narrower and more dogmatic, and unfortunately falls under the spell of the fine-spun speculation of French sophists. As regards the unity of action, Dryden is his true self again. He recoils from the "thin, abstract plots" of one rather common variety of French comedy, and declares in favor of the fuller, more robust, and more rounded plays of the English. Nor is he prepared to shudder at plentiful episodes and

<sup>27</sup>Cf. Preface to *Tyrannic Love*, 1670. (*Wks.* ed. Scott-Saintsbury, vol. iii, p. 379): "The scenes are everywhere unbroken, and the unities of place and time more exactly kept, than perhaps is required in a tragedy, or at least, than I have since preserved them in 'The Conquest of Granada.'"

well-hinged sub-plots.<sup>28</sup> Thus his dramatic tenets are a subtle combination of the "classic" and the "romantic",—which perhaps accounts for some of the charges of inconsistency so frequently leveled against him. It must be said that neither he nor any of his contemporaries was able to see the slightest incongruity in this admixture. It was the common heritage of the time.<sup>29</sup> Yet the note of modernness that I claimed for Dryden is nowhere so apparent as at this period. To him it was given—and to few others of his time—to atone for errors by true critical appreciation, which is only another word for insight. When he says, "The French have brought on themselves that dearth of plot, and narrowness of imagination, which may be observed in all their plays. How many beautiful accidents might naturally happen in two or three days, which cannot arrive with any probability in the compass of twenty-four hours?"<sup>30</sup> . . . .he soars high above the Rymers and Colliers of the age. Who can doubt that it was the influence of views such as these, that led St. Evremond to express his consciousness of the same fact?—"Il faut aimer la règle pour éviter la confusion; il faut aimer le bon sens qui modere l'ardeur d'une imagination allumée; mais il faut ôter à la regle toute contrainte qui gesne, et bannir une raison scrupuleuse qui, par un trop grand attachement à la justesse, ne laisse pas rien de libre et de naturel."<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Cf. what he says in the Dedication of the 3rd part of his *Poetical Miscellanies* (1693): "As little can I grant that the French dramatick writers excel the English—they content themselves with a thin design without esipodes, and managed by few persons; our audience will not be pleased but with variety of accidents, and underplot, and many actors. They follow the ancients too servilely in the mechanic rules; and we assume too much license to ourselves in keeping them only in view, at too great distance."—(*Miscel. Wks.* ed. Malone, 1800, vol. 3, p. 278). With the above should be compared the words of St. Evremond, *De la Comedie Angloise* (*Oeuvres Meslees*, 1689, p. 577).

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Ker (*op. cit.* p. xxxviii, vol I).

<sup>30</sup> p. 61, ed. Strunk.

<sup>31</sup> *idem*, p. 577.

The remaining *loci* in Dryden can be considered briefly. The first comes in the Preface (1678) to *All for Love*. In the interim Dryden had formed the friendship of Rymer (who, in spite of his critical opinions may have been a very estimable gentleman) and, in addition, had become subject to the influence of Rapin and Bossu. This prepares us for a period of relative narrowness in criticism, and such was the case, at least with regard to the unities. He says, "The fabric of the play is regular enough,—and the Unities of Time, Place, and Action, more exactly observed, than perhaps the English theatre requires. Particularly the action is so much one that it is the only of the kind without episode or underplot."<sup>32</sup> But he will not forego the cherished principle of the English latitude of action,—“Yet though their models (of the ancients) are regular, they are too little for English tragedy; which requires to be built in a larger compass.”<sup>33</sup>

In the same year was written the *Heads of an Answer to Rymer's remarks on the 'Tragedies of the Last Age'*. Here again he applauds the English freedom of plot.<sup>34</sup> In a somewhat narrower vein he speaks in the *Grounds of Criticism*, prefixed to *Troilus and Cressida* (1679). The action must be one, for a double action distracts the attention of the audience. So that, at the end of Mr. Bohn's third period (which he calls one of critical independence) we find Dryden imbued with classical ideas of the unities, and hearkening, in this, most readily to authority.

Dryden next touches upon the rules in the Preface to *The Spanish Friar* (1681).<sup>35</sup> In this he avows wilful disobedience to the “ancient” canons: “There are evidently two actions [in the play]; but it will be clear to any judicious man, that with

<sup>32</sup>Ker, Vol. 1, p. 92.

<sup>33</sup>*idem*, p. 200.

<sup>34</sup>Vol. xv, p. 388, (*Wks.* ed. Scott-Saintsbury).

<sup>35</sup>This is in Mr. Bohn's fourth period (1680-1689), truly one of “meagre criticism” and a time when our poet is, in general, “coldly rationalistic”.

half the pains I could have raised a play from either of them; for this time I satisfied my humour, which was to tack two plays together; and to break a rule for the pleasure of variety."<sup>36</sup>

The year 1689 begins, according to Mr. Bohn, the final phase,—one of "moral and intellectual independence." In general this is strikingly true of Dryden's criticism during this period, though in his practice, as always, he is an opportunist, forced to compromise with the demands of his audience on the one hand, and of the critics on the other. The Preface to *Don Sebastian* (1690) shows the ascendancy of the popular will. "I must," says Dryden, "declare freely that I have not exactly kept to the three mechanic rules of unity. I knew them, and had them in my eye, but followed them only at a distance; for the genius of the English cannot bear too regular a play: we are given to variety, even to a debauchery of pleasure.....I have taken the time of two days, because.....to gain a greater beauty it is lawful for a poet to supercede a less."<sup>37</sup> Similarly, in the Preface to *Cleomenes*, Dryden says, excusing a breach of the rule of time, "it is better to trespass on a rule, than leave out a beauty."<sup>38</sup> Yet again, in the Preface to the 2nd part of his *Poetical Miscellanies* (1693) the thought is thus reiterated: "For many a fair precept in Poetry is like a seeming demonstration in mathematickes; very specious in the diagram, but failing in the mechanick operations."<sup>39</sup>

The same spirit has the upper hand in the Dedication to Dryden's last play, *Love Triumphant* (1694). Of the rule of time in the drama he says, "that it is much within the compass of an astrological day." For place he has less, though little less regard. "Some of the late French poets, and,

<sup>36</sup>*Wks.*, *idem*, vol. vi. p. 409.

<sup>37</sup>*Works*, *idem*, Vol. vii, p. 313.

<sup>38</sup>*Idem*, vol. viii, p. 220.

<sup>39</sup>*Crit. & Misc. Works*, ed. Malone 1800, p. 26. Cf. p. 27, "sometimes [I have] very boldly made such expositions of my authors as no Dutch commentator will forgive me". Another mention of the Dutch occurs on p. 46.



amongst the English my most ingenious friend, Mr. Congreve, have observed this rule strictly. . . I have followed the example of Corneille, and stretched the latitude to a street and palace, not far distant from each other in the same city. They, who will not allow this liberty to a poet, make it a very ridiculous thing for an audience to suppose themselves sometimes to be in a field, sometimes in a garden, and at other times in a chamber. There are not, indeed, so many absurdities in their supposition as in ours; but it is an original absurdity for the audience to suppose themselves to be in any other place than in the very theatre in which they sit, which is neither chamber, nor garden, nor yet a public place of any business, but that of the representation.”<sup>40</sup> The importance of this statement cannot be overestimated. In a flash of intuition, but without following it up, Dryden had hit upon one underlying “absurdity” of all Italian and French and English defenders of verisimilitude. I refer to the merging of audience and actors,—to the projection of the spectators upon the stage, as if they were part and parcel of the performance before them, or held to it the relation of the Greek Chorus. This confounding of two separate and distinct bodies—and its origin is not far to seek—joined to a false notion of imitation, gave rise to the *vraisemblance* that was so highly extolled and so eagerly pursued. To repeat what Dryden says,—“they make it a very ridiculous thing for *an audience to suppose themselves sometimes to be in a field*” etc. Our finical commentators failed to see that the *actors* were “sometimes to be in a field,” and not the audience,—that the spectators are entitled to a certain subtle aloofness from the action on the stage, or there can be no “purgation” of pity and fear. And so the critics, with this spectre of their own conjuring ever present on the boards, cried out to the dramatist to keep it rooted to the spot. Such was the curious blending of actor and auditor—not a surprising result when one remembers that some actors have held that they must always face their audience, and address it solely.

<sup>40</sup>Wks.—ed. Scott-Saintsbury, vol. viii, p. 375.

It will hardly be needful, after what has already been said, to make an extended summary of Dryden's position. The curious strife between his theory and practice has been sufficiently dwelt upon. As Mr. Ker sums it up, "Dryden's theory is wholly independent of his practice, with the possible exception of his heroic plays."<sup>41</sup> Here, as in other matters, Dryden was an opportunist. This fact militates at times against the probity of his criticism,—but it does not prevent his being rated a sound thinker, though one with a lamentable proneness to bow the knee. With him it is a case of the critics *versus* the audience,—yet his own native good taste often frees him from the trammels of both.

Among his English predecessors Dryden owed most to Jonson. The latter's vogue was still to be reckoned with in the second half of the 17th century, and his "mastership" was still attested by numerous dramatists. As regards foreign influence upon Dryden, that of the French is paramount. From Corneille he received the original impulse to critical thought, and "a quickening of interest in critical discussion."<sup>42</sup> But his indebtedness embraces other French writers as well, and he often mirrors the views of Rapin or Bossu, and yet others. More conjectural is his knowledge of D'Aubignac and La Mesnardière.<sup>43</sup> It can safely be said, however, that Dryden's criticism derives preponderatingly from French sources. From the Italians he gets far less, yet something too from them,—perhaps chiefly through French channels. Other sources are inferential and less positive. With the Dutch he is at least acquainted, and, in addition, strong Spanish influence has been claimed for him by Bolingbroke,<sup>44</sup> though if the latter case were true, Dryden would inevitably have reflected, more certainly than he does, the Spanish desire for liberty in the drama.

<sup>41</sup>Vol. i, p. xi.

<sup>42</sup>*idem*, p. xix.

<sup>43</sup>*Vd.* Ker and Strunk on this point.

<sup>44</sup>*Vd.* Spence: *Anecdotes*, etc., 1820, p. 106. Cited by Ker, Vol. i, introduction.

This large borrowing from foreign sources was not, fortunately, to suppress his originality, or undermine the value of his individual contribution to critical thought. Its distinctive and personal qualities impressed a large number of his contemporaries,—and more than one critic was glad to acknowledge him as master. Nor must we underrate the impetus toward the formation of sound critical doctrine that his writings gave the next century. From a number of standpoints, then, his *Essays* and *Prefaces* are documents of prime significance. As Mr. Ker puts it, "The fault of his prefaces is that they make one disappointed with his plays, when one comes to them after his criticisms."<sup>45</sup> It is not, perhaps, too much to say that Dryden is destined to be a figure of increasing prominence in English literary criticism, as the critical study of that subject advances.

*(To be continued.)*

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<sup>45</sup>Ker *op. cit.* vol. i, p. xx.

MARGARET FULLER AND GOETHE, by Frederick Augustus Braun, A. M., Ph.D. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1910.

It is no unusual thing to find in connection with a doctor's dissertation an announcement to the effect that the study is to be expanded and published as a book. With the dissertations on Goethe this promise has been redeemed in a number of cases, resulting in a valuable contribution to Goethe literature. In other cases, however, the sample has created no demand for the expanded product and the enterprise has been dropped upon the acquisition of the coveted degree.

The book here under consideration, one of the former type, grew out of a doctor's thesis presented to the German Faculty of the University of Illinois, and is not only a valuable addition to the already extensive literature on Goethe's personal and literary relations, but will appeal also to the serious-minded who, while not necessarily interested in the narrower problems of literary influence, may nevertheless desire to know something of the potential significance of Germany's greatest poet. This latter feature of the book is due to the fact that Margaret Fuller understood Goethe and his world mission as no American or English writer before her, and but few since.

In an introductory chapter the author indicates in brief the field he intends to cover, ascribing considerable prominence to Margaret Fuller in the New England circle of literary friends to which Emerson belonged, bringing forward abundant evidence to show that she was not only the inspiring genius of the coterie, but also an unusually gifted critic and very clever writer. From copiously quoted utterances of her immediate friends and acquaintances, all of them well known writers, we gain a favorable impression of her charming personality, and of her rare gifts as a conversationalist, a philosophical thinker, and an appreciator of poetry. As the editor of *The Dial* she became a leader in one of the most promising movements in the history of American letters, which had for its object the creation of a national literature. As she did so much toward the introduction and fostering of German literature in America it was time that some present day scholar call attention to the scope and influence of her efforts in this field.

In the chapter on her early education we learn to know her as a precocious child, subjected to the straight-jacket Puritan



methods of education which over-stimulated her intellect for one of her years, but left her emotional and intuitive powers to starve, so that as a girl she felt herself socially a failure. By the time she had reached the age of twenty-two she was fairly well versed in English, Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian literatures, and knew something of Greek and philosophy—but had grown out of sympathy with Puritan theology. In a letter written in 1830, she portrays her ideal of the “person of genius” of which she conceived her generation to be in great need. Strange as it may seem, her glowing picture shows many striking resemblances to young Goethe as we know him in those last productive years before he left Frankfort to go to Weimar, and even the tone of her language, as well as her longing, suggests a review of his in the *Frankfurter Gelehrte Anzeigen*. It is no wonder then that when shortly afterward she made the acquaintance of this “great apostle of individual culture”, as she styles him, she became his ardent follower.

In her study of German, which she began in 1832, inspired by Carlyle's articles in British magazines, she was for the most part her own teacher, and had read within a year an incredible number of the writings of Goethe, Schiller, Körner, Jean Paul, Tieck, and Novalis. She evidently grasped well what she read and was encouraged in her fruitful occupation by certain Harvard acquaintances who had studied in Germany and, fortunately for her, spoke with the greatest enthusiasm of the German language and literature. A new world soon opened to her and she found in it what her soul had long craved. As her inner being began to expand and grow her desire for more German books seemed insatiable. As was to be expected, her first idol was Schiller, for she found it easy to get into sympathy with him. Goethe, the matchless liberator of the inward life, was much more of a problem for her. He is for every one who strives to attain the highest spiritual growth. The attitude toward him of the student who seriously attempts to understand him is a pretty safe basis upon which to gauge his spiritual stature. Margaret Fuller was at first not “happy in reading him”. But after struggling hard with her inner self and the traditions of her early training she recognized in him, as Emerson says, “the most powerful of all mental reagents,” and “her teacher....nor was there room for any other....She found her moods met, her topics treated, the liberty of thought she loved, the same climate of mind....It was one of those agreeable historical coincidences....the simultaneous appearance of a teacher and of pupils, between whom exists a strict affinity.” And yet her admiration of him did not amount to blind worship, for she

preserved her own intellectual independence, receiving from him the most powerful incentives to develop and exert her own personality as Nature had intended.

In the third and much the longest chapter of his book, Dr. Braun discusses Margaret Fuller's religion and philosophy of life. He shows convincingly the error of classing her among the Transcendentalists, though she was a personal friend of the leaders of that movement. She is more properly called a follower of Goethe, in that she sought the highest perfection of character in the development of the truly human side of her nature, by the wise exercise of her natural powers, and by trusting her human instincts as the guide of life. Her main source of inspiration was Goethe's lyric poetry, in which his philosophy of life is so beautifully and forcibly expressed. But she found much in *Faust* and *Wilhelm Meister* that accorded with her own convictions and helped her to achieve spiritual freedom. With Goethe and Schiller she believed thoroughly in the prominent part to be played by poetry in the esthetic education of the human race. "Das Dämonische", to which Goethe ascribed so much influence in the world, occupied a corresponding position in her creed. She was not a visionary, nor was she dogmatic. On the contrary, she was extremely tolerant, and possessed, with all her idealism, a rich fund of wholesome, practical common sense. She accepted the limitations of human nature, believing the acknowledgement of them one of the first conditions of progress. What deep satisfaction it might have afforded Goethe if he could have known in his last days that his "Gemeinde" was soon to receive so intelligent and appreciative a member far away across the sea.

The example of this woman, self-taught in German, shows the possibility of gaining a better knowledge of Goethe by studying him in his own writings than many students ever acquire who enjoy the benefits of university lectures and have access to the overwhelming mass of literature about him. But Margaret Fullers are rare in any country.

The fourth chapter of our book is devoted to her defense of Goethe, who was being attacked by such Americans as Emerson and Longfellow, and by such Germans as Börne and Menzel. The latter's most venomous diatribe would not have affected American sentiment if it had not been translated by a Harvard professor, who doubtless needed such a means of venting his own spleen. Margaret Fuller's answers to the hostile critics were published in the preface to her translation of Eckermann's *Conversations with Goethe* and in an article in *The Dial*. She was called upon to defend Goethe against the four charges: that he is not a Christian, not an idealist, not a democrat, and not Schiller. If Goethe had accepted without

reserve the tenets of the orthodox church he could not have found in her a willing disciple. The fact that his artistic genius discerned and portrayed the poetic aspects of reality needed no apology, so far as she was concerned, since she held this to be his inspired calling. She admitted that he was an aristocrat, considering it only natural that he should be, because of his need of repose to achieve his high purpose. Finding fault with Goethe for not being a Schiller seemed as absurd to her as quarreling with the rose for not being a lily, or with the eagle for not being a swan. She looked upon Menzel's view of Goethe as that of a Philistine, who does not enter into Canaan and read the prophet by the light of his own law. The way in which Goethe grew on her she puts in these words: "He obliges us to live and grow, that we may walk by his side; vainly we strive to leave him behind in some niche of the hall of our ancestors; a few steps onward and we find him again, of yet serener eye and more towering mien than on his other pedestal."

In the fifth chapter of his book, which treats of Margaret Fuller's interpretation, criticism, and translation of Goethe, Dr. Braun quotes enough from her writings to give us the drift of her criticisms and convince us of the correctness of his assertion that in viewing Goethe from the historical standpoint, she was superior to Carlyle and was decades in advance of German critics, who were still laboring under the spell of Hegelian philosophy. What she says of *Faust*, *Wilhelm Meister*, *Werther*, *Tasso*, *Die Wahlverwandtschaften*, and *Iphigenie*, is well worth reading today, in spite of the increased body of knowledge that has been brought to light by the investigations and discoveries of the intervening sixty-five years. The reading of the extracts quoted creates a desire to read the whole of her criticisms, for she is remarkably felicitous in the communication of her ideas.

The first translation she made was that of *Tasso*, two years after she had begun the study of German. She failed to find a publisher for it, so that it did not appear in print till after her death. In 1839, she translated and published the first two volumes of Eckermann's *Conversations*, omitting the portions dealing with Goethe's pet hobby, the theory of colors, and condensing some of Eckermann's own remarks. Her chief purpose in undertaking the difficult task was to make Goethe better known to her fellow countrymen. She also translated a number of his smaller poems, two of which, *Eins und Alles* and *Dauer im Wechsel*, were found among her papers in the Boston Public Library and published for the first time by Braun, who shows that her rendering does not convey Goethe's meaning very accurately, nor does she reproduce the form of



the original, which leads him to doubt whether she ever intended these translations for publication. The doubt has everything in its favor.

The most regrettable thing about her literary career is the fact that she was forced by straightened circumstances to forsake her cherished plan of writing a *Life of Goethe* "from original documents", and take up the profession of teaching in order to support her family. She had collected a vast amount of material for the biography, and realized deeply the amount and character of the work involved in the preparation for it, as well as her own limitations, and yet we cannot help feeling that, with her sympathetic appreciation of Goethe and his mission, her love for the work, and her warmth and brilliancy of style, she would have written a *Life* which would have been a distinguished contribution to the Goethe literature of her time and would have exerted a strong broadening influence on American culture.

In an appendix to his treatise Braun publishes for the first time the full and correct text of Margaret Fuller's religious creed of 1842. Throughout his book he makes frequent reference to this creed, which is particularly interesting in connection with his study in that it shows Goethe's influence at so many points. The appendix is followed by a bibliography and an index.

It had long been known that Margaret Fuller was a great admirer of Goethe and was influenced somewhat by him in her religion and philosophy, and it had been pointed out that what she wrote about Goethe was among the very best of her writings and among the very best Goethe publications in any language, but it remained for Dr. Braun to discover the real and full significance of this phase of her life and work, and present it to the public of today in such a form that her desire to bring Goethe's influence to bear on American culture, and her efforts looking to that end, may add new stimulus to the forces already at work in that direction. He is to be congratulated on having been assigned such a subject for a doctor's thesis, for it has evidently made a deep impression on him, and its effect will be felt indirectly by all who come under his teaching.

The only adverse criticism to be passed on his work is that his style is at times lacking in cleverness and swing, but these faults are in a measure offset by occasional fervor and constant sincerity. It is to be hoped that the book will be widely read and that it may accomplish the laudable purpose for which it was evidently designed.

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GRILLPARZER AS A POET OF NATURE. By Faust Charles De Walsh, Ph.D. New York, 1910. The Columbia University Press. The Macmillan Co., New York, Publishers. Pp. xvii and 95. Price, \$1.00.

Die Dissertation De Walsh's lässt uns von neuem bedauern, dass nicht alle derartigen Einzeluntersuchungen ruhen, bis die grosse historisch-kritische Ausgabe August Sauers vollendet ist. Titel und Anlage nach ist auf Umfassung des Themas abgezielt, tatsächlich aber die Ausführung auf halbem Wege stecken geblieben. Das Resultat steht nicht im Verhältnis zu der aufgewandten Mühe. Dem Verfasser fehlte die Perspektive, und diese hätte ihm, bei sonst gleichen Verhältnissen, eben die neue Ausgabe vermitteln können. Das Naturgefühl Grillparzers musste historisch behandelt werden. Das ahnt De Walsh, führt es aber nicht aus. Er geht so unhistorisch zu werk, das er als Extract von Grillparzers Naturdichtung auf 5 von 91 Text-Seiten analysiert: *Irenes Wiederkehr*, das "poetische Gemälde" aus dem Jahre 1807. Der damals sechzehnjährige Jüngling hatte noch gar keinen eigenen Ton gefunden, sondern schwankte zwischen Goethe, Schiller, Shakespeare und, wie Sauer kürzlich überraschend nachwies, Wieland hin und her. *Irenes Wiederkehr* ist in Form und Inhalt nicht *eigenartig* sondern nachempfunden, wie jeder Leser auf den ersten Blick sehen muss: so sind aus Schillers *Glocke* und *Würde der Frauen* ganze Stellen gradezu abgeschrieben. Schlussfolgerungen dürfen also aus einem so unreifen Erzeugnis überhaupt nicht gezogen werden, da Grillparzer noch viele Wandlungen durchzumachen hatte, bis er zur selbständigen Naturbetrachtung kam.

"To show in some detail the nature of these manifold reactions of the outer world upon his mind and art, is the purpose of this study." Es werden allerdings eine Menge Einzelheiten beigebracht, aber nur selten die Wirkung grösserer Komplexe auf die Dichtungen dargestellt. Es kommt zu Ansätzen, nicht zur konsequenten Behandlung der Hauptfrage wie sich Grillparzers Menschen zur Natur stellen. Es wird sehr hübsch ausgeführt, wie in *Sappho* das Naturleben ins Menschenleben hinüber spielt, ohne dass jedoch der Kern aufgedeckt würde: die knospende, treibende Frühlingstimmung, unter deren Bann das Geschick sich vollzieht. Beim *Goldenen Vliess* wird eine hyper-wagnerische Mythologie konstruiert, über deren mystisches Dunkel sich Grillparzer entsetzt hätte: Medea-Finsternis; Jason-Licht. Bei *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen* wird das Problem angeschnitten; unausgeführt bleibt, wie wunderbar

fein die drei verschiedenen Morgenstimmungen abgestuft sind, wie die süsse, schwüle Liebesnacht gegen die schaurige Todesnacht kontrastiert ist, wie der heisse, müde Nachmittag sich in die ahnungsschwere Abenddämmerung hinzieht: und alles durchdrungen wird von der geheimnisvollen Dynamik des Meeres. So sind auch, ganz oder szenenweise, *Ottokar*, *Weh dem, der lügt*, *Libussa*, *Bruderzwist*, *Jüdin* in gewisse Naturstimmungen getaucht, ohne dass sie immer so deutlich herausgearbeitet wären, wie in der *Hero*. Hintergründe, Untertöne werden vom Verfasser nicht beachtet.

August Sauer betont neuerdings, dass Grillparzer ein höchst musikalischer Dichter sei. Wie steht es mit seinem akustischen, wie mit seinem koloristischen Sinn? Auf erstere Frage geht De Walsh nicht ein; die letzere wird m. E. falsch beantwortet. Grillparzer soll einen feinen Farbensinn besessen haben. Als Hauptbeweis dient die bekannte Landschafts-Beschreibung im *Ottokar*: "Schaut rings umher, wohin der Blick sich wendet." u.s.w. Aber grade diese Stelle zeigt nur Konventionelles, wie denn auch in seiner Prosa Grillparzer immer versagt, wo es sich um Wertung malerischer Vorwürfe handelt.

Ein seltsamer Denkfehler verdient Erwähnung: "The key to Grillparzer's nature-poetry may be found in his æsthetic principles" (p. 89). Im Gegenteil: die æsthetischen Prinzipien gehen wie die Naturdichtung aus der Naturauffassung hervor.

Alles in allem ist die vorliegende Arbeit zu bezeichnen als eine sehr achtbare Leistung des Fleisses und liebevollen Eindringens in das Einzelne. Ihre Fehler sind mehr die Fehler der Methode—hört die Alfred Biese'sche Sintflut von Natursinn-Dissertationen nie auf?—als die des Verfassers selbst. Relativ, als Vorarbeit in Einzellnem nicht unbrauchbar, ist die Abhandlung als Ganzes und absolut betrachtet ergebnislos.

O. E. LESSING.

FRIEDRICH VOGT UND MAX KOCH. Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von der ältesten Zeit bis zur Gegenwart. Dritte, neubearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage. Zwei Bände. Leipzig und Wien. Bibliographisches Institut. 1910.

Dasz nun schon die dritte Auflage dieses längst bewährten Buches notwendig geworden, ist wohl der beste Beweis für die Beliebtheit, deren es sich erfreut. Der Plan des Werkes ist derselbe geblieben. Nur im Einzelnen sind Veränderungen und Zusätze zu konstatieren, die meistens durch den Fortschritt

der literatur-historischen Wissenschaft und durch die neuen Erscheinungen in der Literatur der letzten Jahre bedingt sind.

Der erstre Band von Vogt zeigt sehr wenige Abweichungen von der 2ten Auflage. Hier und da ist neuer Bildschmuck hinzugekommen (z. B. S. 67, 140, 313 der neuen Auflage), manchmal alter fallen gelassen (z. B. S. 134 der zweiten Auflage). Die Veränderungen im Text sind gering. Zuweilen ist die Feile noch sorgfältiger angelegt worden als früher (z. B. S. 142). Ueberall tritt, wie in der älteren Auflage, dem Leser Gründlichkeit des Wissens, gepaart mit vornehmer Objektivität, entgegen. Letztere zeigt sich besonders auf den Seiten, die das Nibelungenlied behandeln. Die Bibliographie hat kleine aber nicht unwichtige Veränderungen erfahren. Auf Seite 354 hätte erwähnt werden können, dass Muth's "Einleitung in das Nibelungenlied" vor kurzem neu aufgelegt worden ist. Ferner will mir scheinen, als ob die ganze Bibliographie zum Nibelungenlied doch allzu knapp gefasst sei. Dazs Vogt vermeiden will, den Leser durch Ueberfülle bibliographischen Details zu verwirren, ist nur zu billigen. Andererseits vermiszt man doch den Hinweis auf manch anregende Untersuchung. Auf S. 361 wäre die Erwähnung von Gaston Paris' Aufsatz über die Tannhäusersage in seinen "*Légendes du Moyen Age*" (Paris, 1904) willkommen gewesen.

In zweiten Band von Koch erweisen sich die Veränderungen naturgemäss als wesentlich bedeutender. Gegenüber den 599 Seiten der 2ten Auflage enthält dieser Band der neuen Auflage 675 Seiten. Auch in diesem Bande ist neuer Buchschmuck hinzugekommen (S. 284, S. 354, u.s.w.). Mit Sorgfalt wird alles gebucht, was von Bedeutung in der Literatur oder Literaturgeschichte seit der zweiten Auflage erschienen ist (vgl. S. 173 das Einschiebsel über Lessings Amtsbrieife, S. 486 die Erwähnung von Heyses "Geburt der Venus," S. 493 die neuen lebensvollen Sätze über Hebbel, S. 511 die Erwähnung Wilhelm Fischers in Verbindung mit Saar und Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach, S. 512 die Charakteristik Fischers, u.s.w.). Das bedingt grosse Veränderungen vor allem im letzten Kapitel "Von der Reichsgründung bis zur Gegenwart."

S. 435 befremdet, dazs bei dem Hinweis auf die Anklänge an das Volkslied in der Mörikeschen Lyrik gerade Schön-Rohtraut nicht genannt wird. S. 422 hätte bei der Erwähnung von Halms Erzählungen "Das Haus an der Veronabrücke" besonders hervorgehoben werden können als mit die gewaltigste Renaissancenovelle der deutschen Literatur. S. 544 kommt meines Erachtens Ricarda Huch nicht ganz zu ihrem Recht. Sie gehört doch wohl zu den glänzendsten Erscheinungen der zeitgenössigen Literatur überhaupt. So nennt Koch beispiels-

weise nicht den Roman "Aus der Triumphgasse." Dieser ist aber nicht nur inhaltlich, sondern auch in der Technik ein höchst eigenartiges Werk: eine ganze Gasse wird hier als einheitlicher Organismus aufgefasst und entwickelt sich somit zum Helden der Geschichte. Merkwürdigerweise gedenkt Koch J. J. Davids mit keinem Wort. Der Verfasser von "Digitalis," "Troika," u.s.w., hätte es wohl verdient, als Meister der Erzählerkunst in einem so umfangreichen Buche eine Stelle zu finden.

Die Bibliographie ist ausserordentlich wertvoll. Nicht allein auf dem Gebiete der Literaturgeschichte selbst, sondern auch auf dem der Musikgeschichte und der Philosophie, in sofern diese mit der Literatur zusammenhängen, ist sie höchst reichhaltig. Dasz R. M. Meyers Buch über Goethe nicht erwähnt wird, muss ich bedauern. Unter "Charakteristik Goethes und Einzelheiten" (S. 604) vermisste ich einen Hinweis auf Boucke, "Wort und Bedeutung bei Goethe." In der reichhaltigen Bibliographie zu "Goethes naturwissenschaftlichen Studien" (S. 610) wäre wohl Menke-Gluckert, "Goethe als Geschichtsphilosoph und die geschichtsphilosophische Bewegung seiner Zeit," Leipzig 1907, zu nennen gewesen, da uns ja dieses Büchlein den Einfluss von Goethes naturwissenschaftlichen Studien auf seine Geschichtsphilosophie in so lichtvoller Weise vorgeführt hat. S. 629 ist unter "Byron" zu lesen "Kräger" statt "Krüger."

Das sind aber alles Kleinigkeiten, die gegenüber der Fülle des Belehrenden und Anregenden nicht ins Gewicht fallen können. Wir bewundern auf jeder Seite Kochs erstaunliche Belesenheit und seine Gabe, ein so gewaltiges Material klar und übersichtlich zu gruppieren. Wenn auch Koch modernen Bestrebungen und modernen Verirrungen gegenüber manchmal sehr streng erscheint, so wirken doch sein Ernst und sein hohes Ideal überall wohltuend.

Das schöne Werk wird in dieser neuen Auflage an Verbreitung und Einfluss sicher noch gewinnen, und in den Vereinigten Staaten zu einem besseren Verständnis der deutschen Literatur, das sich ja auch bei Amerikanern langsam anbahnt, beitragen.

CAMILLO VON KLENZE.

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RAHMENERZÄHLUNG UND VERWANDTES, bei G. Keller, C. F. Meyer und Th. Storm. Ein Beitrag zur Technik der Novelle von Hans Bracher. Untersuchungen zur neueren Sprach- und Literatur-Geschichte, herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. Oskar F. Walzel. Neue Folge. III. Heft. H. Haessel Verlag in Leipzig, 1909. pp. VIII & 132.

How refractory is the English language! It permits of description but balks at nomenclature. Its words do duty as individuals but refuse to enter into combination, except they be linked together under sullen protest by the inflexible hyphen. Even this form of union seems to be going out of fashion and the divorce court of the lexicographer is called upon with ever increasing frequency to sever the marital bonds of unhappy word couples that refuse longer to cohabit.

What shall we say for our author's *Rahmenerzählung*? *Story-within-the-story* is descriptive but cumbersome and not sufficiently comprehensive. Mr. Root, in his *Poetry of Chaucer*, speaking of the device employed by the compiler for giving collective unity to the *Arabian Nights*, uses the expression *framework story*, referring, however, to the outer narrative and not to the work as a whole. Even the *Decameron*, the classic illustration of this form of fiction, has not as yet called forth a term applicable to its literary type. Under the circumstances we are constrained to create terms for ourselves, hoping that if they do not find general acceptance they may at least serve as stepping stones to something better. Let us then call this type of literature *framework fiction*. The inner story we will designate as the *framed* or *enframed tale*, and the outer story the *enframing narrative*, since the latter turns out to be more often a brief narration than a complete recital with well marked beginning, climax and conclusion.

To return to the work before us. As he indicates in the title, Dr. Bracher does not aim to present the history of framework fiction in general, but confines himself to a study of this literary form in the works of the three authors mentioned. The author's original purpose of offering a sketch of framework fiction in German literature was defeated by the appearance of

the dissertation by Moritz Goldstein, *Technik der zyklischen Rahmenerzählungen Deutschlands. Von Goethe bis Hoffmann*. Nevertheless, in his introduction Dr. Bracher in a few well chosen words calls attention to the antiquity of this literary form and to its oriental origin. The compilers of the oriental collections, Hitopadesa, Pancatantra, Arabian Nights, etc., were, in a much higher degree than is now possible, collectors rather than originators, *Finder* rather than *Erfinder*. If the modern poet, to use the words of Spielhagen, is *der liederreiche Mund seines Volkes*, the ancient poet was rather *der Mund seines liederreichen Volkes*. Substitute story, fairy tale, anecdote for song, and the statement still holds true. The ancient poet had only to fashion a suitable receptacle, the contents were ready at hand. The primitive receptacle is comparable, therefore, with an urn or a chest rather than a frame, for unlike the latter its capacity to receive is unlimited.

If the modern writer has less material at his disposal he possesses on the other hand a greater desire for artistic effect and for a more vital relationship between the framework and the enframed tale. The old story cycles with their relatively unimportant setting have been succeeded, therefore, today in general by a single story inseparably embedded in an enclosing medium. After a brief discussion of the Thousand and One Nights, the Book of the Seven Sages, the Decameron and its numerous successors and German framework fiction from Goethe's *Unterhaltungen* to Hoffmann's *Serapionsbrüdern*, the author comes to the three writers whose method and technique he wishes to study. Of these Keller stands somewhat apart from Storm and Meyer in that the latter employ the outer framework to enclose a single story, whereas the former still continues the old tradition of a series or collection of tales held together by a more or less elaborate framework. The motives that impel the modern writer to employ the form of the story-within-the-story are mostly technical and æsthetic, as opposed to the more evident aim of the ancient compilers. In many cases the author wishes merely to preserve the advantage of narration in the first person, and accordingly puts the story into the mouth of a person introduced to the reader in the "frame." An interesting device to preserve the same advantage in the case

of persons long dead is the introduction or feigned discovery of an old manuscript, diary or correspondence. Here the remote past is brought up close to the imagination of the reader, much in the same way that a distant object is drawn close to the eye through the medium of powerful field glasses. "Nowhere is the effect of narration in the first person stronger than in this class of fiction. It must be handled, to be sure, with corresponding art and skill. The idea of the manuscript must be kept constantly before the reader's mind, in order that the illusion of an ancient parchment, with its poetical effect, may not grow dim and fade away before his eyes."

Not only are Keller's prose works, including *Der grüne Heinrich* and *Martin Salander*, in the form in which it was originally planned, collections or cycles, but his poems also appear in the same category. Thus, in his earliest published volume, the *Gedichte* of 1846, we find the cycles: *Lebendig begraben*, *Feuer-Idylle*, *Siebenundzwanzig Liebeslieder*. And Dr. Bracher is undoubtedly correct in saying: "The cycle is for him the favorite form, because it is the most convenient for receiving such a wealth of fantasy."

Keller, therefore, resembles his ancient prototypes, in that he also is seeking to store away his overflowing supply of material—material, however, of his own creation.

In the pages devoted to Keller, Dr. Bracher sketches with skill the development of the artist's constructive or synthetic ability, which reaches its height in the *Sinngedicht*. Here the enframing narrative not only contains the six tales recounted by Reinhart and Lucie, but, as it were, produces and governs them, so that like the complications in the first two or three acts of a drama, they serve partly to retard and partly to advance the action of the main plot, which here for the first time is removed from the inner to the outer narrative. The *Sinngedicht*, therefore, reveals an artistic unity, a compactness of structure, such as none of Keller's predecessors in this type of literature attained or, indeed, aimed at.

With the first chapter devoted to Keller, the reader rather expects to find the second and third chapters occupied with a similar treatment of the art of Meyer and Storm. These, however, are headed, respectively:

The manuscript in the service of framework fiction, and  
The enframed tale.

The subdivisions of the former must suffice to give an idea of Dr. Bracher's procedure, in lieu of a more detailed presentation of the contents. They are as follows: The nature of the manuscript (correspondence, memoirs, diaries, etc.). The introduction of the manuscript. The scribe. The technical aim of the manuscript.

Meyer and Storm are mentioned frequently (as are also Paul Heyse, Hoffmann and others), but the interest which in the first chapter centered about the author treated is here replaced by a more general investigation of method and technique, Meyer, Storm and Heyse serving as points of departure and points of return. It is impossible to do entire justice to this book in a brief review, inasmuch as its value lies in large part in its suggestive aperçus, which do not permit of condensation or classification. Thus of Storm's heroes the author remarks: "In their tendency to the tragic they are almost all of them related to Werther. They are men who allow a hostile fate to grow above their heads, instead of turning it with powerful hand to their advantage." And of Heyse's heroes: "One can observe in most of them a certain naïveté in matters of taste."

While not intended as a manual of instruction for novelists and story tellers, Dr. Bracher's monograph contains many hints that would be of great practical value to the young literary artist, in so far as this art can be acquired through an analysis of the writings of the masters.

The weakest, indeed, the only weak part of the book, is the conclusion (*Schluss*). The reader looking for a summary of the contents is somewhat disappointed to find nothing but apologies, particularly when the latter appear quite uncalled for. The modern reader understands without being told that what he has just read is not necessarily the final word on the subject.

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H. Z. KIP.



K. BODE. Die Bearbeitung der Vorlagen in Des Knaben Wunderhorn. Berlin, 1909. 807 pp. (Palæstra LXXVI.)

Little indeed now remains to be said concerning the sources of the songs in the Wunderhorn and their treatment by Arnim and Brentano since the appearance of the book by F. Rieser (Des Knaben Wunderhorn und seine Quellen, Dortmund, 1908, 560 pp.) and of Bode's eight hundred page volume. Rieser did his work very conscientiously (see the excellent review by Bode himself in the *Anz. f. d. A.* 32, 310-317), but did not make use of the very important material in Berlin: particularly MSS. and L. Erk's accurate copies of songs formerly in possession of Arnim. In other respects, too, Bode worked quite independently of Rieser—his book was practically finished before Rieser's appeared. Bode also treats the Kinderlieder, which Rieser entirely disregarded.

After an introductory chapter on the origin of the collection and a discussion of the early criticism of the Wunderhorn, Bode devotes over a hundred pages to the investigation of the sources, proceeding then to his main task: the treatment of the sources themselves by Arnim and Brentano. He classifies the songs under five types: I, those that are unchanged or only slightly altered; II, those of which the language was somewhat modernized, partly altered songs in dialect and others that underwent some revision from the metrical standpoint; III, those with greater alterations of the original texts, abbreviated forms, and others with new additions; IV, Um- und Weiterdichtungen, contaminations; V, original poems by Arnim or Brentano.

The author shows very carefully how the editors altered their sources, and not seldom fills several pages with matter relating to a single poem. This is interesting to be sure, but on the whole Bode goes too much into detail, with the result that his book is unduly bulky, as he himself admits. His summaries of results and the comparisons of the work of Arnim and of Brentano are excellent. I have noticed but few errors and these concern only minor details, e. g.: (p. 54, note) Paul

von der Aelst's song-collection, "Blumm und Auszbund," 1602, exists in only one copy (in Weimar); (p. 51, 668f.) the first edition of Scandellus' Liedlein was that of 1570, not 1578. The Berlin Ms. germ. quart. 709, which Bode refers to on pp. 65 and 345 (also in *Anz. f. d. A.* 32, 313), seems not to have been Brentano's (contrary to Böhme, Altd. Liederbuch, p. 774); most of it is in the handwriting of W. Grimm and the former owner, Meusebach, wrote on the Ms. itself that it was a gift to him "aus der Gütergemeinschaft der Brüder Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm (die diese Lieder meist zusammengeschrieben)."

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RÓMVERIASAGA (A. M. 595, 4°). Hrsg. von Rudolf Meissner, *Palestra* 88, Mayer und Müller, Berlin, 1910.

This edition, which was originally intended for the *Sagabibliothek*, has been expected for some time, for as early as 1903 Mogk (Pauls *Grundriss*, II. 877, foot note) was able to announce that Meissner was engaged in preparing it; and a much-needed work it was, for the saga has been available heretofore only in Gislason's 44. *Prøver af oldnordisk sprog og literatur*, Kjøbenhavn 1860. The text is equipped with critical apparatus and is accompanied by an introduction of 155 pages and copious notes.

The Rómveriasaga is a translation of Sallust's *Bellum Jugurthinum* and *Catalina* and of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, the three narratives from Roman history being united into one saga. We possess two versions of the Old Norse work, an older one, designated by Meissner as GIX, and a younger one of which there are three complete manuscripts, one from the last half of the 14th century called GVIII., one from the first half of the 15th century and a paper manuscript from the 18th century. The last, however, is of no value for textual criticism. The manuscript of the 15th century does not, according to Meissner, represent an independent text of the younger version of the saga, but is based upon the manuscript from the end of the 14th century and may be a direct copy of the same. The relation between

the older and later versions he explains as follows: "GVIII. ist eine sehr freie Bearbeitung der ursprünglichen Uebersetzung. Vor allem ist der Text stark gekürzt, im Sallustteil bis zur Sinnlosigkeit. Für die Beurteilung des Stils der Uebersetzung hat deshalb GVIII. nur geringe Bedeutung. Charakteristische Züge sind verloren gegangen, wofür unten Beispiele gegeben werden and typische Formeln der späteren isländischen Saga haben sich eingedrängt. Die Entstellung der fremden Namen ist sehr viel weiter vorgeschritten als in GIX., so ist z.B. in GVIII. Sebastius für Sallustius eingetreten. GVIII. ist aber nicht eine Bearbeitung von GIX. sondern geht auf eine Vorlage zurück, die einen besseren Text enthielt als wir in GIX. haben. Daher hat GVIII. für die Herstellung des Textes einen beschränkten kritischen Wert." Then follows a citation of the passages in which GVIII. shows a better text than GIX. We should have been glad to have from Meissner a clear statement of his opinion regarding the relation of GIX. to the original translation. He evidently considers it to be one or more degrees removed from the original. Again, he does not discuss the possibility of an oral tradition, at least in part, in the case of GVIII. When a text shows so many abbreviations and additions as we find here we suspect that the author was writing from memory. We should think that a close comparative study of the two versions and the Latin text might throw some light on the question, for double versions of the same saga or of the same incident in two different sagas, as we have for example in *Víga-Glúms saga*, Chap. 16 and *Reykðelasaga*, Chap. 26 or *Grettissaga*, Chap. 25-27 and *Fostbræðrasaga*, Chap. 7 and 8, or *Gunnlaugssaga*, Chap. 10 and *Hallfreðarsaga* (*Fornsögur*, page 113), etc., furnish excellent material for a study of the nature of oral and written tradition. Whether in the early days before the sagas were written down, the oral tradition passed from generation to generation in a loose or in a fixed form is still a moot point in Old Norse literary history and these two widely differing versions of the Rómveriasaga, where we know that the starting point was a written text, ought to help in its solution.

Concerning the original form and unity of the saga, Meissner is convinced that the three separate stories, namely, the war with Jugurtha, the conspiracy of Cataline and the civil war between



Cæsar and Pompey, were from the beginning combined into one connected saga in Old Norse and that we have to do with one original translation. The style in all the parts is uniform. He mentions two facts which might seem to contradict such an assumption. First, Julius Cæsar is almost always mentioned by his gens name in the Lucan part of the saga, but by his cognomen in the account of the Catalinian conspiracy. Secondly, Cicero is introduced in the Lucan part as if for the first time, whereas the name occurs frequently in the Catalina. But Meissner adds: "Gegenüber der allgemein hervortretenden Stileinheit können diese Dinge nicht ins Gewicht fallen." We must commend the editor's good judgment in this matter. Scholars are often too eager to draw far-reaching conclusions from slight inconsistencies. We should hardly expect mediæval translators to eliminate from their works all contradictions when dealing with several sources. The general impression of unity or diverseness of style is, in the reviewer's opinion, a better criterion.

Some of Meissner's comments on the general characteristics and style of the saga are interesting and instructive: The minuteness and accuracy with which the two books of Sallust are translated is very unusual for the age. It is well known that the mediæval accounts of the history of Rome generally omit everything between Tarquinius Superbus and Julius Cæsar. The interest with which these events out of the period of the Republic are narrated indicates a notable deviation from the taste of the time. The literary significance of the saga lies in the fact that the translator possesses an unusual ability in giving a clear picture of the Roman time instead of reclothing the whole in a contemporary garb, as was generally done by mediæval translators. The historical sense is rather highly developed in him. He uses frequently such expressions as, *Sem siðr var Rómveria*, *eptir siðveniu Rómveria*, *sem Rómveriar voru vanir*, etc. His endeavor to present things as foreign and remote in point of time is seen in his frequent retention of the Latin term or phrase, but generally only in cases in which no good native word was at his disposal. He does not use Latin as an ornamentation as was often done in the clerical prose of the time.—Furthermore, he is not without appreciation of the form of the Latin original. In many places the translation is a genuinely



artistic imitation of the Latin text. This, of course, does not apply to the verse of Lucan. The poetic form is discarded and the narrative only is reproduced. Even in the prose of Sallust certain rhetorical elements which are foreign to the simple Norse prose were not retained. To be sure, in this process of conforming to the native prose style many fine turns and pointed, pithy sayings are lost and pregnancy in expression is often replaced by dry diffuseness. But on the other hand the translator makes many additions and interpolations, generally prompted by a desire for greater clearness. By the side of this striving after conformity to the native prose style there is noticeable the above-mentioned attempt to retain certain characteristic features of the Latin style which are foreign to the Norse. In the play of these two tendencies we can discern the peculiarity of the translation and the taste and culture of the translator. He undoubtedly shows thought, purpose, deliberation and a sense for style. He displays a fondness for speeches and generally gives them in full. He prefers direct discourse to indirect and the changing of the latter into the former is very common. This sudden transition from indirect to direct speech is characteristic of the sagas in general.

In conclusion we may say that the work shows the same painstaking care and accuracy, which have characterized the editor's former efforts, e. g., *Die Strengleikar*, Halle, 1902, and constitutes a valuable and welcome contribution to our knowledge of the Old Norse translation literature.

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*University of Cincinnati*, Jan. 8, 1911.

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VÅRT SPRÅK, NYSVENSK GRAMMATIK I UTFÖRLIG  
FRAMSTÄLLNING, AF ADOLF NOREEN.

Vol. I. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerups, Förlag, 1903-1907.

In his review of Erik Brate's *Svensk Språklära* in *Pedagogisk Tidskrift*, 1898, Professor Noreen says that he himself has never had either the ability or the time to write a brief grammar of Swedish,—and that is why he is putting forth a large one. It is a grammar of nine large volumes, that began to appear in 1903, and has been coming out at the rate of about two hundred and fifty pages a year. Approximately one-

third of the entire work is now in print, namely, Vol. I, pp. 579, complete, Vol. II, pp. 368,<sup>1</sup> Vol. III, pp. 80, Vol. V, pp. 512, Vol. VII, pp. 96. Much of what remains is already in manuscript form.

The grammar is in four parts: (1), General introduction; (2), Phonology, (a) introduction, (b) descriptive, (c) etymologic, i. e. historical; (3), Semology, a new term for semasiology, (a) introduction, (b) descriptive, (c) etymologic; (4), Morphology, (a) introduction, (b) descriptive, (c) etymologic. The grammar deals primarily with the spoken (but also with the written) language, primarily with the "riksspråk", (literary language,) but also with the dialects, both in its present form and in its development since the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The grammar, which is the result of many years of labor, is the crowning work of a brilliant career. No account could here be given of the long and varied list of contributions from Professor Noreen's hand. Through his series of grammars, *Urgermanische Lautlebre* (Swed. 1888, 1890, Germ. 1894), *Altisländische und Altnorwegische Grammatik* (1884, 1892, 1903), and *Altschwedische Grammatik* (1904), he has laid a firm foundation for this monumental work.

The entire conception of grammar, the definitions of old terms, and the terminology, which is for the greater part new, reveal the author's sparkling originality. I want to call attention chiefly to the terminology, which shows an unusual skill in the handling of Latin words. It is masterly in its clearness and equally intelligible to scholars of all countries. Each term in itself reveals what it stands for without any effort on the reader's part, and, as it were, gives a summary of all that it represents.

The grammar offers a large number of new features, the Semology, perhaps, most of all. And Professor Noreen has no doubt departed farther from the conventionalities of Latin grammar than any other scholar. It is a striking trait with our author that he has the ability of stating old things in a new and happy way, and can express the results of other scholars better than they were first expressed. He sees old ideas in a new and better light.

The work is not merely a grammar of the Swedish language. It is a new grammatical system that is being presented, and the illustrations are from the Swedish. The work is as im-

<sup>1</sup>After this was written the final number of vol. II (pp. 369-491) has arrived. A review of Vol. II will appear in a later number of this Journal.

portant as any that has ever appeared in the domain of philology.

The introduction to the grammar, which forms a part of Vol. I, begins by a discussion of language in a wider sense. A subdividing of this finally brings the reader through the field of sensation, mimicry, gesticulation, signaling, and writing to audible language, of which articulate speech is the culmination.

Then there follows a discussion of many things that the student should know before entering upon the grammar proper, e. g. what it is that characterizes a language as a language distinct from others; definition of loan-words; native tongue; historical relation of languages; dead, living, and universal languages; language vs. dialect; different styles; normal and abnormal conditions; script, alphabets, type, stenography; what philology is; and what are its auxiliaries; different points of view in treating grammar, etc.

Such a long list (50 pages) of definitions of things that in many cases are most elementary will at first thought appear superfluous, but its importance should not be overlooked. On the one hand it gives a clear idea of the interrelation of these innumerable aspects, on the other hand, the grammar is written not only for the trained scholar, but for the self-taught student as well; and so Professor Noreen rightly everywhere avoids taking for granted that the reader knows any of the preliminaries. And the condensed brevity of each topic makes this part of the work, which also offers much that is new, an important part of the grammar.

The second chapter (pp. 53-87) treats briefly of the Indo-European family of languages, but with greater completeness and more minute subdivision than is usually the case. Special attention is given to the geographic extent of each language, its oldest literary sources, and its periods, while linguistic peculiarities are touched on only in broad lines. Germanic and Scandinavian naturally receive most attention.

We are then in Chapter III given an account of the geographic extent of modern Swedish, which is spoken in the greater part of Sweden, and in parts of Finland, Esthonia, Livonia, Southern Russia, and the United States. In the case of the last-named the relative spread of Swedes in the different states is indicated, and illustrated by a map (of 1890). It would have been more correct to say North America, for Swedes have found their way to Canada also, some directly from Sweden, others as emigrants from the United States.

The Swedish spoken in Finland is so different from the Swedish of Sweden that we can well speak of Finnish-Swedish



as a distinct form of Swedish "riksspråk" (literary language). There are numerous differences, e.g. in pronunciation, accent (Finnish-Swedish entirely lacks the pronounced musical element), inflection, idioms, and above all, it has hundreds of different words, many of which have been borrowed from Finnish and Russian.

Professor Noreen also calls attention to the peculiar form of Swedish spoken in America,<sup>2</sup> emphasizing chiefly its many loan-words, and suggests that in time this may have to be recognized as a third form of Swedish "riksspråk".

There follows (pp. 99-131) an account of the Swedish dialects, with the main characteristics of each.

A bibliographical list of the literary sources that are of importance for the study of the language is then given. In the case of the later period of Modern Swedish (1733-) distinction is made between the "riksspråk" and the dialects.

Chapter V (pp. 181-286) consists of a historical account of works on Swedish philology from 1526 to 1877, with characterization and estimate of each work and author. Finally an account of works on dialectology, which began to appear about 1600.

Chapter VI (pp. 287-336) gives a bibliography of works of importance for the present study of Modern Swedish. This deals chiefly with books published since 1877. The account is minutely subdivided and also gives a list of works for dialectic study, and for auxiliary subjects.

Part II of the grammar deals with phonology, descriptive and historic, preceded by a phonetic introduction. This begins with a discussion of what is meant by tone, noise, resonance, sonority, quantity, intensity, pitch, etc., all treated from point of view both of language and music. The four last-named are subdivisions of Prosody.

<sup>2</sup>Professor Noreen's chief source is Gustav Andreen's pamphlet *Det Svenska språket i Amerika* (Stockholm, 1900, *Verdandis Småskrifter* no. 87). The additions at the end of the volume mention also articles by Ruben G:son Berg in *Språk och Stil* (Upsala, 1904) and E. A. Z. (etterstand) in *Undomsvännen*, Rock Island, 1904. In a sketch in *Vinterrosor* (Chicago) for this year, I have attempted among other things to picture some phases of the origin and development of this form of Swedish. A critique of what has already been written on the subject will appear in the next number of *Språk och Stil*, and in the course of the next year I hope to publish my extensive material in an article on *Det amerikansk-svenska talspråket*. Professor Flom has written on Norwegian-American in Volume V, pp. 1-32 of this journal and in Volume II of *Dialect Notes*,



Then follows in Chapter II what Professor Noreen calls Phonetic Anatomy, with a chart from Bremer. The Latin name for each organ follows in parentheses after the Swedish word, and this prepares the student for the organically descriptive terms for the different sounds. Phonetic Physiology (Chapter III) deals with the function of active and passive organs, respiration, vocal chords, resonance-chamber, inspiration and expiration, pauses of various kinds, accent, rhythm, syllables, explosives, etc., *tenuis* vs. *media*, aspiration, etc. Voiceless sounds he calls "*perspirerade*", voiced, "*pertonerade*", and whispered, "*persifflerade*".

In his descriptive terminology for the different articulations, Professor Noreen presents a system that is a great improvement on the customary confusion. The terms are taken from Latin and are (in most cases) compounds, of which the first member represents the (at least relatively) active organ, and the second, the (relatively) passive organ.

The author distinguishes between "*insonanter*" and "*resonanter*" (vowels, and *m* in *lampa*, *l* in *våld*, etc.). In the production of the latter no sound is produced in the "*Ansatzrohr*", which is used only as a resonator. From the point of view of their syllabic function he divides sounds into "*konsonanter*" and "*sonanter*", from the point of view of their formation, into "*buckaler*", sounds in the production of which the "*Ansatzrohr*" (Latin *bucca*) is most prominent, and "*vokaler*", where the vocal chords are more prominent.

Descriptive Phonology, which forms the second part of Phonology is subdivided into (a) Qualitative Phonology and (b) Prosody, the former dealing with the absolute, the latter with the relative, properties of the "*fonem*". The term "*fonem*" is taken from the French and stands for any sound or combination of sounds, e. g. *s*, *sk*, *skr*, *skri*, *skrik*, *skriker*, *skriker du*, *skriker du inte*, etc. (So Semology deals with the "*semem*" and Morphology with the "*morfem*".)

Now follows a minutely detailed account of the sounds of Swedish, including the dialects. The consonants are treated first, then the vowels, the procedure being from the lips backward. The first item, e. g. is LABIO-LABIALA, divided into (a) EXPLOSIVOR, (1) *p*, which is called "*perspirerad oral tenuis*"; it is characterized as to relative frequency in the language; account is given of the positions in which it occurs; it is not aspirated in Finland, and in Sweden not after *s*, etc. (2) *b*, "*pertonerad oral media*", (3) *β*, (before and after *s*, *t*, etc.), "*perspirerad oral media*", (4) *m*, "*pertonerad nasooral media*". (5) *m* (finally after *s* and *t* in originally foreign words), "*perspirerad nasooral media*". (B) FRIKATIVOR, (C) TREMU-

LANTER, (D) RESONANTER, with detail similar to that under (A).

Similarly with the other articulations, which are termed as follows: *apiko-gingivala*, *dorso-gingivala*, *apiko-alveolara*, *dorso-alveolara*, *apiko-kakuminala*, *predorso-kakuminala*, *mediodorso-kakuminala*, *latero-gingivala*, *dorso-velopalatala*, *dorso-velara*, *dorso-uvulara*, *velo-faukala*. There follows on p. 469f, a convenient tabulation of these sounds.

In the case of the vowels the subdivision is naturally less complex. The terminology is similar. Two tables of vowels follow the detailed account.

In this part of the Phonology a slightly augmented form of the phonetic transcription of the Swedish Dialect Society is used. Frequent reference is made to the sounds of other languages. Professor Noreen frequently finds it necessary to differ with the results of Lyttkens-Wulff, who seem in general to lean more toward the pronunciation of Southern Sweden.

There follows a long list of additions (pp. 543-558), which gives account of works that have appeared in the course of the publication of the first volume (four years, concluded in February, 1907). Following a list of misprints there is an index of authors for the bibliographical part of the volume.

Professor Noreen has written in German his earlier grammars that deal with the Primitive Germanic, Old Norse and Old Swedish. The world of scholarship will regret that this new work does not appear simultaneously in some better known language,—and yet, the importance of the book should be a further inducement for students of philology to make themselves familiar with the language in which it is written.

A. LOUIS ELMQUIST.

*Northwestern University*, November 14, 1910.

KYLFVERSTENEN. EN 24-TYPIG RUNSTEN. Af Otto von Friesen och Hans Hansson. Pp. 1-25. (*Antikvarisk Tidskrift för Sverige*, XVIII, 2,).

BIDRAG TILL TOLKNING AF RÖK-INSKRIFTEN. Af Henrik Schück, Uppsala, 1908. Pp. 1-29.

While engaged in archeological excavations at Kylfver in the Island of Gothland in the summer of 1903 Hans Hansson brought to light, among various other finds, a stone inscribed with runes in the oldest twenty-four type (Germanic) series. As early as September of that year the inscription was examined

by E. Brate, who thereupon published a tentative reading of it. Owing to the difficulties attendant upon deciphering many of the characters, the lines of which could not always with certainty be distinguished from accidental grooves and depressions in the very much damaged stone itself, practically all that this first reading seemed to reveal was an irregular succession of letters out of which no meaning could be made. Subsequently various visits were made to the spot by Otto von Friesen of Uppsala University alone and in company with Docent Geol. Rutger Sernander, with the result that the inscription has been shown to contain an old Germanic *futhark*. Thus the Kylfverstone at once takes its place as one of the most important of all runic inscriptions. The oldest runic alphabet appears on three earlier finds: the Charney brooch, the Vadstena bracteate, and the Thames knife. To these is now to be added the Kylfverstone as a fourth source for our knowledge of the form and the order of the runes, as well as the source and the distribution of the use of the runes in that earliest period.

In part I of *Kylfverstenen*, Mr. Hansson gives an account of the circumstances surrounding the finding of the stone, a description of the objects found with it and his conclusions, from an archeological standpoint, relative to the age of the finds. In part II Professor von Friesen discusses the runes and the significance of the new futhark for the study of the runes. The find was made in one of a group of ancient graves of varying form in a thickly wooded forest of oak and hazel; some of the graves were under mounds, the one in which the stone was discovered had a level surface above it. The chambers were built with limestone set on edge, with and without roof. In one corner of the grave were found some coals and pieces of burned bone and bits of bronze damaged by fire. Evidences of cremation were also met with elsewhere. Mr. Hansson says that the form of the graves and the nature of the finds places them, in point of time, along with those of the Roman iron age, i. e. the first four centuries after Christ. Cremation as the manner of disposal of the dead came into vogue in the IVth century. After weighing these and other evidences bearing upon the age of the stone Hansson concludes that the inscription dates from before the year 400 and the Kylfverstone is, therefore, the oldest known runic inscription in Sweden.

The inscription itself consists of two parts: one of twenty-four characters, the other of six. Both run horizontally, the longer declining somewhat at the right; the longer is 51.5cm long and the shorter 6.5cm. The reading of the former, which thus has been assured through von Friesen's investigations reveals a slightly changed order of runes in that the last two are



interchanged. Relative to the question of the form of the runes it will here first be observed that number 4, *a*, 18, *b*, and 16, *s* are turned to the left instead of to the right, and that 22, *ng* is placed so that the parallel sides are vertical instead of diagonal as on the Vadstena bracteate. Among the several other divergencies are to be noted those in the runes for *u*, *p*, and *R*. The last has the inclined form of the same rune in the Kragehul inscription, and the first has a bistave beginning some considerable distance below the top of the main stave, being therefore similar in type to the *u* of the "Swedish" runic series. This lower position of the bistave is a characteristic of several runes in Gothland inscriptions and, so far from arguing against the antiquity of the Kylfverstone, simply attests the priority of this form in the island of Gothland, a fact which seems to me of some significance in connection with the question of how and over what route the knowledge of the runes came to Gothland and to Sweden. The rune for *p* corresponds absolutely to the same rune on the Thames knife, whereas in the (Swedish) Vadstena bracteate *b* appears in place of *p*. Von Friesen's interpretation of this point seems to me correct, namely, that the original character in the North was the *p*-rune as in the Anglo-Saxon alphabet, and that therefore the Kylfverstone is older than the Vadstena bracteate.

The Kylfver futhark is, in all probability, the oldest of all the known alphabets of the oldest series and also the most complete one, since the twenty-four types are all preserved here intact or in fragmentary form (p. 25). It should be added that only the rune for *w* and *j* are worn away so much as to be uncertain, but in view of von Friesen's comments we have no doubt that he has read aright the characters of the inscription also in these two cases.

In the "Contributions", the title of which appears as the second in order over this review, Henrik Schück has added another interesting chapter to the interpretation of the Rök-stone of Västergötland, Sweden. Perhaps no other Scandinavian inscription has claimed the attention of scholars as extensively as this one; the reason lies partly in the variety and difficulty of its characters, the length of the inscription,<sup>1</sup> and its significance as a document in Scandinavian saga history. The investigation of it has been associated in an especially intimate degree with the name of Sophus Bugge; indeed down to the time of the publication of his reading of it in *Antikvarisk Tidskrift* V, its contents had remained a mystery that seemed to defy all efforts at a solution. In the main the results of Bugge's studies are accepted today. His reading, left several points far from clear,

<sup>1</sup> There are some over 500 characters.



however, and he, himself, regarded it as only tentative, and in later years returned to the study of it several times. Thus in 1885 he delivered a lecture on it, the substance of which appeared in Schück's *Svensk Litteraturhistoria*, I, and in 1888 he published a new interpretation of it in Vol. XXXI of the Transactions of the Swedish Academy. And through Henrik Schück we learn that at the time of his death Bugge was engaged upon a revision of this reading, which so far, has not been published. Also during the collaboration with Brate in the latter's work "Runverser" published in Vol. X of *Antikvarisk Tidskrift*, he embodied a lengthy note, (pp. 308-10) upon disputed points in the Rök-stone.

Among the difficulties which Schück discusses in this study, some of which have recently been treated by other scholars are: **uarin** in line one; **fur niu altum an urpi fiaru** and **tu miR an ub sakaR** in Part II of the introductory prose part.<sup>2</sup> Relative to the first of these Bugge's original reading (*uarin* is the name of the father and the subject of *fape*—"Varin inscribed") was certainly correct. In his *Runorna i Sverige*, page thirteen, von Friesen read *uarin* as an adjective—*värinn*, translating "minnesgod" (having a good memory). But Bugge has already shown that there is no real contradiction between 'Varin inscribed these runes (or had these runes inscribed)' and the naming of Biare as the runemaster at the end of the inscription (see Schück, p. 5), and since *värinn*, adj. is nowhere recorded and Varin is a common enough name in Old Norse and occurs even upon a Swedish inscription, that of the *Rotne* mill, Norrviddinge, Småland, and since furthermore the alliteration requires a name in V and the formula of inscriptions requires

<sup>2</sup>The beginning of the inscription and the stanza following are according to Bugge:

aft uamuþ stanta runaR þaR. in uarin faþi faþiR aft faikian sunu.  
Sakum mukmini þat huariaR ualraubaR uaRin tuaR suaþ tualf  
sinum uaRin numnaR t(uaR) ualraubaR baþaR saman a umisum  
manum.

þat sakum anart huar fur niu altum an urpi fiaru miR hraiþkutum  
auk tu miR an ub sakaR.

raiþ þiaurikR  
hin þurmuþi  
stilir flutna  
strantu hraiþmaraR.  
sitiR nu karuR  
a kuta sinum  
skialti ub fatlaþR  
skati marika.

the subject in this place the reading must be restored as certainly the best.

Without being able here to go into the details of the arguments for the readings *an urpi fiaru*=‘lost his life’ and *tu miR annu ub sakaR*=‘died in pain because of his guilt’, it may be pointed out that these together with von Friesen’s happy suggestion that the letter complex we have in *fur niu altum* is to be divided into *furn i ualtum*=‘old in his rule, having ruled long’, throw a flood of new light upon the saga content of the whole inscription. It has, for instance, enabled Schück to identify the first prose part as a portion of the Swedish Hildebrand saga (see p. 21) and the second part of the prose introduction as a reference to the Ermanric saga. While one may feel that the latter point is still open to some doubt, I regard the former as established, and the further significance of that is this, that in the interpretation of the saga material the inscription contains one’s point of departure must be local Swedish tradition and the saga knowledge of the runemaster Biare himself. *þiaurikr* is not the Theodoric the Great of history but Didrik of Bern of local tradition; the hero of the first prose part is not Walter of Aquitaine but a hero of Swedish tradition, whose name is not given, but which appears as Asmund in the Old Icelandic *Asmunds saga Kappabana*. This consideration will give the key to the solution of the difficulty in *stilir flutna* in verse 3.

This passage has always been rendered “chief of the sea-warriors”, in support of which Bugge noted the fact that the historical Theodoric kept a large fleet for the defence of his kingdom. Now it has been brought out by Noreen’s studies in Swedish place-names that the district of Flundre in Västergötland was formerly called *Flotnæ*, *Flutna* or *Flytna hærad*, the name being the gen. pl. of *Flutnar*, the name of the people. This is therefore the same name as that of the Rök-inscription. We may assume that among the East Geats in Östergötland the prowess of the Flutnar of the West Geats was well-known, perhaps celebrated in song. When Theodoric the Ostrogoth as Didrik of Bern became a part of local heroic saga (perhaps through the identification of Goth and Geat,—*Goter* and *Göter*) he naturally came to be spoken of as the chief of any Geatic clan that was especially noted for its warlike achievements, and such the Flutnar would seem to have been.\* As Schück says, the enumeration of Gothic heroes in an inscription pur-

\*To assume a similar localization in the case of *MARIKA*, as Schück would do also, seems a little venturesome in view of the clear mention of the *Mærings* elsewhere in the inscription.

porting to be in honor of a certain Vamod can only be explained on the assumption of a local family tradition according to which Varin traced his family back to the great Theodoric. The monument that he inscribed to his son then he turned at the same time into an extravagant glorification of the clan.

GEORGE T. FLOM.

*University of Illinois, January, 1911.*

## SIR WALTER SCOTT AS A CRITIC OF LITERATURE.

By Margaret Ball, Ph.D., New York. The Columbia University Press.

The author of this interesting monograph declares in her preface that Scott's criticism is "valuable in itself, as well as in the opportunity it offers of considering the relation of the critical to the creative mood." One may feel that Scott's criticism is of quite insignificant value—one may even question whether he ever seriously entered into the critical mood—and yet recognize that Miss Ball has made a distinct contribution to our total impression of Scott, by concentrating our attention upon a neglected aspect of his power and personality. Here is an account of his scholarly equipment; an estimate of his labors as student and editor in the mediaeval period, in the dramatic field, and in various branches of history and literature in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; a collection of his opinions on the work of his contemporaries; and a chapter on his opinion of himself. Miss Ball makes it perfectly obvious that Scott accomplished more in the interludes of his creative mood, in his odd hours, with his left hand, than many a diligent and unremitting scholar performs in a lifetime. This massed evidence of his minor activities, like the posthumous collections of Dickens's editorial writings, not only deepens our wonder at the driving energy of the man's intellect, but also throws a flood of light upon the processes which fed his imagination. In the case of Scott that is highly worth while. To show that his scholarship was not up to modern standards is after all but to emphasize the general deciduousness of scholarship. To show that a great and enduring romancer does not build historical fiction of airy nothings is a task of unquestionable value in an age of deciduous historical romances.

Miss Ball's final chapter on "Scott's position as a critic" is short and a little unsatisfactory. The explanation is implicit in the title. Although she appears reluctant to admit it, she has demonstrated with sufficient conclusiveness that Scott was no critic; that constitutes her real difficulty in establishing his

position in criticism, and in relating him to his contemporaries. Her characterization of his critical function is a series of negations, which might well have been more fully developed. She points out, justly enough, that his attitude was radically different from that of Jeffrey and Gifford on the one hand, and from that of Lamb and Hazlitt on the other; but she does not succeed in showing that he occupied any accurately definable ground between. She says that his "whole attitude toward criticism shows that he felt its supreme function to be elucidation." In spite of his lively interest in history, however, he had no conception of historical criticism in Taine's sense of the term; his historical elucidation was done in the spirit of the annotator, not of the interpreting evolutionist. Equally out of his power was that modern kind of appreciation of an author which results from a sympathetic writhing into his creative processes. As Miss Ball observes, he was too good natured to be dogmatic and too practical and spontaneous to be interested in theory. As numerous odd judgments of his bear witness, he was singularly oblivious of standards. For comparative criticism, even as practised by an eighteenth century critic like Joseph Warton, he had neither the taste, nor the patience, nor the scholarship. What remains? Strong common-sense, amiability, wholesome likes and dislikes, admiration of abundance and power—though these are desirable qualities, a man may possess them all, yet remain a negligible figure in the history of literary criticism.

We may wish, therefore, that Miss Ball had spared more than a couple of lines to that large indirect influence exerted upon criticism by Scott's novels, and that she had vigorously attacked the paradox presented by the enthusiastic conservatism of a leader in one of the most radical literary movements.

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## THE FOUR PICTORIAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE ELIZABETHAN STAGE.

In his recent doctoral thesis, *The Shakesperian Stage*,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Albright has given us a valuable study of the staging of Elizabethan plays. He presents a new and interesting theory<sup>2</sup> (for as yet, surely, it can be regarded only as a theory) of the structure of the stage, the kernel of which is that the doors to the lower stage were proscenium doors, and that above these were proscenium windows. Every person who studies carefully the stage-directions of the Elizabethan plays must come to the conclusion that the main doors of the lower stage were outside the curtain of the inner stage. Mr. Albright's theory of proscenium doors meets this requirement, is simple and plausible, and explains satisfactorily many details in the staging of Elizabethan plays. Since it is the best explanation that has yet been offered, it may be accepted until some better theory is presented, or until some definite evidence comes to light.

Having thus in general terms stated the value of the thesis, I shall devote the rest of this review to examining Mr. Albright's discussion of the four extant pictorial representations of an Elizabethan stage—the Swan, the Roxana, the Messallina, and the Red Bull—for here, I believe, he is least convincing.

In his Introduction he says: 'In selecting illustrations from the Elizabethan drama I have asked myself but three questions: 1. Was the play, from which the illustration is taken, written in the period 1576-1642? 2. Was it written for one of the regular or private theatres? 3. Was it a normal play? Other questions concerning dates of performance and publication, and theatres at which the plays were produced, have not entered, and, as I conceive, should not enter this discussion of principles and typical conditions.' The wisdom of this method may be questioned. Not only were some playhouses circular or polygonal, and some rectangular, but the private playhouses differed in many ways from the public, were wholly enclosed, were

<sup>1</sup> *The Shakesperian Stage*, by Victor E. Albright. The Columbia University Press. New York, 1909. (8 vo. pp. xii, 194. \$1.50).

<sup>2</sup> This theory, it is interesting to note, has been suggested also by Mr. William Archer, who, working quite independently, arrived at the same conclusion. Mr. Albright published a summary of his thesis in January, 1908; Mr. Archer published his 'The Elizabethan Stage' in *The Quarterly Review*, April, 1908.

smaller, and were used for night performances. It may be, therefore, that the arrangement of the stage (particularly the posts, the shade, the heavens, the gallery, the windows) differed likewise; certainly it is hard to conceive of Mr. Albright's 'typical Shakesperian stage', as pictured in his frontispiece, fitted into a small, enclosed, rectangular private playhouse, like the Blackfriars. Moreover, from the erection of the first playhouse in 1576, to 1642, some important changes in the structure of the stage might have come about. It does not seem likely that the stage remained stereotyped while the art of the playwright was advancing so rapidly, especially in view of the fact that all the stage-construction was of wood. Mr. Albright himself admits that "many 'probabilities' have been put forth to prove that the regular theatres differed as to the main parts of their stages, but no unquestionable facts." Finally, not a few of the plays were edited for closet reading, and furnished with stage-directions that do not always reflect actual conditions of performance; for example, the 'Ages' of Heywood. A thorough study of the internal arrangement of the Elizabethan playhouses would involve a consideration of all these facts.<sup>3</sup>

Having assumed that all stages from 1576 to 1642 were alike, Mr. Albright finds trouble at once in the four pictorial representations of the Elizabethan stage: "The conditions, if the pictures are all genuine, make it impossible to establish a typical stage of the period. Therefore a searching inquiry must be first made as to the origin of these plates." At the end of this inquiry Mr. Albright comes to the conclusion that his previous assumption of a typical stage required: "The result of our research on the four pictures stands as follows: the Swan and Red Bull are fairly challenged, if not completely disproved; the Roxana and Messallina may be accepted as authentic pictures, the former showing a college stage of the period, and the latter a regular public Elizabethan stage, perhaps that of the Red Bull. (As these two stages are one in principle, we shall regularly refer hereafter only to the Messallina.)"

Let us examine Mr. Albright's 'searching inquiry.' In the first place we have a right to complain that he has not reproduced these four pictures that he so freely compares and discusses. Of course the Swan, and, to a less extent, the Red Bull drawings are accessible in other works; but the Roxana has seldom been reproduced, and to many readers of the thesis will be inaccessible. Even the picture of the Messallina that is

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Albright, however, has not acted without deliberation, and he has chosen his method, 'hoping that the loss in accuracy will be more than compensated by the gain in clearness.

given is poor, for it is reproduced from a rotograph instead of a photograph. The result is that one must accept on faith the author's conclusions, or go to not a little trouble in assembling the pictures for comparison. Mr. Albright excuses his not reproducing the Roxana by saying, 'these two stages (the Roxana and Messallina) are one in principle.' This, I believe, is untrue; at least it is untrue if the Messallina embodies, as he contends, the principles of his typical stage. The Roxana represents a stage during the performance of a play; the upper balcony is occupied by spectators, and the curtains at the rear are used apparently for entrance and exit. In these respects the Roxana and the rejected Red Bull are alike. The Messallina represents a bare stage; and if this stage was used in the manner assumed by Mr. Albright, then it cannot be declared 'one in principle' with the Roxana.

In order to 'explain away' these facts in the Roxana drawing, Mr. Albright informs us that it probably represents 'a college stage.' This conclusion seems unwarranted. Alabaster, the author of the play, was at college in 1583-1592, and possibly (though of this there is not the slightest evidence) wrote the play then. The play, however, was not published until 1632, and then was printed, not at Cambridge, but at London. It seems fanciful to suppose that the engraver employed by the printer to make the title-page knew that the author wrote the play at college nearly half a century earlier, that it was acted then on a college stage; or, even if the engraver knew these facts, it seems an unwarranted assumption that he drew a representation of 'a college stage, perhaps that of Trinity.' Mr. Albright's conclusion is not so obvious as he would have us believe.

Again, it does not seem to have occurred to Mr. Albright that both the Roxana and the Messallina title-pages may have been engraved by the same man; or that the engraver of the Messallina title-page may have copied the Roxana title-page. The similarity of the title-pages is too striking to have been accidental. A careful study of the figures—their sandals, costumes, the position of their arms, and their facial expression—as well as the general arrangement of the title-page, shows almost conclusively either that the same artist produced both title-pages or that the second was copying from the first. If either be the case, the value of the two pictures, in so far as they corroborate each other, is destroyed; more, if the two pictures are by the same artist, one represents his conception of the bare stage, the other his conception of the same stage in use, and the two pictures taken together not only do not support Mr. Albright's conception of the typical stage, but actually



offer evidence against it. I believe, however, that the engraver of the Messallina was copying the Roxana. He seems to have been an inferior artist throughout, and perhaps represented a bare stage because of the difficulty of peopling it with characters.

Mr. Albright informs us that the Messallina engraving represents the stage of some public theatre, 'maybe that of the Red Bull.' Certain objections to this statement suggest themselves at once: the Messallina stage has no posts,<sup>4</sup> no shade, no heavens, all of which, we know, existed on the stage of the public theatre; it has no curtains to the upper stage, and no railing; and, in general, this upper stage (if it be such) is quite unfitted for acting. After all, was this part of the picture intended, as Mr. Albright thinks, to portray an upper stage? It is hard to believe that the engraver meant this bare shelf to represent the often used and commodious upper stage of the Red Bull public playhouse. Conceive, if possible, this shelf as the interior of a room, furnished with a bed and other properties, and occupied by a dozen or more actors. Are we not, rather, to think of the curtained space at the rear as intended for the upper stage? Mr. Albright, however, explains this as follows: 'Messallina shows a small square curtain at the rear of the gallery which undoubtedly closes a window.' Yet he gives to the gallery the following dimensions: 'a space 20 to 25 feet wide and 10 to 12 feet deep.' According to Mr. Albright's own figures, this 'small' square is at least ten feet wide—absurd dimensions for a window.

In speaking of proscenium doors, Mr. Albright remarks: 'The Messallina picture, as it stands, is wholly neutral, offering no proof for or against doors': again, in speaking of the proscenium windows over the proscenium doors, he says: 'Here again, the Messallina being neutral,' etc. Yet, if we take the Messallina 'as it stands,' we find that instead of being neutral it disproves the existence of proscenium doors and windows, for the sides of the gallery *actually recede*. The back part of the stage seems to be set forward, like a chimney.

I have thus tried to show that the Roxana and the Messallina, 'the two authentic pictures of the Elizabethan stage,' offer practically no proof of Mr. Albright's typical stage, but,

<sup>4</sup>An exception is to be noted in the case of the Hope theatre, which was designed both 'for players to plaie in and for the game of beares and bulls.' The contract specifically requires Gilbert Katherens, the carpenter, to 'builde the *heavens* over the saide stage, to be borne or carried without any postes or supporters to be fixed or sett upon the saide stage.'



on the contrary, offer much evidence against it. To assume that many important details of the stage were cut off at the sides by the engraver, is to assume too much. We must consider the pictures 'as they stand.'

Mr. Albright rejects the Swan drawing absolutely, and makes no use of it after remarking that it is 'fairly challenged, if not completely disproved.' This will not do. I venture to say that the Swan drawing is as near a representation of a public playhouse as is the Messallina, of which he makes so much. It may be inaccurate in many details, and possibly in some important features, yet in its main outlines it agrees with what we know of the Elizabethan public playhouses. To treat the drawing with contempt is unwarranted.

Of the Red Bull drawing Mr. Albright shows conclusively that it does not represent the stage of the public open-air Red Bull Theatre; but he does not, by any means, prove that it fails to embody, possibly, the general features of some Elizabethan playhouse in which performances took place at night. The upper balcony is more in keeping with regular playhouses than with the 'hastily improvised stages anywhere throughout the country,' which he would have us believe this represents. It is worthy of note, too, that the upper gallery is filled with spectators, as in the two other pictures that show a stage in use, the Roxana and the Swan. Even if the drawing represents 'an imaginary' stage, the imagination may have drawn its material largely from the well-known playhouses. I cannot agree with Mr. Albright that 'this picture in no sense represents an Elizabethan stage.' On the contrary, I believe that possibly it represents in several respects the stage of some private playhouse.

JOSEPH QUINCY ADAMS, JR.

*Cornell University.*

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## IS THE GOTHIC BIBLE GOTHIC?

(Continued.)

### THE HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RELATIVE PRONOUN IN THE GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

The relations of the Gothic relative to the other Germanic languages will be discussed and also its relations to the Greek. This will require many pages. After these materials are presented we shall turn to the discussion of a number of other constructions which suffer under the suspicion of Greek influence.

In primitive Germanic there was no relative pronoun, but there were two distinct forms of statement which expressed the relative idea that correspond to the two forms used in modern English. First form: "There is a man at the door [, *he*] *wants to see you.*" Second form: "The house *you see yonder* is mine." In the first form there are two independent sentences which lie side by side. From this fact comes the name of this form of statement—parataxis. In the second form the words *you see yonder* are evidently dependent. They essentially modify the word *house*. These words form a subordinate clause, but in this primitive form of statement there is as yet no formal expression of subordination. This form of subordination without a formal connective to indicate this idea is called asyndetic hypotaxis. In the oldest Germanic languages parataxis and asyndetic hypotaxis are still in wide use, but in the different languages there is a tendency to give a formal expression to the idea of subordination by the introduction of a pronominal form which is called a relative pronoun. Also parataxis is today often replaced by hypotaxis, i. e., one of the originally independent clauses assumes the form of a dependent relative clause: "There is a man at the door *who wants to see you.*" Modern thought is not so simple as older thought, it is inclined to

subtilities. The connective,—the pronoun—inserted in the first form belonged from the very beginning to the second proposition, i. e., the one in which it now stands, while in the second form it belonged originally to the principal proposition and later was transferred to the subordinate clause. In the first form the pronoun was often and may still be unexpressed. The subsequent development of the first form is quite simple and needs little explanation. The development of the second form, on the other hand, is quite complicated, hence the further discussion is largely confined to its various forms and transformations in the different languages.

In oldest Germanic the asyndetic hypotactical relative clause assumed two different forms. In the first type there is in the principal proposition usually a substantive preceded by the definite article, or there is a simple demonstrative without a substantive: “In droume sie in zelitun den weg *sie faran scoltun*” (Otfrid I. 17. 74) “In a dream they (the angels) told them the way *they should go*.” “Ahleof ȝa se gomela, gode pancode, / mihtigan drihtne, *þæs se man gespræc*” (1397-8) “The old man sprang up, thanked God the mighty Lord *for what the man had spoken*.” As can be seen by the English translation modern English cannot in this sentence employ the old constriction, as the lack of inflectional forms has somewhat limited its use. By changing, however, the words somewhat, we can almost always make use of the old construction when, as here, the case relation of the unexpressed relative is the accusative: “He thanked God for the words *the man had spoken*.” In the Old English example the demonstrative is in the genitive, but it may in all the different languages be in the dative or any other case: “Bistú nu zī wāre furira Ábrahame, / ouh *thén* (dative pl.), man hiar nu zálta?” (Otfrid III. 18. 33-4) “Are you indeed greater than Abraham or those *we have just mentioned*?” It is common here among grammarians to call the demonstrative a relative and say that it is attracted into the case of the demonstrative. There is, however, in such cases no relative pronoun at all. In spite of the lack of a formal



expression for the relative idea the conception of a restrictive relative clause is perfectly clear, as can be seen by the English translation, which preserves the old form unimpaired. This old form has remained firmly fixed in modern colloquial English, but for some reason the construction has almost disappeared when the case relation of the unexpressed relative is the nominative. In the older languages, however, there is no tendency to avoid the nominative here: "zi dheodom dhem *euwih biraubodon*" (Isodor X. 1-2) "to those peoples that robbed you." "Bigán tho druhtin rédinon den sélben zwelif théganon, / then, *thár umbi inan sazun* (Otfrið Iv. 10.2-3) "Then the Lord began to speak to the twelve followers, those *who sat there about him*." It is very important to observe here that the second *then* is still not a relative. It is also not possible to say that the relative is attracted into the case of the preceding demonstrative. It is simply the common repetition of the demonstrative found so often elsewhere. The demonstrative stands at the end of the clause, so that it can point forward to the following asyndetic relative clause. Otfrið's own accents indicate clearly that this repeated form is of a mere formal nature, as it is not accented. This reduction of accent marks the first stage of development in the direction of a relative pronoun. In other passages we also find accented forms which still have the *force* of demonstratives. This common repetition of the demonstrative is also very common in English, often with full accent: "Bring me *the* (unaccented) new books, *those* (accented) I bought yesterday." This example only differs from the O. H. G. sentence in that the case relation in English is the accusative, while in O. H. G. it is the nominative. The *construction* in the English example is absolutely identical with that in the German example. Once the nominative could also be used in English. In studying all similar sentences it is important for those who speak English to start with an example containing the accusative relation, then the nominative form is readily understood. The predicate relation is also well preserved in English: "I am not the man *I was*." Of course, this relation

is also found in O. H. G.: "Ih bin iz réhto der *thu quis*" (Otfrid IV. 19, 53) "I am indeed he, the very individual *you say I am*." The O. H. G. construction is here again in the old typical form. The demonstrative *der* appears at the end of the principal proposition to repeat and here also to strengthen the pronoun *iz* and to point to the following asyndetic relative clause *thu quis*.

As can be seen in the examples in the preceding paragraph, the *first type* of asyndetic hypotaxis is most common in O. H. G. It is not found at all in Gothic and Old Norse. It occurs only rarely in "Beowulf." It seems quite probable, however, that it was a colloquial form in Old English, much used in everyday life but little used in literature as it is today. Later it was widely used in the written language. A rather full history of this construction in English will appear in the January number of the Journal. In modern German it only survives after the demonstrative *der* when the demonstrative points to a definite individual: "Ach! der (a definite individual) *mich liebt und kennt*, ist in der Weite" (Goethe). Die (nominative) *ich meine*, heisst Frau Findelklee" (Hauptmann's "Versunkene Glocke," Act. 2, 1. 1047). As the case relation in the second example is the accusative, this construction is also common in English: "The woman *I mean* is called Mrs. Findelklee." This construction is quite common in modern German in predicate clauses: "Du bist nicht, der *du scheinst*" (Fulda's "Talisman" 1. 4). The punctuation in the German examples shows clearly that the demonstrative is now regarded as a relative pronoun. The true relation will become apparent upon careful study and reflection. Thus in this last sentence *der* is the predicate, a demonstrative that stands at the end of the principal proposition pointing to the following asyndetic relative clause. Elsewhere in German the asyndetic hypotactical clause disappeared about the beginning of the seventeenth century from the literary language.

Quite similar to the *first type* of the asyndetic hypotactical relative clause described above is the *second type*. Some adverb

is added to the regular form of the first type. The adverb used varies in the different languages. In Old English *þe* and *þær* are used: "Lig ealle forswalg, / gæsta gifrost, þara ðe þær guð fornam / bega folces" ("Beowulf," 1122-4) "Fire the most greedy of spirits, devoured all of those *the battle had there snatched away from both peoples.*" Here the adverb *þe* is added to the demonstrative *þara*. It is difficult to define the exact meaning and force of *þe*, as it is no longer used and modern speech-feeling cannot come to our assistance. Much has been written on the subject of its etymology, but nothing absolutely positive has been brought to light. Some seem to regard it as a relative pronoun, others avoid the term pronoun and call it a relative particle. One thing is clear, it is not declined. It is much used in Old English, but is wanting in exactly the same expressions in O. H. G. As is seen by the translation given above, modern English also drops it, but otherwise preserves the construction faithfully just as it was written by the author of "Beowulf." Some etymologists regard it as an old locative of a demonstrative, so that it might mean *there*. Indeed, it may be replaced in Old English by "*þær*" *there*. "Him was bam samod / on ðam leodscipe lond gecynde . . . oðrum swiðor, / . . . þam ðær *selra wæs*" (2196-9) "The land belonged to these two among all the people, to one of them rather more, the one *who was nobler.*" This same adverb is found in O. H. G.: "Ni lasut ir, thaz thie dar *tetta fon annaginne gomman inti wib tetta sie*" (Tatian 100.3) "You have not read that he *who in the beginning made man and woman made them.*" As the adverb *þær* and *dar* are still widely used in modern English and German it is easy for us to approach this construction with our feeling. Thus we can analyze the German sentence as follows: "Ni lazut ir daz: thie (subject of second tetta) dar—tetta fon annaginne gomman inti wib—tetta sie" "You have not read this: That one there—he in the beginning made man and woman—made them." In Old Norse the adverb *er* or *es* is used in much the same way: "ef vin átt þanns (þann es) þú vel truir" (Hóvamöl,) (44.1) "If you

have a friend *you thoroly trust*, lit." "A friend that one there *you trust thoroly*." The *es* is here translated by *there*, but its etymology is not entirely established. It does not seem to be essentially different in meaning from *þær* or *dar*. In Old Norse the adverb is regularly used, while in English and German it may be dropped and the simple form or first type be used. In Old Norse the first type has disappeared.

In course of time the two types of asyndetic relative clause described above underwent a gradual transformation. The demonstrative passed from the principal clause and became a relative in the subordinate clause. It once pointed forward, it now points backward. This transformation is nicely illustrated by the following examples: "*ðær gelyfan sceal / dryhtnes dome se þe, hine deað nimeð*" ("Beowulf," 440-1) "There to God's judgment must bow the one *death seizes*," or more literally, "that one there, *death seizes him*." The texts usually place the comma for metrical reasons after *dome*, but this obscures the meaning and the historical development so much that the comma has here for a clearer syntactical view been restored to its proper place after *þe*. Here *se* is the nominative of the demonstrative, the subject of the principal proposition, not the object of the verb in the subordinate clause. It is placed at the end of the principal proposition along with the demonstrative adverb *þe*, so that both forms may point forward to the following asyndetic relative clause. In the following sentence the demonstrative has become a relative, as can be seen by the fact that it does not take the case required by the verb of the principal proposition, but the case required by the verb of the relative clause: "*þæs þe þincan mæg þegne monegum, / se þe æfter sincgyfan on sefan greoteþ / hreþerbealo hearde*" (1341-2) "as it may seem to many a warrior who like the king grieves in his heart over this great sorrow." The punctuation is here that of the texts and corresponds to the facts. The texts treat these two entirely distinct constructions as one, namely, as a relative clause with a relative pronoun, while in fact the construction is sometimes asyndetic without a relative, sometimes a real relative clause



with a relative pronoun. In a large number of cases, however, it is impossible to determine with absolute certainty whether the form is a demonstrative or a relative. As can be seen from the examples given above, the demonstrative stood at the end of the principal proposition. Only an imaginary line separated it from the subordinate clause. Thus in the following sentence there is no formal sign that can absolutely settle the quality of *der*: "Ni ward ther thar funtan, *ther* wolti widerstantan" (Otfrid, II., 11.27) "The man was not to be found who would resist." Some grammarians say that where there are correlatives, as here, the second form is a relative. This is carrying modern ideas into the older stage of the language, which did not know such a rule. It seems more probable that the correlative grew up out of a repetition of the demonstrative, as found here. It may, however, easily be true that in this particular sentence the repeated form has already come to be felt as a relative. The case of the form is the nominative, the case required by the verb of the relative clause, but the case form required by the verb of the principal proposition is also the nominative, so that there is here no formal characteristic by which we can settle the question. The form repeated is often evidently a demonstrative: "Ni intwirit wórolt ellu thes wiht, thes ih thir zéllu" (ib. II., 12, 30) "The whole world will not disprove any of these things, these things I am now about to tell you." The repeated form *thes* is a genitive and hence belongs to the principal proposition, and is thus clearly a demonstrative. Later German abandoned this old demonstrative construction and used the relative here. The later use of the accusative here clearly marked the form as a relative as it is the case form required by the verb of the relative clause. In English, on the other hand, the demonstrative construction is still a favorite here in colloquial language: "Please, reach me that book, that one your hand is resting on." The criterion of case which usually decides the question whether the form is a demonstrative or a relative fails us utterly in the second asyndetic type wherever the inflected demonstrative does not stand at the end of the principal

proposition or at the beginning of the relative clause: "Gemunde ða ða are, þe he him ær forgeaf" ("Beowulf," 2606) "Then he thought of the present which he had formerly given him." Here the inflected demonstrative *þa* is separated from the uninflected adverb *þe*, which so often accompanies it with the force of *there*. These demonstrative forms seem to be used exactly like the two inflected demonstrative forms discussed above, but there is one formal difference. Here the second demonstrative is an uninflected form. As this form is uninflected we cannot tell whether it stands at the end of the principal proposition as a demonstrative pointing to the following asyndetic relative clause, or whether it is a relative. This uninflected form is not only found with a preceding demonstrative pronoun or article as in this sentence, but it is also found entirely alone: "Nu scealc hafað / þurh drihtnes miht dæd gefremede, / ðe we ealle ær ne meahton / snyttrum besyrwan" (ib. 938-42) "Now a retainer has with the help of God performed the deed which we all with all our wisdom were not able to perform." Does *þe* here stand at the end of the principal proposition pointing to the following asyndetic relative clause, or is it a relative? Has this construction developed out of those described above or is it an old construction which has developed parallel with the others? This whole sentence seems real old English. There is no definite article before the noun *dæd*, altho it is modified by a relative clause. This demonstrative construction may have originated in just such a sentence as this. The following simpler sentence may illustrate its origin more plainly: "Give me book there *you hold in your hand*." The demonstrative *there* points to the following asyndetic relative clause. In course of time these two constructions with *þe* came to be felt as relative clauses introduced by the relative *þe*, but the entire absence of inflection here makes it impossible for us to follow the historical development. The corresponding uninflected Old Norse form *es* is beset with the same difficulty. This *es* is usually treated as an uninflected relative, but it is probably an adverb with the force of *there* wherever

the demonstrative stands at the end of the principal proposition followed by the enclitic form of the adverb: "Matar ok vápa es manni (dat. sing.) þorð / peims (dat. sing. þeim es) hefr of fjall farit" ("Hóvamól" 3.2-3) "Food and clothing are a necessity for that man who has a trip over the mountain." The form *þeim* is in the dative and evidently is a demonstrative modifying *manni*. It stands in the usual place at the end of the principal proposition and along with the accompanying demonstrative adverb *s* points forward to the following asyndetic relative clause. The adverb *es* is often like Old English *þe* separated from the inflected demonstrative or the antecedent noun and stands at the beginning of the relative clause. In this case it may have already in Old Norse been felt as a relative, but its lack of inflection prevents us from following its historical development into a relative particle. In one passage although the inflected demonstrative and *es* stand together in the usual place at the end of the principal proposition the poetical measure seems to separate them by a cesural pause: "Vask með Fjölvari fimm vetr alla/ í eyju þeiri es Algrön heitir" (Hárbarðsljóð" 16. 1-2) "I lived five entire winters with Fjölvar upon that island which is called Algrön." We have a case exactly like this in "Beowulf" 1624-5 where, however, the poetic measure brings the two forms close together: "sælaca gefeah / maegenbyrþenna, þara þe he him mid hæfde" "He rejoiced in his sea-spoils, his heavy burden, the one he had with him." Is the *es* in the Old Norse example a relative and the *þe* in "Beowulf" an adverb? If we look at *es* here in the light of later Norse development it may appear to us as a relative. This may, however, be an entirely false interpretation of the Old Norse passage. A pause in modern English does not convert a demonstrative into a relative: "Give me that one, the one you hold in your other hand." Here there is a pause after *that one*, so that the two demonstratives are separated just as in Old Norse, but the demonstratives remain demonstratives. They still point as in oldest Germanic to the following asyndetic relative clause. The use of *es* as a *relative*

in this Old Norse clause seems especially doubtful because the verb employed is *heita*. The old asyndetic construction is especially tenacious with this verb and is even found in modern German literature: "Höret! im Osten von Flandern ist eine Wüste, darinnen / liegt ein einzelner Busch, *heisst* Hüsterlo, merket den Namen (Goethe)."

We now turn to the study of the development of the Gothic relative forms. The development corresponds closely to that found in the kindred Germanic languages, especially Old Norse. Like this language it lacks the first asyndetic type, the form with the simple demonstrative without the accompanying adverb. In the language of Wulfila the second asyndetic type has become established to the exclusion of the first. The adverb employed is *ei* with the demonstrative force of *there*. As in Old Norse the demonstrative adverb has become so closely identified with the demonstrative pronoun as an accompanying enclitic that it is felt as a part of it and in the written language is written together with it: *saei*, *soei*, *þatei*. The union of the two parts, however, is much firmer than in Old Norse, for the adverb is never separated from the demonstrative. The use of this asyndetic type corresponds closely to that found in the other Germanic languages: "Hwa nu wileiþ ei taujau þammei qipip þiudan Iudaie?" (Mark 15.12) "What do you desire that I do to that one *you call the King of the Jews*?" Here *þammei* is not a relative as Gothic grammarians would have us believe but a demonstrative in the dative case with its appended demonstrative adverb. The construction corresponds exactly to the modern English demonstrative construction here as will become evident by comparing the Gothic with the English translation. The form *þammei* stands at the end of its clause so as to point forward to the following asyndetic relative clause. We give several other examples to make the construction perfectly plain: "Afdailja tailundon dail allis þizei *gastalda*" (Luke 18.12) "I give a tenth part of all that I *possess*." "*ei* galaubjaip þammei *insandida jains*" (John 6.29) "that you believe on the one *he has sent*." "Bi waldufnja þammei



*frauja fragaf mis du gatimreinau jah ni du gataurpai*" (2 Cor. 13.10) "in accordance with that power *the Lord gave me to edification and not to destruction*," or literally "power," "that one there, *the Lord gave me*." This construction is very clear to one who speaks English, as it is exactly like the modern English asyndetic construction with the exception that the demonstrative adverb which once accompanied the English construction has entirely disappeared. German scholars who have no natural feeling for this old construction and who have their eyes riveted upon the Greek text regard all these demonstrative forms as relatives. To explain the fact that these forms all have the cases required by the verb of the principal proposition they explain that the forms have been "attracted" into this case. These passages do not conform to the Greek at all. Wulfila followed here his natural Germanic feeling for this old construction. His usage corresponded very closely to modern English. He usually employs a clear relative form which stands in the case required by the verb of the relative clause: "in andwairþja attins meinis saei in himinam ist" (Matt. 10.32) "in the presence of my Father who is in heaven." Here the old demonstrative has become a relative as clearly shown by the fact that the case form is no longer that of the antecedent in the principal proposition but that required by the verb in the relative clause. Wulfila as a modern Englishman usually employs the relative form, but he does not studiously avoid the old demonstrative construction. He even passes from one to the other in the same sentence: "*þamei iupa sind* (asyndetic clause) *frapþjaip, ni þaim þoei ana airþai sind* (Col. 3.2) "May you understand the things that are above, not those that are upon the earth." Here *þamei* is a demonstrative pointing to the following asyndetic relative clause, while *þoei* is a relative with the case required by the verb of the relative clause. Scholars who look so fixedly at the Greek that their feeling for Gothic is blunted usually take a Gothic form like *þamei* for a relative because they find a relative in the Greek text, but in the present instance *þamei* does not correspond to a Greek

relative at all, as Wulfila has translated the passage freely. We find here what we often find elsewhere. Wulfila endeavors to render the thought and feeling of the Greek original, he does not try to preserve the form. In the word-order he usually follows the Greek as closely as possible, because the *form* contained the *thought* and *feeling*, but here in the translation of relative constructions the form has nothing to do with thought and feeling and he employs the form that seems the most natural to him, be it demonstrative or relative. He often proceeds as in this last example, he uses a demonstrative and a relative construction where the Greek has an entirely different construction.

It is often very difficult to determine whether the form used is a demonstrative or a relative. In the large number of cases where there is no antecedent the construction is probably the asyndetic: "Saei *sandida mik* miþ mis ist" (John 8.29) "He *who sent me* is with me," literally "that one there, *he sent me*, is with me." Luther translates: "Der *mich gesandt hat*, ist mit mir." Also here *der* is a demonstrative which points to the following asyndetic relative clause. In both Gothic and German the demonstrative has the case required by the verb of the principal proposition. The asyndetic relative clause has no expressed subject. This is the regular usage throughout the different Germanic languages in this form of statement. Both subject and object may be understood in the asyndetic relative clause: þatei *qīþiþ gagaggiþ*" (Mark 11.23) "The things *he says* will come to pass." Here *þatei* is subject of the verb in the principal proposition just as is *the things* in the English translation. With English feeling we can understand this old construction perfectly, as we still use it and indeed are very fond of it. Similarly in a large number of sentences where there is an antecedent expressed the form may still be felt as a demonstrative: "sa ist Helias, saei skulda qiman" (Matt. 11.14) "He is Elias who was to come." Here *saei* may be the old demonstrative. It stands in the old familiar place at the end of the principal proposition pointing to the following asyndetic rela-

tive clause. Here *saei* repeats the *sa* of the principal proposition, the old familiar repetition so often found in all the Germanic languages. Out of the repetition of the demonstrative has developed the modern use of correlatives, the first form of which is a demonstrative, the second a relative. The relative form here can only be explained on the basis of an earlier demonstrative form. In such sentences we have not the slightest proof that at the time of Wulfila the second form was felt as a relative. The form in question *saei* is in the case required by the verb of the relative clause, but at the same time it is also in the case required by the verb of the principal proposition. There are signs elsewhere in the Gothic Bible that seem to indicate that Wulfila still felt his Gothic forms as demonstratives even though they are translations of Greek relatives, for instead of the demonstrative in-*ei* he may use the one in-*uh*, which is a demonstrative of a pronounced type: "Apþan kannja izwis, broþrjus, þatei aiwaggeli þatei merida izwis, þatuh jah andnemuþ, in þammei jah standiþ, þairh þatei jah ganisiþ" (1 Cor. 15.1) "But, brethren, I declare unto you that very gospel which I preached unto you, which also you have received, wherein you yourself also stand, by which also you are saved." Here the noun *aiwaggeli* is modified by four relative clauses. In the English translation these relative clauses are all introduced by a relative pronoun, but in the Gothic the second clause is introduced by the demonstrative *þatuh*. This strengthened demonstrative points to the following asyndetic relative clause. Here we have plain and convincing evidence that in the Gothic period the word introducing a relative clause was not necessarily a relative. It could be a demonstrative as here in case of *þatuh*. Originally every word that introduced a relative clause was a demonstrative. In the Gothic period the feeling for the presence of the demonstrative must have been well preserved. In the Gothic sentence before us not only the second clause is introduced by a demonstrative, but perhaps also the first clause. The writer feels it as a demonstrative. There is no absolute formal proof, but the parallelism in the structure of the four

clauses seems to indicate it. The first two clauses are introduced by demonstratives, the last two by relatives. The prepositions in the last two clauses show clearly that the forms are relatives. In the asyndetic construction the preposition cannot precede the demonstrative, as the demonstrative has the construction of its antecedent wherever, as here, it refers to a preceding noun. Another example has been given above of Wulfila's use of both the demonstrative and relative construction in the same sentence. This same demonstrative *sah* is also used in the following passage, although the corresponding form in the Greek is a relative: "Ip unleds sums was namin haitans Lazarus, *sah* (ὁς) atwauprans was du daura is banjo fulls" "Es war aber ein Armer mit Namen Lazarus, der lag vor seiner tür voller Schwären" (Luther) "There was a certain beggar named Lazarus which was laid at his gate full of sores" (King James version) (Luke 16.20). In the Greek the form ὁς clearly shows that the construction is a relative clause. Luther has employed a paratactical construction introduced by the demonstrative *der*. The word-order indicates that the clause is not felt as a hypotactical relative clause. The *which* in the English translation indicates that the English construction is a relative clause, but *which* is often, as here, used to join to the principal proposition an explanatory statement which is in reality not a hypotactical relative clause closely related to the principal proposition but rather a loosely related, almost independent utterance. Wulfila's construction resembles Luther's form of expression and is probably like it a paratactical construction. The use of the demonstrative clearly shows that the form is not felt as a relative. In both of these Gothic sentences Wulfila translates a Greek relative by a demonstrative. Here in the forms *patuh* and *sah* we have the absolute proof that both the hypotactical and loose relative clauses of the Greek are rendered in Gothic by clauses that are introduced by demonstratives. Thus it becomes perfectly clear that demonstrative forms in both *-ei* and *-uh* are used by Wulfila where the corresponding form in the Greek is a relative. Gothic and Greek are at this point in different



stages of development and hence we cannot expect to find here a close correspondence. We cannot in Gothic with absolute certainty distinguish a relative from a demonstrative except where the case form clearly indicates that the word is a relative.

In a number of examples in the preceding paragraph it is perfectly clear that forms in *-ei* are not relatives but demonstratives. If this is true we ought to be able to find these demonstrative forms in *-ei* outside of relative constructions. We now turn our attention to a number of other constructions where the forms in *-ei* appear as demonstratives.

One of the commonest constructions in the Gothic Bible is the use of the demonstrative in *-ei* as a conjunction corresponding to English *that*. In Gothic this form has not yet entirely lost its pure pronominal character, for it is sometimes inflected as the common demonstrative *þata* with the enclitic demonstrative adverb *-ei* joined with it: "Jah insaihwandeins gaumidedun þammei afwalwiþs ist sa stains" (Mark 16.4) "And looking they saw this: *the stone is rolled away.*" The verb *gaumidedun* governs the dative object. It is thus originally not a conjunction but a demonstrative that points forward to the following clause. It usually has the neuter accusative or nominative form *þatei*, as these cases are the ones usually required in this construction: "Jah qaþ þatei Johannis sa daupjands us daupaim urrais (Mark 6.14) "And he said this: John the Baptist has arisen from the dead." Professor Streitberg on page 233 of his "Gotisches Elementarbuch" regards the demonstrative forms as relatives and again treats the dative form *þammei* given above as a case of a relative that has been "attracted" into the case of the demonstrative. Facts enough have been given above to show clearly that such forms are demonstratives, not relatives. The other Germanic languages have here the simple demonstrative form without the enclitic adverb as English *that*, German *dass* (formerly *das*). In older English, however, the form with the enclitic adverb *þe* is sometimes used, as *þætþe* or *þaette*.

The conjunction *that* is today much used in indirect discourse and this use is also well known in the older periods, but in the oldest period there is a much more frequent use of direct discourse than we find today. The more convenient indirect form is a development out of the older direct statement: Gothic as an old language shows this older usage very plainly: "þaruh reiks ains qimands inwait ina qipands þatei dauhtar meina nu gaswalt" (Matt. 9.18) "Then there came a certain ruler and worshiped him saying this: *my daughter has just died.*" Professor Streitberg on page 233 of his Gothic grammar has thrown the suspicion of Greek influence upon this old Germanic construction. He thinks the use of *þatei* here ungermanic because he has the false conception that it is a relative and thinks it is used here in imitation of the Greek relative conjunction  $\delta\tau\iota$  which likewise stands before a direct statement. Of course Gothic *þatei* here is not a relative but a demonstrative pointing to the following direct statement. This usage is also found in the other Germanic languages: "Wiht," quad, "sagen ih iu thaz, ni nemet scazzes umbi thaz, iu lazzet unthrata thero woroltliuto miata" (Otfrid III 14. 99-100) "He said, I tell you this: don't take any money with you for this, let the reward of the world be worthless to you." The two imperative clauses are in apposition with *thaz*. The *thaz* points forward to the two following clauses. The two imperative clauses are a direct statement instead of an indirect one just as in case of the Gothic example given above. Instead of *thaz* also other words with demonstrative force may be used: "Wib, ih zellu thir ein, was drifit sulih zi uns zwein?" (ib. II. 8.17) "Woman, I say one thing to you: what matters this to us two?" Here Otfrid uses *ein* to point forward to the following question. It is evidently not ungermanic to use demonstratives here. It would be nearer to the truth to say that in the course of time the Greek  $\delta\tau\iota$  from quite another starting point had gradually approached the force of Gothic *þatei* than to say that Wulfila slavishly imitated the Greek. It is real interesting to compare Wulfila's translation here with that of the O. H. G. translator of the Latin Tatian.

The German translator renders the Latin *quia* by *wanta* (which means *because*) even where the *quia* like Greek  $\delta\tau\iota$  stands before a direct statement: "Inti giwiznessi sageta Iohannes sus quedanti: wanta ih gisah geist nidarstigantan samaso tubun fon himile" (14.6) "And John gave testimony saying: *I saw a spirit descend from heaven like a dove.*" The German translator does not at times seem to have the faintest idea of the development of *quod* and *quia* in such a sentence. The idea of cause has to him attached to the Latin form and he thoughtlessly translates by the corresponding German word denoting a cause. Alongside of the causal meaning in *quod* and *quia* there had developed another which was almost identical with that of German *daz*, Gothic *patei* and which still survives in all the Romance languages in the form of *que*, *che*, etc. This force was also often felt by the German translator in his best moments and he translated the Latin form correctly by *daz* just as Wulfila rendered the corresponding Greek  $\delta\tau\iota$  by *patei*: "Wuo quidet theser thaz: ih von himile nidarsteig?" (82.8) "How comes it that this man says this: *I came down from heaven?*" It still remains difficult to conceive how this light could at times leave him and how he could return to the senseless *wanta*. The difficulty is increased by the fact that the German Isidor has also made this blunder. This translator has a good reputation as a careful idiomatic renderer, but this one blunder is so stupid that it casts a serious reflection upon his work. The writer can only conceive of the possibility of such a blunder by imagining that in student practise the use of *wanta* here had gradually become established from the thoughtless rendering of Latin into German.

The demonstrative form in *-ei* discussed in the preceding paragraphs are all used substantively, but it would be strange indeed if these forms were not also used attributively standing as a modifying adjective *before* a noun. In fact such forms are found in the Gothic Bible. In the following sentence the attributive demonstrative in *-ei*, the *patei* standing before *aivaggeli*, points to a following relative clause: "Aþþan kannja izwis,

broþrjus, þatei aiwaggeli þatei (τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ) merida izwis, þatuh jah andnemuþ, in þammei jah standiþ, þairh þatei jah ganisiþ" (1 Cor. 15.1) "But, brethren, I declare unto you that very gospel which I preached unto you, which also you have received, wherein you yourselves also stand, by which also you are saved." It is apparent from the translation that the writer regards the first þatei as a strong attributive demonstrative. Usually there is no article or other demonstrative before a noun when it is modified by a following relative clause. There is in the Greek here an article before the noun, but in the Gothic the use of the article here is not usually regulated by the Greek. Wulfila, however, occasionally employs the demonstrative before the noun just as the Greek here to make it more prominent or individualize it: "gamuneiþ þis waurdis þatei ik qaþ du izwis: nist skalks maiza frauin seinamma" (John 15.20) "Remember the word that I said unto you, The servant is not greater than his lord." Here the simple demonstrative þis is used for emphasis. It would be more common to use the simple form þata also in the preceding Gothic sentence, but the longer form in -ei is more emphatic and is quite appropriate here where a heavy series of four relative clauses follow. In German we could either say here *das Ewangelium das*, etc., or *dasjenige Ewangelium das*, etc. Professor Streitberg says concerning Wulfila's form þatei here on page 271 of his "Gotische Bibel": "zum Einschub von þatei vgl. Ambrst: *notum enim facio vobis, fratres, quia evangelium, quod praedicavi vobis* usw." The professor with considerable confidence regards þatei as a late insertion, as a translation for the late Latin form *quia* to which the attention was directed above in connection with the efforts of the German translators of Tatian and Isidor to render late Latin into their mother tongue. The theory is plausible enough, but there is no convincing force in it. It is easy to concoct conjectures. We might explain a large part of the Bible entirely away. The text as handed down to us is real good Gothic and we have no reason to change the language. There are also other examples of the



use of the strengthened form in *-ei* in attributive use pointing forward to a following clause: "*In þizozei waihtais* (τούτου χάριν) *bilaiþ þus in Kretai, in þizei* (wanting in the Greek original) *ei wanata atgaraihtjais jah gasatjais and baurgs praiþbytairein, swaswe ik þus garaidida*" (Tit. 1.5) "For this very thing I left you in Crete *for this very thing* that you should set in order the things that are wanting and ordain elders in the cities as I had commanded you." For the sake of making the text here perfectly plain for the purpose of studying it we have taken the liberty of changing the exceptional form *þize* found in the manuscript to the common form *þizei* usually found elsewhere. Here we have two demonstrative forms in *-ei* pointing forward to the following clause. The Greek text τούτου and the thought both clearly indicate demonstrative not relative function. This passage is a sore trial to those who see only relative force in forms in *ei*. Professor Streitberg remarks on p. 223 of his Grammar: "Aber die Möglichkeit eines Überlieferungsfehlers ist nicht ganz abzweisen." He then argues that the first form in *-ei* was not clear to the copyist so that he tried to explain it by adding the note *in þizei* which later crept into the text as an integral part of it. It seems scarcely conceivable that any one should ever feel called to explain such a simple phrase as "*in þizozei waihtais*" *for this very thing*. What could there possible be in this phrase that one could not understand? If it were the form in *-ei* that he did not understand he would not surely explain it by another form in *-ei*. The writer assumes that the manuscript form *þize* must stand for *þizei* the singular, not for the plural *þize*, for the preceding singular noun *waihtais* precludes the possibility of a plural conception here. The best thing to do here is to leave the Gothic text as it has been handed down to us. Whether it was Wulfila who inserted *in þize* or some one else the Gothic sentence is a fine one. It sounds like Wulfila. The repetition of *þizei* is forceful and makes the impression of spoken language upon us. Scholars have been reading this passage with their eyes without trying to feel it. It

might be interesting to foreigners to learn that in the language of uneducated Americans there is a very common construction corresponding exactly to this attributive Gothic demonstrative in *-ei*: "*that there man* you see yonder." In our popular English the adverb has become a part of the demonstrative just as *-ei* has become a part of the attributive demonstrative *þizozei* in this last Gothic passage. In literary English it is necessary to say *that man there*, as the adverb has not become a part of the demonstrative.

In all the preceding cases of demonstrative forms in *-ei* the reference was uniformly to a following clause. The reference, however, may also be backward: *Ni manna izwis usluto lausain waurdam, þairh þoei (διὰ ταῦτα) qimip hatis gudis ana sunum ungalaubeinai*s" (Eph. 5.6) "Let no man deceive you with vain words; because of these things the wrath of God comes upon the children of unbelief." Here *þoei* is a clear case of the demonstrative in *-ei*. It points back to the words *lausaim waurdam*. A demonstration is demanded by the thought and the Greek demonstrative in the original *ταῦτα* naturally suggested its use to Wulfila. There is a similar use of the demonstrative in Matt. 27.46: *helei, helei, lima sibakþani, þatei ist (τοῦτ, ἔστιν): guþ meins, guþ meins duhwe mis bilaist?* "Eli, eli, lama sabachthani? that is, my God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" Again in 2 Cor. 12.8: "*þi þatei (ἐπὶ τούτων) þrim sinþam frauþan baþ*" "for this thing I besought the Lord thrice." These passages all naturally demand the use of the demonstrative here and Wulfila followed the natural meaning and the Greek text. Scholars who cannot understand that forms in *-ei* were once all demonstratives and still in the Gothic Bible often preserve their old meaning explain all these forms erroneously as relatives. In 1 Cor. 10.17 there is another case of the use of the demonstrative in *-ei* that has greatly puzzled the grammarians: "*Unte ains hlaifs, ain leuk þai managans sium, þaiei auk allai ainis hlaibis jah ainis stiklis brukjam*" (οἱ γὰρ πάντες ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἄρτου μετέχομεν) "For we, though the throng is great, are one bread and one body; for

we, all these, partake of one bread and one cup." Here the Gothic translator very nicely and faithfully renders Greek  $\delta\iota$  by the demonstrative *þaiei*, but some grammarians thinking that every form in-*ei* must be a relative pronoun assume that Wulfila must have taken Greek  $\delta\iota$  for  $\delta\iota$ . Others explain this form by the convenient interpolation theory. Professor Streitberg remarks on page 263 of his "Gotische Bibel" among other things: "Vielmehr ist das grammatische unkorrekte *þaiei* nachträglich eingesetzt unter dem Einfluss von *vg*: omnes qui de uno pane participamus." He then shows that  $\delta\iota$   $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  with a verb in the first person plural is translated in 2 Cor. 5.10 by *allai wei*s and concludes: "Ursprünglich hiess es daher wohl: *weis auk*" "Love of conjecture has blinded Professor Streitberg to the simple facts." The two cases he compares are quite different. In 2 Cor. 5.10 there are a series of verbs in the first person plural and the whole construction is turned in the direction of the first person, while here in the above example the first part of the sentence has the third person form *þai managans*, to which in the second half the third person demonstrative form *þaiei* closely conforms. When Wulfila's *þaiei* is correctly interpreted as a demonstrative the construction becomes quite simple and plain. There is one instance of the use of the demonstrative in-*ei* that has a peculiar interest by reason of its forcefulness: "duppe ei siggwandans mageiþ frapþjan frodein meinai in runai Xristaus, þatei anþaraim aldim ni kunþ was sunnum manne" (Eph. 3.4-5) "For this reason that you might read and understand my knowledge in the *mystery of Christ*, that was in other ages not made known to the sons of men." The English rendering does not bring out the full force of the Gothic. The neuter form *þatei* refers to the two words *runai Xristaus* just as we say in German: Die Liebe der Mutter, das ist ach etwas Schönes! Here *das* refers to *die Liebe der Mutter*. In Gothic this is still clearer, as it is the prevailing use of demonstrative forms in-*ei* to point not to individual objects, but to a thought, a sentence, or a clause. In Greek the relative  $\delta\epsilon$  is used pointing back to the one word  $\muυστηρι\omega$ . Wulfila has more appropriately referred to

the two words. The absolute proof that this is not a relative construction as in Greek, but a demonstrative construction, lies in the fact of the non-agreement of the form *patei* with any definite antecedent. The use of the neuter *demonstrative* with reference to a previous thought is common in all the Germanic languages. It may even refer to a feminine noun: "Das ist eine Uhr." As far as the writer's knowledge goes this is not true of a relative pronoun outside of modern German. This convenient use of the neuter demonstrative spread in modern German to explanatory relative clauses which have almost the force of independent statements: "Unter andern hat er eine Sündflut gemalt, *das* etwas Einziges ist." (Goethe.) After the analogy of *das* also *welches* came to be used thus: "Dies Buch nannte man den Shakspeare, *welches* der Verfasser desselben war." (G. Keller.) This curious relative construction was quite common in the eighteenth century, but it has now almost disappeared.

In the preceding paragraphs the demonstrative forms *in-ei* either point forward to a following clause or point backward to a sentence, thought, or less commonly to individuals. It is also used as a real demonstrative where a significant gesture points out the object: "Iþ jabai hwas qīþai *patei galiugam gasaliþ ist* (τοῦτο εἰδωλόθυτον ἔστιν), ni matjaiþ" 1 Cor. 10.28) "But if any man say unto you: *that there* is offered in sacrifice unto idols eat not of it." The form *patei* here translates the Greek demonstrative τοῦτο. It has here its old literal meaning *that there* and corresponds exactly to English *that there* or to German *das da*. It is, however, a puzzle to scholars who see a relative in every form *in-ei*. They try to explain the form in some other way.

We now turn away from the demonstrative to the consideration of a number of constructions that suffer under the suspicion of foreign influence.

The suspicion of Latin influence has been thrown upon the most pronounced idiomatic Gothic construction in the language. In all the Germanic tongues the different modifiers of a noun



may precede it with the exception of a relative clause. In Gothic also the relative clause may precede its governing noun: "Gif mis, *sei undrinnai mik dail aiginis*" (Luke, 15.12) "Give me the portion of the goods that falls to me." Professor Streitberg on page 143 of his "Gotische Bibel" remarks on this passage: "in der Wortstellung *d* ähnlich: *quod me tanget partem substantiæ*." A glance at the two constructions, Gothic and Latin, will make it plain that the two constructions are entirely different. In Latin the *quod* clause is a substantive clause, in Gothic the corresponding clause is a relative clause. Fortunately there are a number of examples in Gothic so that this question can be studied thoroly. The relative clause can even follow an article just as an adjective: "*þata nu gasaihwands Iohannes, þo sei ustauhana habaida wairþan fram frauþin garehsn*" ("Skeireins," 1.5) "John now seeing this, the plan that was to be carried out by the Lord." In Gothic a relative clause may precede the noun and another may follow it, as in 2 Tim. 1.5. Also in the Greek Testament a relative clause may precede the governing noun, but in Gothic this construction occurs quite independently of the Greek. That Professor Streitberg has not thoroly understood this construction has led him to interpolate a word into his Gothic text. The original text runs as follows: "Unte ni þatei wiljau waurkja goþ, ak þatei ni wiljau ubil tauja (Rom. 7.19) οὐ γὰρ ὃ θέλω ποιῶ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' ὃ οὐ θέλω κακὸν τοῦτο πράσσω" "For I do not do the good which I would do, but do the evil which I would not do." Professor Streitberg has inserted *þatei* after *ubil* simply because there is a *τοῦτο* in the Greek here. He has misunderstood the Gothic here entirely. The relative clause precedes here the governing word *ubil*. In accordance with Gothic usage elsewhere a demonstrative is not required before or after the governing noun if it is modified by a relative clause. This can be seen also in the first half of the sentence. It might be argued here that these clauses are indefinite substantive clauses in the Greek. This is doubtful; it may, however, possibly be true. But be that as it may, Wulfila has construed them as adjective clauses, as have also

Luther and the authors of the King James version of the English Bible; only, however, in the English and German versions the relative clauses follow the governing noun. Wulfila allows the relative clause to precede not only where the relative is neuter, as here, but also where it is masculine or feminine; also where the Greek has another construction: “ju ni ik waurkja ita, ak sei bauiþ in mis frawaurhts” (Rom. 7.20) (ἡ οἰκοῦσα ἐν ἐμοὶ ἀμαρτία) “I do not do it, but sin that dwells within me.” As Professor Streitberg does not understand this Gothic construction he has thrown false light upon another passage in Wulfila’s translation: “du þammei arbaidja usdaudjands bi waurstwa sei inna uswaurkeiþ in mis in mahtai” (Col. 1.29) (κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐνεργουμένην ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐν δυνάμει) “Whereunto I labor, striving with energy by the aid of that power which works within me.” The relative clause here precedes the governing noun *mahtai*. Notice in the English translation the word *that* before *power*. This word is not required in the Gothic and is here lacking just as it is in the passage from Rom. 7.19, given above. Notice that the preposition *in* stands between the governing noun and its modifying relative clause. This usage is not peculiar to this sentence, but also elsewhere some word that governs the governing noun may separate it from its modifying clause. Thus this passage which has so much puzzled scholars becomes perfectly clear. It seems to the writer that this passage is quite simple and plain. It has worried scholars because they had their eyes fixed upon the Greek more than upon the Gothic. Professor Streitberg, on page 385 of his “Gotische Bibel,” remarks: “αὐτοῦ fehlt.” This learned man is puzzled by the thought that Wulfila would overlook an important Greek word in his translation. He has not noticed that the Gothic translator has entirely reconstructed the sentence. As far as the author knows no one has ever attempted to study the Gothic sentence in its own light. When Castiglione reported the reading *bi waurstwa sei inna uswaurkeiþ*, scholars with the Greek in mind at once construed *waurstwa* as the antecedent of *sei*, but as *waurstwa* is neuter, they amended the text and changed *sei* into *þatei*. Re-

cently, after Director Braun's report of his investigation of the manuscript to the effect that the form *sei* is quite surely the actual reading of the manuscript, Professor Streitberg, in his Gothic Bible, page 384, comes to the conclusion that this *sei* may be a survival of a still older period, when *sei* was not feminine at all, but an adverb with the force of *so*, which was once also in German used as a relative. Thus as an indeclinable relative *sei* could, after all, refer to the neuter *waurstwa*. Thus scholars are often prone to resort to the wildest conjectures rather than do such a simple thing as to look at the Gothic itself and study it. The *sei* does not go back to *waurstwa*, but points to its antecedent *mahtai*, which stands at the end. The passage must be read not by the Greek, but in its own light. Doubting Thomases who may hesitate to accept these simple facts because they inwardly believe we ought to construe all of Wulfila's Gothic in strict accordance with the Greek ought to become at least a little wavering in their views when they see that Wulfila has elsewhere deviated from the Greek just to be able to employ this favorite construction, the placing of the relative clause before the governing noun. There is in this construction nothing ungrammatical or illogical; indeed, it has its decided advantages. It is rather to be wondered at that it did not spring up in other Germanic languages.

On page 205 of his "Gotisches Elementarbuch" Professor Streitberg remarks: "Sicher Gräzismen sind die gotischen Akkusative m. Infinitiv nach *swaswe* und *swaei* und nach unpersönlichen Ausdrücken wie *gop ist*, *azetizo ist*, *gadob ist*." Again, on page 240, he says: "Wenn *swaswe* und *swaei* vereinzelt mit dem Infinitiv verbunden werden, so ist hierin eine mechanische Nachahmung der Konstruktion von *ᾧστε* zu sehen." This learned scholar has studied this question solely from the narrow viewpoint of his own native language and consequently has not noticed that it is a natural Gothic development. The construction is not probably primitive Germanic, but the beginnings of the construction were already there, and in several Germanic languages further developments are to be found. Let us look

at this development in Gothic, the oldest Germanic language. Originally the accusative in the construction of the accusative with the infinitive was an object of the principal verb: "þan gasaihwip þata wairþan" (Mark. 13.29) "When you shall see these things come to pass." Here there are two objects, the pronoun *þata* and the infinitive *wairþan*. In course of time the first object came to be felt as the subject of the infinitive: "man auk ni waihtai mik minnizo gataujan" (2 Cor. 11.5) "I do not think that I in any respect accomplish less." Here the subject of the infinitive cannot, as in the preceding example, be also construed as the object of the principal verb. The construction is a distinct new development, *the accusative with the infinitive can replace a clause with a finite verb*. This construction must already in Gothic have acquired some strength of life, for as in this last sentence it is sometimes used independently of the Greek original. This use of the infinitive instead of a finite verb in a subordinate clause is also found in Gothic in another form. The subject of the infinitive may not be expressed at all when it would be the same as the subject of the principal proposition: "þata þus melja, wenjands qiman at þus sprauto" (1 Tim. 3.14) "These things I write to you hoping *to come* (or *that I may come*) to you soon." This form of expression has become a favorite construction in all the Germanic languages, altho the boundaries of usage here vary widely in the different languages. It is especially established in object clauses and in clauses of purpose and result. In case that the subject of the infinitive is different from that of the principal proposition, the subject of the infinitive must be expressed: "Aþþan wenja jah in miþwisseim izwaraim swikunþans wisan uns" (2 Cor. 5.11) "I hope we are also made manifest in your consciences." In the Greek the subject of the infinitive is not expressed, as the writer trusted to the context to make the reference clear, but Wulfila felt vividly the force of the Germanic law that construes an unexpressed subject of the infinitive *as* the same as that of the principal proposition. If he had omitted the subject of the infinitive, the subject of the principal proposition



would have been felt as the subject of the infinitive and the thought would have been changed. He had the choice of two constructions here—the accusative with the infinitive, or a subordinate clause with a finite verb. In English we also often have the same choice of constructions: “Report declared *him to be dead*,” or, “*that he was dead*.” In Gothic the construction with the accusative and infinitive had in general a limited field of usefulness. The clause form with a finite verb was more common. In English this infinitive construction has flourished and greatly extended its boundaries. The infinitive can often be used where it can no longer be construed as the object of the principal verb: “I want him to stay away.” Here the meaning is not “I want *to stay away*,” but I want “*him to stay away*.” The accusative with the infinitive has become a fixed type of subordinate clause with its own peculiar form—with an infinitive as verb and an accusative as subject. The accusative with the infinitive can also stand after a preposition as well as after a verb: “I am planning for *my son to study medicine*.” “I am waiting for *him to come*.” The preposition *for* here has become so intimately associated with the construction as a whole that it can no longer be construed as a real preposition governing the following accusative, for we can now say: “I am praying for *him to stay away*.” The meaning cannot be “I am praying for him,” but “I am praying for *him to stay away*.” There is a still further development where *for* is not felt as belonging to the principal verb, but as a part of the infinitive clause: “I am hoping *for him to come*.” This form is also used in subject clauses: “*For* a man of such standing in the community *to do* such a thing is greatly to be deplored.” Probably this form where found in subject clauses had a somewhat different origin, but it was undoubtedly influenced by the common usage in object clauses after verbs. In modern German there is nothing whatever to correspond to this widely used English construction. German scholars studying Gothic see in Wulfila’s natural impulse, to use the terse and convenient infinitive construction, nothing but a slavish imitation of the Greek.

What we see in Wulfila's language as a natural tendency in its incipient stages has become in English a common construction with wide boundaries. English usage here is often quite similar to the Greek, but it is not born of the Greek. In all these languages this construction is simply the development of a natural tendency. It is only a matter of course that the development in the different languages is not at every point exactly the same. At some points they coincide, at others they diverge. Even in the same category usage is not always uniform in the different languages.

Professor Streitberg does not think this infinitive construction entirely ungothic after some verbs, as the same construction occurs also in Old Norse. After *swaswe* and *swaei*, however, and the impersonal constructions *gop̃ ist*, *azetizo ist*, *gadob ist*, he thinks the usage is due to Greek influence. He eliminates the construction in the following passage from Luke 4.36 by adopting an emendation which interpolates into the text the word inclosed in parentheses: "Jah warp̃ afslauþnan (ana) allans" "And they were all amazed." There is here not the slightest grounds to assume an ellipsis of *ana*. The construction as it has come down to us is good Wulfilian and probably good Gothic. It is ruled out by Professor Streitberg in his Gothic Bible, as it is not found in the Greek. As it does not fit into any of his theories it must be a mistake. As we see by the original text this infinitive construction has spread to subject clauses. It is also found in a subject clause in the "Skeireins" after one of the impersonal constructions: "Gadob nu was mais þans swesamma wiljin ufhausjandans diabulau, du ufar-gaggan anabusn gudis, þanzuh aftra swesamma wiljin gaquissans wairþan nasjandins laiseinai jah frakunnan unselein þis faurþis uslutondins, iþ sunjos kunþi du aftraanastodeinai þize in guda usmete *gasatjan*" ("Skeireins," 1.14-17) "It was more fitting for those who had of their own free wills yielded to the promptings of the devil to transgress God's law that they now of their own free wills should assent to the teaching of the Savior and despise the meanness of him who had formerly led them astray and

should attain to a recognition of the truth for the renewing of their relations with God." It is a pity we do not know who wrote the "Skeireins!" Did Wulfila or another? Is it a translation from the Greek, or is it an independent work? This infinitive construction occurs three times in this one passage. It also occurs several times in subject clauses in the Gothic Bible: "Wasuh þan Kajafa saei garaginoda Iudaium þatei batizo ist *ainana mannan fraqistjan faur managein*" (John, 18.14) "Now Caiaphas was he who gave counsel to the Jews that it was expedient that one man should be killed for the people." "Ip azetizo ist *himin jah airþa hindarleiþan þau witodis ainana writ gadriusan*" (Luke, 16.17) "And it is easier for heaven and earth to pass away than for one tittle of the law to fail." Alongside of this construction with the accusative and the infinitive here we also find the *dative* and *infinitive*: "hwaiwa aglu ist þaim *hugjandam* afar faihau in þiudangardja gudis *galeiþan*" (Mark, 10.24) "How hard it is for those who strive for money to enter into the kingdom of God." Thus there are two entirely different constructions in subject clauses. The dative originated in this category, while the accusative is after the analogy of the accusative found in object clauses as the object of a verb or preposition, as illustrated above. It is only natural that a type which has become established in one category should spread to another. We see the same thing in English. The dative type was once common in English, but it has been replaced by the construction with *for* with the infinitive, as can be seen in the English translations of the last two Gothic sentences. It may be possible that the construction with *for* has sprung directly from the dative construction, but it is quite evident that this process has been facilitated by the example of the *for* construction so common after verbs and prepositions in object clauses as described above. The *for* construction is only felt as a single type, not as two different types. In subject clauses just as in object clauses the *for* is felt as a formal introduction to the infinitive clause: "*For him to do that* is quite fitting." The infinitive clause is here a noun-equivalent,

the subject of the sentence, and the *for* is a part of this subject and is no longer felt as a part of the predicate as it originally was. The subject of the infinitive clause is in English in the accusative just as it is in Gothic. German scholars cannot see how in a Germanic language the subject of a subject clause can be in the accusative and conclude that the Gothic expression is of Greek origin. In Gothic the construction with the accusative with the infinitive spread from object clauses to subject clauses, just exactly as the English construction with *for* with the infinitive spread from object clauses to subject clauses. That which seems perfectly natural here to one who speaks English seems something unnatural, something foreign, something Greek to a German scholar. As the Greek itself originated in exactly the same way the whole process seems quite natural. The German language in not developing this construction has been very unfortunate indeed and makes the impression of clumsiness upon one who speaks English. The German form with the finite verb is also used in English, but its constant use would be felt as burdensome. In one point Gothic usage differs from English. It extended the use of the accusative with the infinitive to clauses of result after *swaswe* and *swaei* or *swe*: “jah galesun sik du imma manageins filu, swaswe ina galeiþan in skip” (Mark, 4.1) “There were gathered unto him a great multitude, so that he entered into a ship.” The infinitive construction here, instead of a clause with a finite verb, is in very common use in English: “I timed my departure from the city so as to arrive home at noon.” The difference between English and Gothic here is, however, a marked one. We cannot use the infinitive here at all if the subject of the infinitive is not the same as that of the principal proposition. We must then employ a clause with a finite verb: “We sent our presents so that they would arrive on Christmas day.” We are, however, so fond of the infinitive here that in colloquial language we avoid the clause with the finite verb in every possible way and shift the words around so as to be able to use the infinitive by making its subject the same as that of the principal proposition: “We sent



our presents so as to have them arrive on Christmas day." Thus English usage is here firmly fixed in the direction of Wulfila's use of the infinitive in clauses of result, but it has developed a marked individual peculiarity of its own, it uniformly shifts the words around so as to make the subject of the infinitive the same as that of the principal verb and thus avoid the use of the accusative here. The construction with the *accusative* and the infinitive has not developed in this category in any Germanic language except Gothic. The Gothic corresponds closely to the Greek in the few cases where this construction is used. Usually Wulfila employs a clause with a finite verb here just as in choice literary style in English. The fact remains, however, that Wulfila also used the accusative with the infinitive here. It does not seem probable that he here merely imitated the Greek mechanically. It was not his way. Language talent asserts itself spontaneously, not by jerks. Wulfila regularly shows a fine feeling for his native speech, and we must remember that he is usually a free translator in rendering the Greek infinitive. In this case there was a natural tendency to follow in this category of clause of result the analogy of the usage in other categories and thus employ the accusative with the infinitive. It was a natural tendency, but it had not developed a strong life. It is interesting to note that in one instance Wulfila employs the simple infinitive construction just as in colloquial English: "jah gaggandans galipun in haim Samareite, swe (ῥοτε) manwjan imma" (Luke, 9.52) "And they went and entered into a village of the Samaritans (so as) to make ready for him." It sounds a little better to the writer in this particular instance to drop *so as* in the English translation, but in general *so as* is quite common in English and corresponds closely to Gothic *swe* as used in this sentence. Here *swe* just as ῥοτε in the Greek original introduces a clause of purpose. It usually introduces a clause of result. In all languages purpose and result are so vitally connected that the same grammatical form is very often used for both categories. The use of Gothic *swe* here is not common. Wulfila usually employs *du* with the infinitive to

express purpose. Did he mechanically imitate the Greek? The case looks very suspicious, but the writer believes that there was some natural tendency in Wulfila's own language that allowed him to follow the Greek. We know the Gothic language only in one period of its development and hence we cannot study it in its historical development. Perhaps this infinitive of purpose introduced by *swe* was the forerunner of a powerful construction, just as the first *um zu* found in German was the forerunner of a powerful construction that has in large measure replaced the older infinitive with *zu*. Powerful constructions do not spring up all at once. There was in the case of even the most widely used construction a time when it was only used once in a book or a conversation. Some scholars study Wulfila's Gothic like a butcher who chops up a piece of meat into little pieces for the retail trade. These scholars divide up Wulfila's speech mechanically into little categories and forget that it is an interesting piece of a living historical development which had a past and is destined to have a short future. Wulfila in using his *swe* in this one place in a clause of purpose, while he elsewhere employs it in clauses of result only, did what we do in English when we use *so as* in clauses of purpose. We do this very often in colloquial language, for *in order to* tho clearer is not a favorite. It has come to such a pass in the author's own English that he cannot always tell whether he himself means purpose or result when he uses *so as* in conversation. In cases of doubt he has submitted his sentences to friends and these friends differed among themselves as to the interpretation of the utterances. This aptly illustrates how closely these two categories are related and how natural it was for Wulfila to employ *swe* here in a clause of purpose, although he elsewhere uses it in clauses of result. In glancing back over Wulfila's use of the infinitive in all these categories we observe that he is very inconsistent in following the Greek. He now renders an infinitive by a finite verb, now by an infinitive; that is, in his Gothic he follows his natural feeling, now using the one construction, now the other. This inconsistency is the proof of his inner consist-

ency. A speaker who has a live feeling for the consistency, the harmony, the melody of language, must follow not a grammatical category, but the inner promptings of the soul. Strangely enough, Professor Streitberg says on page 206 of his Gothic Grammar that this frequent change of construction is a proof of the ungothic character of Wulfila's language. This is a fine example of what a man can say and think who is possessed by a fixed idea. In English we can say: "I timed my departure from the city *so as to arrive home at noon*, or, *so that I might arrive home at noon*." The latter construction is not so common as the former, but it is good English. What would one think of a scholar who claimed that we would not speak good English if we did not consistently use one of these constructions thruout a book to the absolute exclusion of the other? Mr. Stolzenburg in the article referred to above is a little more charitable toward Wulfila in judging of his frequent very close approaches to the Greek text in these infinitive constructions, and elsewhere where he seems to follow the Greek form of expression. Mr. Stolzenburg advances the theory that Wulfila has had predecessors. A series of learned writers had developed a learned Gothic under Greek influence, so that a number of these Greek constructions had become established in the language and were perfectly familiar to Wulfila and had become a part of his own speech. We have no means of ascertaining whether there is any basis of fact for this theory. It may also be true that Wulfila has been influenced more or less *directly* by the Greek. Even if both of these theories are true it does not follow that the Gothic as we have it is a direct imitation of the Greek. All the points of similarity between Wulfila's language and that of the Greek Bible can be scientifically explained as natural Gothic constructions. Other Germanic languages show similar developments. If these natural constructions correspond to the Greek there was often a natural impulse in the Gothic translator to follow the Greek. Greek influence chiefly lay in this direction of *furthering* similar developments in the Gothic. In no case of genuine Wulfilian Gothic do we find slavish imitation of the Greek or Latin.

Those who are always hunting in the language of Wulfila for cases of slavish imitation of the Greek are often so possessed by this fixed idea that they do not take the least pains to investigate, do not sometimes even penetrate below the surface. The following remark from page 156 of Professor Streitberg's "Gotisches Elementarbuch" is a classical example of this superficial scholarship: "In sklavischer Nachahmung des Griechischen steht bisweilen der Nominativ in der Anrede auch dort, wo eine Vokativform existiert, vgl. *hails*, *þiudans*, *Iudaie* χαῖρε ὁ βασιλεύς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, John 19.3, gegenüber *hails þiudan Iudaie* χαῖρε ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, Mark 15.18." Professor Streitberg has simply cast a glance at the forms without giving the meaning the least thought. He has not noticed that Wulfila's usage here corresponds to his usage elsewhere and is based upon a careful weighing of the thought and feeling. The two passages are parallel accounts of the same events, the one from John, the other from Mark. They represent two different forms of direct address in both Greek and Gothic and still thrive in the different Germanic languages. In the passage from Mark the noun is in the vocative and the utterance is merely a formal greeting: "Hail, King of the Jews!" The soldiers had platted a crown of thorns and placed it upon the head of Jesus. The salute of the soldiers is, of course, here sarcastic. In the passage from John the use of the nominative instead of the vocative is to impart to the word the idea of a definite personal *declaration* or *predication*: "Gesegnet sei *der König der Juden*." The predication in nominative form in this individual instance gives a strong sarcastic tone to the utterance. Wulfila has here with true feeling for the meaning of the Greek nominative made a fine translation. This use of the nominative in direct address and exclamation instead of a vocative is not infrequent in Latin and Greek and is nicely illustrated by the following passage from Plautus, where, however, the predication is made in a warm, friendly tone: "tu interim, *meus oculus*, da mihi savium!" In Rom. 7.24 we find the same principle involved: "wainahs ik manna!" ταλαῖπωρος ἐγὼ ἀνθρωπος "O wretched man that I



am!" Wulfila has here employed the strong nominative form of the adjective to give the utterance the force of a declaration or predication as well as that of an exclamation. Wulfila had an advantage here in having at his disposal a choice between two adjective declensions, and he has made fine use of his advantage. In employing the strong form of the adjective he has added force to the declension. The weak form is more commonly used in direct address, as the usual object here is merely to make clear and definite the individual to whom reference is made. The strong form of the adjective is, however, sometimes used here to call attention to the quality in the individual rather than merely to point out an individual, and hence the strong form adds the idea of a predication to the statement. Thus the strong form strengthens the idea of predication that already lies in the *nominative* case. It is a most interesting fact that the few strong adjectives that are used in the Gothic Bible in exclamations are all in the nominative, not one case of the vocative of a strong adjective in the language. Thus in Gothic adjectives the vocative went out of existence, for the weak adjective had no distinct vocative forms and the strong adjective lost the vocative as the nominative was felt as a clearer expression for the idea of predication. Wulfila follows the Greek in using the nominative in direct address and exclamations, but he shows that he is not slavishly imitating the original but feels the full force of the original by his choice of the strong form of the adjective. He shows his independence here also in other ways. In Mark 9.25 he uses here the nominative as in Greek, but he replaces the Greek article by a personal pronoun: "þu ahma, þu unrodjands jah bauþs, ik þus anabiuda τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄλαλον καὶ κωφὸν ἐγώ σοι ἐπιτάσσω "Thou dumb and deaf spirit, I charge thee." The translator is here very clever in the rendering of the Greek. He preserves the predicating declarative force of the Greek by the use of the strong form in adjective and participle, and he at the same time gives the statement the form of direct address by the use of the personal pronoun of the second person. This fine expression shows not only that the Gothic was at this point

superior to the Greek, but it also shows us a Gothic man of fine feeling who knew how to bring out of his native language its possibilities. The more we penetrate into the study of the little details of Wulfila's speech the clearer we see its true Gothic quality.

On page 155 of Professor Streitberg's Gothic Grammar we have in Note 2 another classic example of superficial observation. The suspicion of Greek influence is cast upon one of the oldest and most persistent Germanic constructions, namely, that of the predicate nominative after verbs of "calling." The Gothic by reason of its preservation of the vocative case throws some interesting light upon the original forms of this construction. In Gothic there are two forms of expression here. The first form employs the vocative in order to preserve the exact form of direct address: "apþan hwa mik haitid *frauja*, *frauja*?" κύριε κύριε "Why do you call me, Lord, Lord?" (Luke, 6.46). The form *frauja* is undoubtedly a vocative just as the Greek κύριε, but unfortunately the noun is weak and this declension does not have a distinct vocative form. Clear vocative forms occur very frequently in the Gothic Bible, but there is not a single case occurring in this construction, as the nouns employed are all weak. Altho the vocative form is not clear here, the repetition of the word *frauja* and the whole setting of the utterance clearly show that the intention is to reproduce the exact form of direct address. Modern German, in spite of its loss of the vocative case, has preserved this form quite perfectly: "Er nannte sie *mein lieber Schatz*, *mein Engelchen*, *mein Kind*" (Hölty). We see by the use of the nominative *mein lieber Schatz* that the intention is to preserve the exact form of direct address. The second Gothic form is the declarative or predicative form, the use of the nominative to impart to the word the force of a declaration or a predication: "jus wopeid mik: *laisareis jah frauja* ὁ διδάσκαλος καὶ ὁ κύριος) "You call me master and Lord" (John, 13.13). It is evident at a glance that this form is distinct from the first one. In the Greek the nominative (ὁ διδάσκαλος and ὁ κύριος) is used instead of the vocative (κύριε)

of the first form. Likewise, we have in the Gothic the nominatives *laisareis* and *frauja*. There is here evidently no attempt to preserve the exact form of direct address. The vocative *laisari* is one of the commonest expressions in the Gothic gospels, constantly appearing in direct address. Here this word appears as *laisareis* in nominative form. The explanation lies in the next words of the text: "waila qipip, im ik" "and you speak well, for so I am." Thus the nominative has the force of a predication. The language here is finely framed in the Greek and accurately rendered by Wulfila. This is good Gothic, not an imitation of the Greek as represented by Professor Streitberg. This same form is nicely preserved in modern German: "Nicht ohne Grund habe ich ihn schon: Philipp, der Schweigsame, genannt" (Spielhagen's "Freigeboren," p. 225). The nominative here and in all such expressions is the usual form of declarative statement. It has already in Gothic become the fixed unalterable name by which a person or thing goes. Hence, this nominative is not only used after verbs, but after nouns: "jah gasatida Seimona namo *Paitrus*" (Πέτρον "Und gab Simon den Namen Petrus" (Mark 3.16). In the Greek we find the accusative here in accordance with usage in the older languages, which required the strict grammatical agreement of the appositive with the governing word. Wulfila's use of the nominative here is very interesting, for it is the first case of this usage in the Germanic family as Gothic is the oldest Germanic language. Later the Germanic languages all show this usage. In Latin it had long before Wulfila's time been gradually growing more frequent. The universal trend was toward this usage. On page 173 of Professor Streitberg's "Gotische Bibel" he remarks on this construction: "zum Nominativ vgl. bedf ff' g' il vg." If he simply means to call attention here to the similar development in the Latin versions of the Bible the remark is perfectly in place, but if the intention is to suggest Latin influence upon Wulfila or the thought of interpolation by others, the remark is to be rejected. We have to do here with a natural development and a universal movement. Wulfila deviated from the Greek usage

as the new nominative construction seemed more natural to him. It is a little point, but to the writer it aptly illustrates Wulfila's careful regard for his own native idiom.

On page 157 of his Gothic Grammar Professor Streitberg remarks that Wulfila's accusative of specification or respect is the result of Greek influence. It seems quite sure, however, that it is good Gothic, as Wulfila uses it independently of the Greek: "jah *haubiþ* wundan brahtedun" (Mark, 12.4) (ἐκεφαλáωσαν) "And they wounded him in the head." The Gothic accusative corresponds to a verb in the Greek. We find another Gothic example, which is independent of the Greek: "*bimait* ahtaudogs" (Phil. 3.5) (περιτομῇ) "eight days old when circumcised," literally "as to circumcision eight days old." The Greek uses here the dative of specification instead of the usual accusative. As the accusative of specification is common in Greek and is freely used in early Latin with pronouns in such forms as *id*, *istuc*, *aliud*, *quid*, etc., and is also occasionally found in other Indo-European languages, it seems quite probable that it was in limited use in Indo-European. Thus Gothic preserves here a real old usage. Later the genitive of specification replaced the accusative here in all the Germanic languages. The genitive is already in the Gothic more common here.

A very suspicious Gothic construction occurs in John 17.26: "jah kannja ei *friapwa þoei frijodes mik*, in im sijai jah ik in im" (ἡ ἀγάπη ἣν ἠγάπησας ἡ) "And I will declare it that the love which thou cherished for me may be in them and I in them." In an earlier draft of this article this construction was represented as the result of Greek influence. It seems at first to be something quite foreign to the Germanic languages. After a long and careful study the conviction has come that it is good Gothic and represents one of the oldest constructions in the language. There is in this construction a double accusative. In Indo-European a double accusative was not as uncommon as in modern languages. Both a person and a thing can be involved in an action and hence there can be two direct objects. We can today feel this old construction only in a very small



number of verbs. In "Er lehrte mich das Latein" we can clearly see that "Er lehrte mich" and "Er lehrte das Latein." We lose all feeling for the construction when we use another verb than *lehren*. In German even with this verb the dative of the person has in recent literature largely replaced the old accusative: "Wie die blonde Lotsentochter ihm, dem steifen Nordschleswiger das English und das Küssen lehrte." (Frennsen's "Hilligenlei," chap. 10.) In the English sentence "He taught me Latin" the *me* is also a dative. In modern German the feeling is strongly pronounced that if a person is in any way involved in an action his material, moral or emotional interests are involved and that the noun representing the person ought to be in the dative, the dative of interest." The German still employs also the accusative of the person with the verb *lehren* and a few others, but when some other verb outside of this little list is used the old construction with the double accusative is replaced by some other form of expression. Otfrid's *thaz ni hilu(i)h thiſ* (II. 19.23) "must now be rendered by "Das verhehle ich *dir* nicht." Instead of the old double accusative we now have a dative and an accusative. The new type dative-accusative is now the usual form of expression. It is difficult for us today to approach Otfrid's sentence with any feeling. It means nothing to us at all. Now let us return to Wulfila's sentence. It seems as foreign to us as Otfrid's, but it does not seem more foreign. Wulfila found this form in the Greek and he could do what we cannot do—he could approach it with his feeling. This type had not yet become entirely strange to him. He felt the double object: "the love *which* thou cherished" and "thou cherished *me*." In accordance with a usage still known to him he joined both objects in one sentence, "the love *which* you cherished (for) *me*." In modern English we have to insert *for* before *me*. Professor Brugmann in his "Kurze vergleichende Grammatik," page 443, regards this construction as possibly Gothic, but places a question mark after it. The present writer is quietly and firmly convinced that it is good Gothic. It is another

interesting survival of an older period which felt quite differently at this point, and as its feeling was different it used a different form. This old form was not only common in Greek, but also in *older* Latin, where we find sentences quite similar to the Gothic passage under consideration: "victores palmas et coronas argenteas honoraverunt." (Act. fratr. arval Corp., p. 550, 7.) On page 359 of Schmalz's "Lateinische Grammatik" other interesting examples are given from early Latin. Later the construction rapidly decayed in Latin, as well as in the Germanic languages. Wulfila's sentence seems quite unnatural when studied from our modern point of view, but it becomes natural when studied in connection with the other older languages. Gothic is the oldest Germanic language and a close study of this particular Gothic construction shows clearly that its age is plainly indicated by its syntax as well as by its phonology and inflectional systems. Elsewhere in the Bible Wulfila seems to avoid such double accusatives. It seems quite evident that Gothic in general had the same unfavorable attitude toward this construction that characterized Latin and all the Germanic languages. He used the double accusative with "laisjan" *to teach*, also with "bidjan" *to ask* wherever the object of the thing is a neuter pronoun. Here his usage corresponds with that of the other Germanic languages: "daz er ouh gihorti, thaz ther ewarto bati" (Otfrid I., 4.18 "That he might hear what the priest was asking for." As Gothic literature is confined to a fragment of the Bible and to a few small fragments besides, we shall never know the full list of Gothic verbs which might take two accusative objects.

The Gothic genitive in the following passage from Mark 16.1 has been often discussed and has given scholars so much trouble that some have been led to suggest new conjectural readings for the text: "Jah *inwisindin(s) sabbate dagis* Marja so Magdalene jah Maria so Iakobis jah Salome usbauhtedun aromata, ei atgaggandeins gasalbodedeina ina" (διαγενομένου τοῦ σαββάτου) "The Sabbath day being at hand, Mary Magdalene and Mary, the mother of James, and Salome bought sweet spices

that they might come and anoint him." The Greek text is quite different. It reads: "and when the Sabbath was past." The Gothic text has been changed intentionally and brought in harmony with Luke, 23.56. In Mark it is said in the Greek version that they bought the spices after the Sabbath had passed. Such an alteration in the direction of a clear, consistent text would be quite consistent with Wulfila's procedure in a number of other passages elsewhere, as, for instance, in Matth. 27.64, where he changes a superlative to a comparative to bring the statement in harmony with the facts. The thought of the Gothic translator seems perfectly clear, but there is some doubt about the form and its syntactical relation. In the manuscript there is an omission of an *s* at the end of the present participle *inwisindin(s)*. The ending of the noun *dagis*, however, clearly shows that the case is the genitive. Some who cannot explain the genitive here propose to amend the genitive to a dative, which is the case that Wulfila usually employs in such absolute constructions. Others hesitating to amend the text try to explain it. In the Greek the construction is the absolute genitive. Most scholars think that Wulfila did not imitate the Greek here, for he does not a single time elsewhere imitate this very common Greek construction. Grimm and others explain the genitive here as a genitive of time. The writer has quite exhausted his brain in trying to think how such distinguished scholars could agree that this is a genitive of time. The passage would then mean: "On the Sabbath day, which was at hand, they bought the spices." It is, however, not possible to assume that they bought the spices on the Sabbath, for we know that this is not the Jewish custom, and besides, this rendering puts the text out of harmony with both Mark and Luke. The writer thinks this is an absolute genitive, in spite of the fact that this genitive does not occur elsewhere. It is scarcely an imitation of the Greek, for Wulfila regularly thruout the Bible renders this very common construction by some other case. The natural case here would be the dative. A close study of Wulfila's language shows that there is a tend-

ency toward the use of the dative in the absolute construction, but also the nominative and accusative are used here, as the construction is not firmly fixed. In two passages, Mark 6.21 and John 11.44, he uses the nominative in narrative, and the use of this case seems to have been suggested by the general impression that the nouns in the clauses were subjects. Here in Mark 16.1 we find the genitive as the general impression of time, perhaps, arose in his mind in connection with the word *day*, and the idea of time was associated with the genitive. Thus this vague impression influenced him here to employ the genitive, while other impressions influenced him to employ the nominative and accusative in other passages. Nowhere is Wulfila so much under Greek influence as in his use of the absolute constructions. He is influenced by the Greek, but he is constantly struggling against it. Every case of the common Greek construction gave him a problem to solve. He avoided the absolute construction in a number of ways. He often framed his sentences so that the words of the Greek absolute construction would in Gothic agree as appositives with some word in the sentence, or he converted the Greek absolute construction into a subordinate clause or a prepositional phrase that formed an integral part of the sentence. In a number of cases, however, he made use of the absolute construction, but in every case but one he employed some other case than the genitive of the Greek. The Greek genitive was strange to his feeling. He followed the natural instinct of a Goth in choosing here in most cases the dative, for in Germanic the feeling is well developed that a noun representing a person as involved by his interests in an action should stand in the dative. In the following sentence the dative indicates that the person in question suffered an interruption of his work by the activity of the principal verb. This interruption vaguely implies the contemporaneousness of the two activities: "*nauhþanuh imma rodjandin qemun fram þamma synagogafada*" (Mark, 5.35) "While he was yet speaking several came to him from the house of the ruler of the synagogue." In the English translation the abso-



lute construction is rendered by a subordinate clause. The old absolute construction is born of the impulse for compactness of expression, the modern impulse is for perspicuity. Also Wulfila at times employs here the subordinate clause, but the consistent use of hypotaxis had not in his day become so common as it is today. The extensive use of hypotaxis in modern languages indicates that clear and accurate thinking has become a fixed habit. It required many centuries to develop forms that would express thought accurately, and it likewise required centuries to develop the natural impulse to use these forms. In this respect German stands on a much higher plane than English. We are still usually content with saying: "*Being sick*, I staid at home," or, "*Going down the street*, I met an old friend." Present usage compels a German to say: "*Da ich krank war*, blieb ich zu Hause;" "*Als ich die Strasse hinunter ging*, traf ich einen alten Freund." In Wulfila's time accurate thinking had not become a fixed habit. In the language of the Greek Testament the loose genitive absolute abounds and Wulfila was not compelled by the fixed habits of his own race to be more accurate in his thought than were the Greek writers of the New Testament, who used a language which had been developed by the best thinkers of antiquity. Wulfila's translations of the vague Greek absolute construction show a pronounced tendency toward more accurate thinking. His imperfect work at this point shows clearly the general limitations of his time and native language rather than individual clumsiness or lack of cleverness. Wulfila makes upon us the impression of a man gifted with fine feeling and considerable language talent.

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# BARTHOLD HEINRICH BROCKES' RENDERING OF THOMSON'S SEASONS.

(Continued.)

## C METRICS.

### 1. THOMSON'S VERSE.

The *Seasons* is written in unrhymed lines of five accents, with anacrusis and masculine verse endings, the so-called five-footed iambic or blank verse.<sup>12</sup> It has been stated that the verses are all masculine,<sup>13</sup> but occasionally Thomson has finished a verse with a word which, in prose at least, ends with an unaccented syllable: shower (9 times), heaven (21 times), power (19), flowers (5), bower (4), given (1). Without doubt Thomson intended these to be read as monosyllables; when he ends a verse with a word *ed*, it is written *'d* to avoid the possibility of considering it a disyllable. In Au. 794 he has ended the verse with "chose" rather than the more usual "chosen." Thomson no doubt felt that the feminine ending disturbed the iambic effect of blank verse, especially in the case of enjambement, for the unaccented syllable of one line read in close connection with the anacrusis of the next line gives a distinctly anapestic foot, and such feet he has sought to avoid. As an example of what is meant, Au. 801-802 will serve:

Boils round' the na'ked, mélancho'ly isles'  
Of far'thest Thu'le

There is no break in the iambs

x x'x x'x x'x x'x x'x x'x x'x

but if it had been written "is'lands / of fa'rthest" there would be two unaccented syllables together:

x'x x x'x.

Thomson has used all the embellishments and variations possible in blank verse in order to enliven his meter and to prevent

<sup>12</sup> Collier, p. 303.

<sup>13</sup> Minor, p. 231.

its becoming monotonous: isolated verses, enjambement of two, three or four lines, accent shifts in any measure, and freedom in the position of the cæsura and dieresis.

## 2. BROCKES' VERSE.

### (a) *Rhythmical Groups.*

At the time Brockes translated the *Seasons* blank verse was almost unknown in Germany.<sup>14</sup>

(Zarncke, p. 337 & 425.)

The German Hexameter had not been introduced as yet by Klopstock—there was no meter by which blank verse could be adequately rendered by the German translators. Brockes was not genius enough to invent or adopt a new form. He had already found in his *Frühlingsgedicht* that a verse of six accents was too short for him to attempt a verse-for-verse translation in that meter. Hence he turned to his favorite verse form—a line of eight accents with either masculine or feminine ending. This form had gradually supplanted all other meters in his later works and nearly all his translations are written in this form. Although this verse is printed as one line with eight accents, it is really a double verse consisting of two rhythmical groups, each containing four accents. This is the reason why the single verses, which are interspersed throughout the translation, do not alter the metrical effect. These short verses are inserted at random, generally singly, with only 164 in pairs. In eight places there are three together, in two places four, and there are two groups of five each.<sup>15</sup> Brockes' printed line has the following form:

x x'x x'x x'x x' (x) xx'x x'x x'x x' (x)

For the ear, however, that is nothing more than two verses of four accents each:

x 'xx x'x x'x x' (x)

<sup>14</sup> Brockes' verse is in reality the verse irregular, which first is used by Canitz. See Koberstein, *Grundriss II*, 105 ff. [Ed.]

<sup>15</sup> The works which Brockes published while he was working on the *Jahreszeiten* contain but few poems with verses of six accents. In the seventh volume of his *Ird. Verg.* 1743, only about 13% of the poems contain such lines, and in the eighth volume, 1746, only 9%, and even in these poems the number of these verses is very small.

The first four verses of *Spring* and the translation can be thus diagrammed:

x x'x x'x x'x x'x x'	x x'x x'x x'x x'x
	x x'x x'x x'x x'x a
x x'x x'x x'x x'x x'	x x'x x'x x'x x'
	x x'x x'x x'x x' b
x x'x x'x x'x x'x x'	x x'x x'x x'x x'x
	x x'x x'x x'x x' b
x x'x x'x x'x x'x x'	x x'x x'x x'x x'x
	x x'x x'x x'x x'x a

(b) *Rhyme:*

Brockes had written most of his works in rhymed verse, hence when he translated the *Seasons* he handicapped himself by using rhyme even as Frau Gottsched had done in her translation of Pope's *Rape of the Lock*, although she had the excuse that her original was also in heroic verse. In the *Jahreszeiten* the position of the rhyme is very free, only one rule seems to be observed, that the rhyme-words shall not be too far apart. Very seldom does it happen that they are separated by four lines: Sp. 695 a b b c c a, Sp. 756 a b b c w d d a. Generally they occur in pairs, or as alternate rhymes. Triple rhymes also occur, Sp. 778 a a a, Sp. 10 a a b a, Sp. 25 a b a a b. Indeed, in a few places fourfold rhymes are found: Wi. 280 a b a b a c a c, Sp. 153 a a a a. The only effect the short verse has for the ear is that it increases the number of rhymes, for these verses may rhyme either forward or backward, with a double line or with each other. As Brockes did not consider it necessary to complete a rhyme if the second word was difficult to find, there are in *Spring* some 31 unrhymed verses. The necessity of finding rhymes has caused Brockes to insert many words and indeed whole verses, which are not in the original. In most cases he has added but one word, the other being a translation of a word in the *Seasons*. Still, it often occurs that both rhyme-words are added, as in *Spring*. 217:218, 234:236, 285:287.

One rhyme-word added:

Sp.	in about	55%	of the rhymes
Su.	" "	60%	" " "
Au.	" "	50%	" " "
Wi.	" "	53%	" " "



Both rhyme-words added:

Sp.	about	14%
Su.	"	12%
Au.	"	18%
Wi.	"	15%

### C. ACCENT SHIFTS.

Brockes' verse is more regular than Thomson's, that is, he has not allowed himself the freedom which the latter shows in the shifting of the accent. In over 135 verses (11%) of *Spring* an accent shift occurs, generally at the beginning or at the cæsura:

Sp. 613, Steals' from the barn'; 592, Néstling repáir; 688, By the gréat Fáther (2 syl. anacrusis); 938, And lóve-dejécted eýes. Súdden he stárts; 762, Túrns in black éddies róund; súch is the fórcé.

Brockes has similar shiftings, but they are much less frequent.<sup>16</sup>

Sp. 127, Sen'kt ihr verhas' ster dic'ker Schwarm'.

Au. 1087, Dích zu vertílgén vón der Er'de.

Sp. 44, Der Sã'mann in' des Náchbars Fêld, schléicht mit geméssnem Schrittt'.

In some cases Brockes has sacrificed word-accent to verse-accent:

Sp. 118, Erschei'nen víele Millionén Insékten, grã'ssliché Arméen.

In four other cases Míllionèn is also thus accented.

Au. 60, Ein zítterndér, elen'der Trópf.

### D. ESTIMATE OF BROCKES' TRANSLATION.

Enough has been given to show the chief characteristics of Brockes' work and the manner in which he has reproduced the English poem; the addition of his own ideas, his wordiness, which added to Thomson's tendency to diffuseness leads to tediousness; his errors, which often fail utterly to reproduce the

<sup>16</sup>Ex. Sp. 25 61 78 79 90 95 101 106 133 141 151 153 157 158, etc., about 95 cases.

sense of the original and the change of meter, all these unite to make a work which falls far short of the original in freshness and beauty. Even judged by the standards of Brockes' contemporaries, it may well be asked whether this is a translation or a reworking of Thomson's poem.

Let us apply the principles of the early eighteenth century to the *Jahreszeiten* and see in how far that work fulfills the ideals of translation that were held at that time. What, then, was the accepted idea of a translation in Germany during Brockes' life? That can best be answered by quoting from Gottsched's "*Hauptregeln über die Uebersetzungskunst*," of which the following is a resume:

1. Man wähle sich nichts zum Uebersetzen, sobald man entweder der Sache oder der Sprache nicht gewachsen ist.

2. Man bemühe sich, nicht so wohl alle Worte, als vielmehr den rechten Sinn und die genaue Bedeutung eines jeden Satzes, den man übersetzt, wohl auszudrücken.

3. Daher drücke man denn alles mit solchen Redensarten aus, die in seiner Sprache nicht fremd klingen, sondern derselben eigenthümlich sind.

4. Endlich behalte man, so viel als möglich, alle Figuren, alle "verblünte Reden," auch die Abtheilung der Perioden aus dem Original bei. Man beachte den Nachdruck des Grundtextes und sehe, ob der Dolmetscher ihn auch im Deutschen erreicht hat. Man untersuche die Schönheit und Anmut aller Ausdrücke und prüfe jeden Satz der Uebersetzung, ob er auch mehr oder weniger sagt, als der Schriftsteller hat sagen wollen, ob er zu kurz oder zu weitläufig, zu erhaben oder zu niedrig, zu matt oder lebhaft, zu dunkel oder zu deutlich gerathen ist, und ob er endlich im Deutschen eben den Wohlklang und eben die Richtigkeit in der ganzen Wortfügung hat, die man mit Recht von jedem "Skribenten" fordern kann."

1. There can be no question as to whether Brockes was fitted to handle such a subject; he had spent years studying nature and in writing his views of her. Hence it was no new task which was required of him and he had, perhaps, a better

<sup>11</sup>Gottsched, *Redekunst*, par. 4, p. 396.

vocabulary for such a work than any other writer of his time, unless it be Haller, who, according to Klopstock, had given Germany a new poetic language.<sup>18</sup> According to Weck, a proper appreciation of the original is the fundamental requisite in a translator: "Kongenialität der Naturen ist das wünschenswerteste; das Geringste, dass der Uebersetzer selbst ein Stück Poet sei."<sup>19</sup> Brockes and his *Jahreszeiten* are an excellent refutation of this idea.

It was recognized by Brockes' contemporaries that he had the qualities requisite for the translation of the *Seasons*. Giseke, in his preface<sup>20</sup> to the second edition of the *Cantaten*, writes: "Uebrigens unterscheidet sich diese Ausgabe von der ersten durch eine merkliche Verbesserung des Einleitungs-Gedichtes aus dem Thomson, welches weder unter eine bessere Feder gerathen, noch an einem andern Orte eine würdigere Stelle finden können, als hier."

There is more doubt, perhaps, that Brockes understood the English language, especially Thomson's English. There are no direct proofs how extensive his knowledge of that language was; he had made several translations, the most important of which was Pope's *Essay on Man* (1740). Perhaps no lengthier commentary on his ability is necessary than the examples already given of some of his renderings. However, these first requirements Brockes may be considered to have fulfilled.

2. Did Brockes take pains to reproduce the sense and exact meaning of every word and sentence which he translated? Not so much can be said in his favor here; indeed, as stated above (p. 18), it appears as though he preferred to give his own ideas rather than study out a complex passage or discover the meaning of an unusual word.

3. Brockes' style was characteristic of the early eighteenth century with all its stiffness and verbosity. Brandl refers to Brockes as "dem Schüler Lohensteins," and writes as follows:

<sup>18</sup>Klopstock, *Nordischer Aufseher*, vol. 1, p. 26.

<sup>19</sup>Weck, *Prinzipien der Uebersetzungskunst*, Wien 1876.

<sup>20</sup>Page 3.

"In den späteren Bänden des Ird. Verg. nehmen alle Unarten des Stils zu; unerträglich wird die Beschreibungssucht, plump die Partizipialkonstruktionen, hölzern und verknüpft die Perioden, die ganze Rede immer prosaischer."<sup>21</sup> He had never outlived the effect of the Italian school to which his first period belongs.<sup>22</sup> As Scherer says: "Brockes blieb tief im Lohensteinischen Schwulste der Hamburger Operndichter stecken."<sup>23</sup> Even his poetical original could not elevate his style to any great degree and the *Jahreszeiten* show little or no improvement over his earlier works so far as form is concerned. His translation, therefore, in this respect belongs really to the first quarter of the eighteenth century, when there was no standard literary language in Germany. Gottsched had not begun the struggle which resulted in a simpler and more correct German. Haller had not added to this his lofty and poetic diction, nor had Hagedorn united them all in his verse. The strife between the Swiss writers and Gottsched and the other Saxon authors had not as yet cleared the way to a national language, and the great poets, who were to unite on one dialect and make that literary German, were far in the future. Breitinger felt this deficiency in the language when he wrote: "Zwey andere Dinge, welche diese Arbeit allerdings schwer machen, das erste, dass in einer Sprache keine gleichgültige Wörter und Redensarten gefunden werden, unter welchen eine freye Wahl Platz hätte. Das andere, dass eine jede Mundart ihren eigentlichen und gantz besondern Character habe, nach welchem sie sich von allen andern Mundarten unterscheidet; dabei es einem Uebersetzer oft sauer ankömmt, die Gedanken seines Originals ohne Verminderung des Nachdruckes und der Schönheit mit gleichgültigen Zeichen auszudrücken, welche in seiner Sprache nicht fremd klingen, und dem Character derselben nicht Gewalt thun."<sup>24</sup>

It is not surprising that Brockes' poetry is full of dialectal

<sup>21</sup>Brandl, *B. H. Brockes*, p. 123.

<sup>22</sup>Idem, p. 110.

<sup>23</sup>Scherer, *Literaturgeschichte*, p. 374.

<sup>24</sup>Breitinger, *Critische Dichtkunst*, p. 143.



forms and expressions.<sup>25</sup> He has often used terms and figures which were not peculiar to the German literary language, but they probably did not sound strange to him. Even Gottsched has not criticised him on this ground. If, then, he has transgressed the latter's third rule we cannot censure him too severely.

4. But when the *Jahreszeiten* is measured by the standard set in the fourth rule, the author cannot be dealt with so leniently. Has he sought to retain all figures and "verblümete Reden" as far as possible? Has he not changed the division into periods and does his translation create the same impression that the original does? But it is the next requirement that Brockes has failed most completely to fulfill. Has he said more or less than Thomson wished to say? Has he been too prolix or too brief? On this count Brockes must plead guilty. The preceding discussion is evidence enough to convict him of having transgressed continually in these particulars. Whether his work has the melodiousness and correctness in construction which may be demanded of a poet is more difficult to decide. I am of the opinion that his work by no means has the strength, beauty and simplicity of the *Seasons*, but that the translator has lowered the original toward the level of his own productions and that he has given the contents from his own point of view, which was largely subjective. In his earlier poems it is not Nature herself that is portrayed, but rather Brockes' thoughts on Nature and what he found in her. Still with such a model it was impossible for him to descend completely to his old level and the VII volume of *Ird. Verg.* testifies to the elevating influence of the *Seasons*.<sup>26</sup> Brockes transgressed as many of the principles of the Swiss authors as of Gottsched's. In many respects their demands are the same; they require accuracy, fidelity to the original, and demand that the effect produced on the reader shall be similar to that produced by the original in its own land. Their views on translation differed from Gottsched's in the same way that their ideals of poetry

<sup>25</sup>Brandl, p. 114.

<sup>26</sup>Brandl, p. 98.

did. They were willing to allow a greater degree of freedom in the use of new expressions, metaphors, adjectives, etc., with which to render the language of the original. Although Brockes transgressed so many of their rules, his work more nearly attained their standards for the same reason that had made his earlier works so favorably received by them. To the Swiss writers a long-winded style was not such a bug-bear as it was to Gottsched, whose battle-cry was brevity and correctness.

In spite of its shortcomings, Brockes' *Jahreszeiten* was soon popular in Germany and was widely read.<sup>26</sup> The translation led to a demand for the original. This Brockes had hoped for when he wrote the "Zueignung" to his *Jahreszeiten*.

Von den mit so viel männlichen und Feuer-reichen Lieblich-  
keiten,  
Durch dich, nie gnug gepriesner Thomson, so schön besungenen  
Jahres-Zeiten,  
Die ich, zu Deutschland's Nutz und Lehre, in eine deutsche  
Tracht gehüllt,  
Hatt' ich das Ende nun erreicht, mein schwerer Vorsatz war  
erfüllt,  
Mein vorgestecktes Ziel erhalten;

In a short time the *Seasons* had become one of the most popular books in Germany, where it was recognized as a masterpiece of descriptive poetry.<sup>27</sup> Especially the poets of the Prussian and Leipzig circles esteemed Thomson highly and recommended his work to each other. The letters of that time made frequent mention of the poem, which was creating such a stir. Thus in the same year in which Brockes' translation appeared, Sulzer wrote Lange:

Magdeburg, den 29. April, 1745.

Haben Sie Thomson's *Jahreszeiten* schon gelesen? Ich bin nun mit Lesung derselben beschäftigt und empfinde ein besonderes Vergnügen daran. Es ist gut, das ich ihn im Englischen lesen kann, denn Brockes' Uebersetzung hat bey weitem die

<sup>26</sup>Cf. Tobler's Translation of the *Seasons*, 3d edition, 1781, Anhang.

<sup>27</sup>Lessing, Preface to translation of Thomson's Tragedies.

Schönheiten nicht, die das Original hat. Der gute Mann könnte die Uebersetzung wol—Doch ich ende—<sup>28</sup>

Later he again wrote the same friend:

Magdeburg, den 27. Aug. 1746.

Haben Sie noch nicht angefangen, die englische Sprache zu erlernen? Verdienen Milton, Pope, Addison und Thomson nicht, dass man sich krank studiert, um ihre Gedichte lesen zu können? Ich wollte das Vergnügen, das ich aus Thomson's Seasons habe, nicht für tausend Thaler missen.<sup>29</sup>

In the same year Gleim answered Uz's question, "Wer ist Thomson?"<sup>30</sup> as follows:

den 30. Juni, 1746.

Wenn Sie sich wundern, dass ich Ihren Prior noch nicht gelesen habe, so wundere ich mich, dass Sie meinen Thomson noch nicht kennen. Er hat verschiedenes geschrieben, ins besondere vier Gedichte über die Vier Jahreszeiten, welche Brockes nicht hübsch übersetzt hat.<sup>31</sup>

On the 5th of December, 1746, Uz wrote Gleim:

Thomson ist in der That ein vortrefflicher Mahler, auch in seinen Erzählungen.

Brockes' translation was, even from the first, felt to be unworthy of the original. Although some few praised his work, the great majority, and especially those who could read English, had only censure for the *Jahreszeiten*. Bodmer is one of the few who praised Brockes' works. In his *Character der deutschen Gedichte*, verses 736-773 are a eulogy of the old nature-poet.

v. 737 Brockes, der kein schlechter Lob auf seine Flügel nimmt,  
Als nur des Schöpfers selbst.

v. 769, So sag' ich: Brockes ist von Göttlichem Geschlecht.

Again in the essay, *Von den erleuchtenden Gleichnissen* (p. 15) he writes: "Die zween berühmtesten Poeten Deutschlands, Herr Brockes und Herr König, von welchen jener in Beschreibung der Wercke der Natur—vortrefflich ist."

<sup>28</sup>Lange's Briefe, I, p. 265.

<sup>29</sup>Idem, p. 272.

<sup>30</sup>Briefwechsel zwischen Gleim und Uz, Nr. 25.

<sup>31</sup>Idem. No. 26.

\*Idem. No. 30.

Gottsched at first criticised Brockes' works favorably, saying that his poems were beautiful, for they imitated, in a vivacious manner, the objects of Nature.<sup>32</sup> Even at that time, however, he considered this the lowest form of poetry and as early as 1726 in a letter of June 15th he had written Bodmer concerning "den verdorbenen Brocksischen und seiner Anhänger üblen Geschmack." Later his criticism of Brockes is even sharper: "Und endlich hat sich der selige Brockes in dieselbe so sehr verliebt, dass er ganze Bände voll solchen Gedichten drucken lässt, ja wohl gar Werke der Ausländer, die in richtigen gleichlangen Versen waren, als Thomson's Vierjahreszeiten, in diese Poesie der Faulen, die lang und kurz durch einander laufen lässt, übersetzt hat."<sup>33</sup>

Thus Brockes' fame did not last long and his successors soon forgot the good, old author of *Ird. Verg.* and his contribution to German literature. Gessner, who owed so much to Brockes,<sup>34</sup> wrote in his *Brief über die Landschaftsmalerei*: "und hier nehme ich Gelegenheit, einem redlichen Manne das Wort zu reden, der schon fast ganz vergessen ist. Brockes hat sich eine ganz eigene Dichtart gewählt."<sup>35</sup>

When Lessing praised Thomson's poetic ability in his introduction to the translation of the latter's tragedies, he speaks of "die wohlgemeinte Uebersetzung des seligen Brockes,"<sup>36</sup> and in his *Leben des Herrn Thomson* he declares: "Thomson ist auch in Deutschland nicht unbekannt. Seine Jahreszeiten sind von dennen, welche ihn in seiner Sprache nicht lesen können, in der Uebersetzung des Herrn Brockes bewundert worden, so viel sie auch von ihrer Schönheit verloren haben."<sup>37</sup>

Herder, in his *Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität*, has praised Brockes very highly, but not for his translation: "Welch kindliche Gutmütigkeit herrscht z. B. in Brockes' Schriften! Wie ein Liebhaber an der Geliebten, hängt er an

<sup>32</sup>Wanick, *Gottsched und die deut. Lit.*, p. 311.

<sup>33</sup>Gottsched, *Versuche*, p. 695.

<sup>34</sup>Vogt und Koch, *Lit. Geschichte*, p. 481.

<sup>35</sup>Gessner, *Werke*, p. 288.

<sup>36</sup>Lessing, Muncker edition, vol. VII, p. 67.

<sup>37</sup>Idem. vol. VI, p. 53.



einer Blume, an einem Thautropfen.—Mit überströmender Wortfülle mahlt er seinen Gegenstand voll Liebe und Bewunderung, um ja keine andere als gutmütige Empfindung zu erregen."<sup>38</sup>

Wieland speaks of "unserm vortrefflichen und zu sehr vergessenen Brockes,"<sup>39</sup> but he also says in another place, "Thomson's Jahreszeiten verdienen besser übersetzt zu werden, als sie Brockes übersetzt."<sup>40</sup>

Other criticisms of the *Jahreszeiten* are even more severe. Gottsched wrote: "Brockes habe die Jahreszeiten Thomson's sehr schlecht übersetzt."<sup>41</sup> In the criticism of Schubart's translation of the *Seasons*, Brockes is called "einer unserer früheren und jetzt fast vergessenen Dichter," and his translation censured as follows: "seine Uebersetzung gehört unter die elendsten, die wir von englischen haben."<sup>42</sup> Wilhelm Schlegel, in his review of Harries' translation of the *Seasons*, wrote: "Die älteste Uebersetzung von Brockes, die in ihren achtfüssigen Jamben das Original so reichlich durchwässert, und alles doppelt und dreifach wiederholt, kann kaum für eine Uebersetzung gelten."<sup>43</sup>

And so it happened that Brockes' translation fell into disrepute and the author himself passed into oblivion, from which he was first rescued by Gervinus. Although this critic was cognizant of Brockes' deficiencies as a poet, he recognized the great service he had rendered German literature in leading it back to Nature.<sup>44</sup> And since Brockes' re-discovery, he has had full justice done him for all his *Jahreszeiten* did for German poetry.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>38</sup>Herder, Suphan edition, vol. XVIII, Brief No. 102.

<sup>39</sup>*Duet. Merkur*, 1782, IV, p. 67, *Briefe an einen jungen Dichter*.

<sup>40</sup>*Gespräche mit Wieland*, Arch. f. Litgesch., vol. XL, p. 494.

<sup>41</sup>*Versuche*, p. 573.

<sup>42</sup>*Allg. Deut. Bibliothek*, vol. 96, p. 403.

<sup>43</sup>*Jenaische Allg. Lit. Zeitung*, 1797. *Werke*, vol. II, p. 3-5.

<sup>44</sup>Gervinus, *Litgesch.* Vol. III, p. 647.

<sup>45</sup>Sauer, edition of Kleists' Works, vol. I, p. 151. Gjerset, Diss. 1898, *Der Einfluss von Thomson's Jahreszeiten auf die deut. Lit. des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Max Koch, *Beziehung*, etc., p. 13.

## PART II.

## THE LATER TRANSLATIONS OF THE SEASONS.

## A. PROSE TRANSLATIONS.

## 1. TOBLER AND VON PALTEN.

As the *Seasons* became better known in Germany and their epoch-making value and their beauties better understood, the need of a better translation was felt, so that those who could not read English might thoroughly enjoy and properly appreciate the poem. Moreover, Thomson had completely revised his *Seasons*, removing all crudities as his poetic skill increased. He added over 1,000 verses in the edition of 1744 and his last revision (1746) contains 5,423 lines.

For all these reasons a new attempt was made to render the *Seasons* into German, but not till twelve years after the appearance of Brockes' translation. At this time two rival works appeared within one year, one in Switzerland and the other in North Germany.

Johannes Tobler,<sup>1</sup> of Zürich, was the first to attempt a new translation, which, without any effort at style or poetry, should reproduce the original as literally as possible. He first published *Der Frühling* anonymously in 1757, and it was generally credited to Gessner.<sup>2</sup> This was followed by the other *Seasons*, and the whole was published in two volumes in 1764 by Orell, Gessner & Co., Zürich. The next year appeared the translation of Thomson's other poetical works under the title: *Thomson's Gedichte aus dem Englischen* (five volumes). This edition contains a life of Thomson taken from Lessing's

<sup>1</sup> Allg. d. Biog., vol. 38, p. 393. Bächtold, p. 190, p. 636. Bürgers Briefe, 1, p. 352.

<sup>2</sup> Von Palthen's Introduction to the second edition of his translation of the *Seasons*: "Die nunmehr auch vollendete Schweizerische Uebersetzung der Jahreszeiten, von welcher ich mit Zuverlässigkeit nicht sagen kann, ob sie dem Herrn Gessner, dem Verfasser der Idyllen, wie ich irgendwo gelesen, mit Wahrheit, zugeschrieben werden möge, wenigstens aus dem Grunde daran zu zweifeln Ursache finde, weil ich darin die Nettigkeit und Zierlichkeit dieses Schriftstellers in seinen eigenen Werken fast gänzlich vermisste."

Theatralische Bibliothek and also *Die Weinlese*, an imitation of parts of *Autumn*. This translation was severely criticised in the Allg. Deut. Bibliothek:

“Diese Uebersetzung ist von einem Manne, der der Englischen Sprache und seiner Materie kundig ist. Seine Uebersetzung ist männlich und stark und erschöpft nicht selten seine Urkunde. Wollte Gott! dass der Uebersetzer nur der deutschen Sprache mächtig wäre und ihre Natur bis auf feine Nuancen einsähe.”<sup>3</sup>

The second edition of this translation was criticised by the same magazine, as being simply a reprint of the first edition. In a third edition (1781) Tobler completely revised his work, smoothing and improving it by omitting most of the Swiss dialect and many of the words which had so offended the ears of the Germans, and especially those of the rival translator, Johann Franz von Palthen.

Von Palthen's translation appeared in Rostock in 1754<sup>4</sup> with the title

Jacob Thomson's  
Jahreszeiten  
aus dem Englischen  
nach der neuesten Ausgabe  
übersetzt  
von  
Johann Franz von Palthen  
mit Kupfern<sup>5</sup>  
Rostock 1758

im Verlag der Koppischen Buchhandlung.

This edition also contains a life of Thomson, taken from the *Theatralische Bibliothek*, which the translator, in his introduction, credits to Lessing. In the second edition, von Palthen has made this account more complete by the addition of ma-

<sup>3</sup> Bibliothek, vol. II, p. 263.

<sup>4</sup> 2d edition, Rostock, 1766, 3d edition, Berlin, 1789.

<sup>5</sup> These illustrations are inserted incorrectly: the picture of *Autumn* appears before *Summer*, of *Winter* before *Autumn*, and of *Summer* before *Winter*. In the second edition the illustrations of *Summer* and *Spring* are interchanged.

terial taken from the *British Library*. In the introduction to the second edition, von Palthen criticises the Swiss translation most severely. He says: "Dass der Verfasser derselben noch völlig ein Fremdling in der Englischen Sprache gewesen sei. Fast keine Zeile drückt den Verstand der Urschrift richtig aus; sie hat überall ein schielendes Ansehen, und man muss es blos einem glüklichen Zufalle zuschreiben, wenn man etwa hier und da eine dem Original anpassende Stelle antrifft."<sup>6</sup> In spite of

<sup>6</sup> P. 3.

the severity with which von Palthen criticised Tobler's work, he used it to improve his second edition.<sup>7</sup> This translation was attacked by the public even more severely than Tobler's. Nicolai criticised it as follows:

"So ist gewiss, der neue Uebersetzer hat es (Tobler's work) unendlich schlechter gemacht. Wir wollen nichts von dem Verstand der Urkunde sagen, wider welchen auch manches einzuwenden wäre, aber die Uebersetzung ist so hart, so slavisch an die Worte der Urkunde gefesselt, mit Partizipien und unerhörten Wortfügungen so überladen, dass man fast nirgend Numerus, Wohlklang, Ründe der Perioden antreffen wird. Es ist daher eine fast unleidliche Arbeit, einige Seiten dieser Uebersetzung durchzulesen und wir beklagen wahrlich so wohl den Thomson als die deutsche Sprache, welche beyde gleich stark gemisshandelt worden sind."<sup>8</sup> Later in reviewing von Palthen's translation of Gay's *Fables*, the same critic writes: "Ist es möglich, dass ein Autor so viel Stolz haben kann, dass wenn die ganze Welt und alle Zeitungsblätter ihm zurufen, dass seine Sache elend und jämmerlich sind, er doch einen Band um den andern ihr aufdringt und Verleger findet, die wenigstens das Druckerlohn zu verdienen glauben?"<sup>9</sup>

The critic of the Schubart translation, in writing about the earlier attempts, says: "Ein gewisser von Palthen machte den nämlichen Versuch. Aber beyde Uebersetzungen gehören unter

<sup>7</sup> Idem. p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> *Bibliothek der Schön-Wissenschaft*, vol. IV, p. 600-602.

<sup>9</sup> Idem, vol. V, p. 153.



die elendsten, die wir von Englischen Dichtern haben." <sup>10</sup> Similarly Lessing wrote: "Wollen Sie einen andern kennen lernen, dessen guter Wille uns nun schon den zweyten englischen Dichter (Gay) verdorben hat?" (Lessing, Lit. Briefe, Nr. 3.) In another letter (No. 5) Lessing criticises von Palthen's *Lenz* very severely: "Der Lenz des Herrn von Palthen scheint eine Sammlung von alledem zu sein, was er bei Uebersetzung des Thomsonschen Frühlings Schlechteres gedacht hat; eine Sammlung von Zügen und Bildern, die Thomson und Kleist, und selbst Zachariä verschmäheth haben." Sulzer's *Theorie* states incorrectly that von Palthen's translation of the *Seasons* is written in "*schlechten Versen*." (Sulzer, vol. II, p. 284 b.)

Between these two translations there is little choice. In spite of von Palthen's protestations, his work is more lifeless, literal and barren than Tobler's. On account of his endeavor to be exact he has been led into errors. The English idiom cannot always be translated into German but must be imitated, that is a "*Situations-Uebersetzung*" should be made. In neither case is there any attempt at a stylistic translation. Tobler, to be sure, often writes a rhythmical prose, which, with a little more ability and care, might have been developed into a poetic translation—perhaps in German hexameters, which by that time had been introduced by Klopstock. But he was too little of a poet and it is doubtful if he intended his prose to be rhythmical.

His poetic vocabulary, however, was extensive and his selection of the most fitting words with which to render Thomson's adjectives was excellent. The later translators have borrowed many of his expressions and indeed to his credit stand several words now in general use in German. Schubart, in his preface, <sup>11</sup> writes: "Ich habe meine Arbeit an verschiedenen Orten mit dieser Uebersetzung (Tobler's) verglichen, und manchen Ausdruck, manches mir entwichte Kunstwort, besonders im landwirtschaftlichen Fache, dankbar herübergenommen."

Both translators used Lyttleton's edition of the *Seasons*, published in 1750. This text differs from that of 1746 in the

<sup>10</sup> *Allg. deut. Bibliothek*, vol. 96, p. 403.

<sup>11</sup> P. 37.

omission of the fox-hunt and the carousal following it (Au. 470-570) and of two lines (Au. 607, 677),<sup>12</sup> which portions are also omitted in the translations. Tobler later translated Lyttleton's free revision of the fox-hunt and printed it in his fourth volume of *Thomson's Gedichte* with Lyttleton's note that such a passage was not in keeping with the rest of the *Seasons*. Tobler also knew the edition of 1730 (probably in Brockes' edition), as he has inserted in a footnote the translation of some 28 lines (Sp. 272), which he states are omitted in the later editions.<sup>13</sup> He, however, makes no mention of the other variations between the editions of 1730 and 1750.

## 2. <sup>a</sup>Schubart.

Ludwig Schubart's production stands high above the earlier translations of the *Seasons*. We no longer have to deal with a crude, unpoetic, tiresome rendering, laughable on account of literalness, and displeasing in its dialect. Here we find an attempt not only to interpret to the reader Thomson's thought, but also to awaken in him something of the charm and beauty which the original possesses. It is a good, smooth prose work, quite free from foreign words and idioms, and no phrases or constructions which are dialectic or un-German.

There are two reasons why this translation is such an improvement over the preceding prose efforts: First, Schubart had more poetic ability and training than had either Tobler or von Palthen; secondly, the German literary language had made great strides in the quarter of a century which had elapsed since the earlier prose translations. The poetic freedom with which Schubart rendered the *Seasons* has led him to make many changes—not in essentials, but in details. He has sinned particularly in the matter of adjectives, omitting, changing and adding them at will; the last in spite of the great number he found in the English poem. But he has not handled his subject as freely as Brockes; his changes are both fewer in number and of less importance. One change characteristic

<sup>12</sup> Verses from this point on numbered according to Tovey's edition of the *Seasons*, which follows the 1746 text.

<sup>13</sup> 2d edition, 1764, vol. I, p. 22.

of Schubart's method is the replacing of one picture by another, an alteration which is not so reprehensible when the picture inserted better suits the Germans and awakens in them the same feelings that the original did in English readers.

Schubart was particularly successful in the use of personification, especially in those cases where the German grammatical gender renders it impossible for the translator to reproduce the original literally without destroying the beauty of the picture as in Su. 1620, where a sunset is described. Here the appropriateness of the picture depends on the use of the masculine gender, which is ascribed to the sun in English. The older translations (this passage is not in the 1730 edition) and also the later works, which do not rest on Schubart's, have lost the picturesque element when they have retained "die Sonne." Schubart has avoided the difficulty by substituting "Phoebus" and has thus been able to preserve the masculine gender. Tobler made the following remark in regard to this passage: "Diese Erwähnung der Amphitrite und ihrer Nymphen wird im Deutschen etwas unschicklich scheinen, weil die Sonne bey uns weiblichen Geschlechts ist, und in dieser ganzen Stelle nicht so leicht Phoebus dafür gesetzt werden konnte, als in der Beschreibung der Sonnen-Blume."<sup>14</sup>

In general, Schubart's mistakes in translation may be ascribed to the freedom with which he translates, or to intentional changes, rather than to a failure to understand his original, or to his ability to express his thought in German, which by this time had become well fitted for the most poetical as well as for the most profound thoughts.

Schubart, in his introduction, writes (p. 34) that he had long hesitated whether to render the *Seasons* in the original meter or in metrical prose; that eventually he had adopted the latter as uniting the advantages of both forms. However, some of the more lofty passages he has attempted to render into verse and the Hymn at the close is in blank verse. Schubart did not have the excuse that the earlier translators had for not

<sup>14</sup>In his footnote to this passage.

using blank verse for his *Jahreszeiten*, for by 1789 that meter had been thoroughly Germanized. Lessing's *Nathan* (1779) had appeared a decade before Schubart's work, and Goethe's *Iphigenie* and Schiller's *Don Carlos* (1787) had been published some two years previous. German versification had become capable of rendering the *Seasons* in the original meter.

Although Schubart was not artist enough to attempt such a reproduction, he was at least of more poetic nature than either Tobler or von Palthen. The former was a theologian, who had published many books in his subject, but who was a man of most prosaic nature;<sup>15</sup> von Palthen was only a translator, who seems to have "destroyed" most of the authors he tried to reproduce.

Schiller, in a letter of Dec. 11, 1788, to Lotte von Lengefeld, thus describes Schubart's ability:

"Er ist auch ein Dichter, aber kein gebohrner. Frühe Lectüre von Poeten, frühe Versuche poetischer Arbeiten—haben ihm eine gewisse Fertigkeit, einen Vorrat von Bildern und Stil verschafft."<sup>16</sup>

Schubart's translation appeared in 1789<sup>17</sup> and was very favorably received and reviewed. "Der Recensierer übernimmt ihre Anzeige mit desto grösserem Vergnügen, je mehr Befriedigung ihm diese mit so viel Talent und Dichtergefühl als Fleiss und Sorgfalt ausgeführte Arbeit gewährt hat."<sup>18</sup>

The second edition was even more favorably criticised: "Es erschien ihm nothwendig sich gewisse Freiheiten in Ansehung des Textes herauszunehmen oder umschreibend oder einen ganz neuen Ausdruck zu suchen. Die oft zu verschlungenen und zu langen Perioden des englischen Dichters hat Hr. S. häufig in kleinere zerlegt, die Zwischen-Sätze aufgelöst, Beiwörter versetzt oder weggelassen, wenn sie zu wiederholt kamen; und überhaupt hat er der Diction mehr Klang und Geschmeidigkeit

<sup>15</sup> Bächtold, p. 636.

<sup>16</sup> Schiller's *Briefe*, vol. II, p. 175.

<sup>17</sup> Berlin, anonymously. Second edition, 1796; third edition, 1805.

<sup>18</sup> *Allg. deut. Bibliothek*, vol. 96, 2, p. 403.



zu ertheilen gesucht, ohne der Treue irgend etwas zu vergeben." <sup>19</sup>

Schiller thanks Schubart for a copy of his translation as follows:

den 16 Nov., 1789.

Haben Sie Dank, lieber Freund, für Ihr freundschaftliches Andenken und für das schöne Geschenk, das Sie mir in Ihrem Thomson gemacht haben. Dass ich eine hohe Idee von ihm bekam, die ich nicht hatte, dankt er Ihrer, in wahrem Dichtergeist abgefassten, Verdeutschung." <sup>20</sup>

It was Schubart's letter and translation that led Schiller to take an interest in the *Seasons*.<sup>21</sup>

Schubart has used the same English text as Tobler and von Palthen,<sup>22</sup> that of Lyttleton, 1750. (Cf. p. 87.) The 1738 text corresponds to the edition of 1730 with but few exceptions. (Cf. p. 9.) On the title page of his translation is a strophe by Lyttleton in praise of Thomson.

Although Schubart has in general faithfully reproduced his original, in some cases he has been led to treat it freely owing to the desire of making his prose smooth and rhythmical. In a few other cases he has added his own ideas and more frequently has inserted adjectives. He has taken pains to retain all the embellishments found in his original and has sought to reproduce all the adjectives, of which he has retained some 1,170 out of the 1,275 found in *Spring* (91 per cent). Among these the verbal adjective is most skillfully treated.

<sup>19</sup>*Allg. Lit. Zeit*, Nr. 10, Jan. d. 9, 1796.

<sup>20</sup>Schiller's *Briefe*, vol. 33, No. 449.

<sup>21</sup>J. A. Walz, *Schiller's Spaziergang and Thomson's Seasons*, Mod. Lang. Notes, Apr. 1906, vol. XXI, No. 4.

<sup>22</sup>Gjerset: "Die meisten Uebersetzungen folgen der zweiten Ausgabe vom Jahre 1738.

Sp. 370—the feeling heart	das fühlende Herz
384—the well-dissembled fly	die wohlnachgeahmte Fliege
386—the floating line	den schwimmenden Faden
391—the bleeding breast	aus der blutenden Brust
388—the tortured worm	den gemarterten Wurm
440—the scattering cloud	die fliehenden Wolken
453—the sounding culver	die schallende Taube
454—the beetling cliffs	die ragende Klippe
467—breathing prospect	athmende Aussicht

Schubart has added to his translation a life of Thomson as he found it in Tobler and the latter's source, Lessing, and he has made it more complete with material from Cibber's *Lives of Poets of Great Britain*. Schubart's father was greatly pleased with this introduction.<sup>23</sup>

#### <sup>b</sup>BRUCKBRÄU.

The last attempt to render the *Seasons* in prose and also the last complete translation of that poem appeared in Munich, undated (1827), in four small volumes.<sup>24</sup> This work by Friedrich Wilhelm Bruckbräu contains a *Life of Thomson*, which is an abstract of the more complete biography given by Harries, the first German who translated the *Seasons* in the original meter. Bruckbräu also used the explanatory notes which he found in this older version. He has reworked the Fox-hunt from the metrical translation; as he used Lyttleton's text, he did not find it in his original. There is little reason for Bruckbräu's translation; not only is Schubart's prose version much better, but also before 1827 there had appeared four translations in blank verse and one in hexameters. Only one excuse can be made: that this last rendering is more exact than the preceding attempts—and for that very reason it is inferior in beauty and charm.

<sup>23</sup> Strauss, *Schubart's Leben*, p. 271, Letter No. 288.

<sup>24</sup> This work is considered here in connection with the other prose translations, out of its real chronological order.

Among the prose translations of the *Seasons* Schubart's is by far the best. He alone has succeeded in reproducing the picturesque elements and the poetry of his original, and his success in this particular is remarkable for a prose writer. It must not be forgotten, however, that by the time Schubart wrote (1789), some of Germany's best translations had appeared, and the standard of that art had been greatly raised. The earlier prose works, therefore, cannot be judged by the same standard that must be applied to Schubart's work. They belong to a period when Gottsched's principles still represented the ideal, whereas Schubart and the later translators must be judged by the higher ideals which Goethe held regarding this art.

In the prose translations in general there is so little change made in the use of adjectives that it need not be discussed. This does not mean that the prose translators have all used the same words with which to render Thomson's adjectives; on the contrary, it is largely in their use of these words that they differ from each other, and the careful selection of modifiers is Schubart's chief point of excellence. All four prose translations have followed the original so closely that little can be said concerning stylistic changes. Alterations, omissions and additions are rare, and there is little attempt at expansion. There has been a constant improvement in the accuracy of the rendition and only a few errors have persisted throughout the four works. This is generally due to the misunderstanding of single words, although in some cases the meaning of a passage is falsely interpreted, especially where the original is somewhat ambiguous. While correctness is not the only requirement in a translation, it is of utmost importance, and in a prose rendering we may demand that the thought be reproduced accurately. Prose is not handicapped by the exigencies of rhyme and rhythm and therefore has no excuse for not using the exact word or phrase which best translates the thought. It is in this particular that von Palthen hoped to excel Tobler and it is true that he corrected some sixty of the latter's errors. But he has added about seventy-five others.

## II. THE METRICAL TRANSLATIONS.

## A. BLANK VERSE RENDERINGS.

## 1. HEINRICH HARRIES.

With Harries' translation (Altona, 1796) begins a new period in the history of the *Seasons* in Germany—the attempt to reproduce the poem in the original meter. This marks a great advance in the effort to offer the German public the *Jahreszeiten* in a form worthy of the original.

Harries gives as his reason for offering a new translation of the *Seasons*: “Da eine metrische Uebersetzung der Thomsonschen *Jahreszeiten* (den ersten Versuch von Brockes' ausgenommen), uns Deutschen bis itzt noch immer fehlte, so habe ich durch eine Uebersetzung in der Versart des Originals eine wahre Lücke in unserer schönen Litteratur auszufüllen versucht, und es ist sicher nicht die Idee selbst, sondern nur ihre mangelhafte Ausführung, die mir den Vorwurf einer überflüssigen Arbeit zuziehen könnte.”<sup>25</sup>

This translation was based on the English text of 1762, edited by Patrick Murdoch.<sup>26</sup> In this the fox-hunt is again inserted, but in different places six verses are omitted (Sp. 66, 377, 378, Su. 1226, Au. 607, 677), and hence they are not reproduced. Harries has provided his work with a *Life of Thomson*, taken from the sources already mentioned, but with additions from Count Buchanan's *Essay on Thomson's Genius* (1791), and also from the Biography prefixed to the London quarto edition. He has also inserted remarks explaining Thomson's allusions and geographical references and some of the unusual words.

The translation was reviewed by Wilhelm von Schlegel, who confines himself to a discussion of the meter and the difficulty of reproducing a descriptive poem like the *Seasons* in German blank verse. “Ueberhaupt ist der Versbau im Ganzen genommen leicht und wohlklingend. Er verdient den Vor-

<sup>25</sup> Introduction to his translation.

<sup>26</sup> Borchard, p. 49.



zug hauptsächlich deswegen, weil er sich keine unnützen oder gar schwächenden Abweichungen erlaubt, und ungeachtet der Fesseln des Silben-masses ohne Zwang sehr treu ist." <sup>27</sup>

As is to be expected in a poetic translation, a greater freedom of treatment is found here, expansions and condensations abound and there are even cases where Harries has added his own thoughts. But he has not sinned in this respect as Brockes did; his work is at least a translation and not a re-working of the English poem. Still, he has been so free that in some cases Thomson's verses are not recognizable in the German. He has increased the length of the poem from 5,417 verses to 6,389 = 17%. <sup>28</sup> This is a greater increase than is rendered necessary by the longer form of the German language. The method of expansion is illustrated in the following: Su. 1140 wrapping ether in a blaze

und hüllt den Aether rings

In einem weiten Flammenmantel ein.

The great increase in the number of lines enabled Harries to reproduce nearly every thought of his original, hence omissions are rare. Still, they do occur in some ten or fifteen places. More frequently adjectives are omitted. In the edition of 1762 *Spring* contains about 1,270 adjectives of all categories; in the translation there are but 1,120, an omission of 150 = 12%. The great majority of these are verbal adjectives, which, as has already been stated, are hard to reproduce in iambic verse. Harries made use of the earlier translations, borrowing especially from Tobler, many of whose mistakes he has repeated. But on the whole Harries' work is a great improvement on the prose translations in this respect.

Harries' meter, as already stated, is what he calls on his title page "deutsche Jamben," which differ from the original chiefly through the use of feminine endings and of two consecutive unaccented syllables. Harries has permitted himself

<sup>27</sup> *Jenaische Allg. Lit. Zeit.* 1797. *Werke*, vol. 33, p. 3.

<sup>28</sup> Sp. 1173 vv. to 1387 vv. Su. 1804 to 2144, Au. 1371 to 1611, Wi. 1069 to 1247.

the use of too many of these for blank verse. In his introduction he states: "Dass er die weibliche Silbe absichtlich angehängt habe," but it is hard to imagine German blank verse without the " *klingende Endung.*" In his *Frühling*, about 525 verses are of this sort = 38%. In 141 of these there is enjambement, in which case the effect of an anapest is produced. Besides these there are in *Frühling* many cases of real anapests, some 25, not counting those where an accent-shift has done away with the anacrusis. These accent-shifts are very common and generally occur at the beginning of the line.

Sp. 733

der geliebten

Achtlosen Zauberinn

Sp. 879 Hoch in den Lüften

Some cases occur after the caesura,

Sp. 604 die Lüft herdurch, hängt an der Knospe

Sp. 383 An einem Zweig. Rein war die Milde

Verses of six accents are rare, only four in *Frühling*, 59 216 238 658.

## 2. J. C. W. NEUENDORFF.

In the work "Jakob Thomson's Jahreszeiten, übersetzt von J. C. W. Neuendorff, Berlin, 1815," we have the first nineteenth century attempt to reproduce the *Seasons*. This is also a verse-for-verse rendering, not in a long line such as Brockes used, but in the same meter as the original. Neuendorff's first attempt on the *Seasons* was made in the year 1810, when he published "*Die Liebe der Waldsänger*" in the *Neuer Deutscher Merkur*.<sup>29</sup> This translation was very favorably received by Wieland, who wrote: "Eine möglichst treue metrische Uebersetzung dieses grossen poetischen Kunst-werks in unsere Sprache war in mehreren Hinsichten wünschenswerth; aber gewiss eine der schwersten Aufgaben, deren glückliche Auflösung ich nicht zu erleben hoffte. Herr N—— überraschte mich vor einiger Zeit mit einer Probe, die meine Erwartung übertraf. Ich fand sie nach genauer Prüfung und Vergleichung mit dem Original

<sup>29</sup> June, 1810, p. 89.

so beschaffen, dass ich es für Pflicht hielt, den Verfasser zur Vollendung des ganzen Werkes nachdrücklichst aufzumuntern."<sup>30</sup> This passage of 172 verses (Sp. 579-751) was completely revised in the complete translation. The meter was crude and rough and there were sixteen verses of six accents.

Neuendorff, in his preface, justifies this second attempt at a blank verse translation as follows: "Harries' Uebersetzung (Altona, 1798) würde mich von dem Unternehmen abgehalten haben, wenn ich mich überzeugen könnte, dass Anmuth und Zierlichkeit grössere Verdienste des Uebersetzers seyen, als gewissenhafte Treue. Und da ich diese im Ganzen und Einzeln vermisste, indem Thomson's 5,400 Verse bei Harries um 960 gewachsen sind, so spornte seine Arbeit noch mehr zu dem Versuche, das Urbild Vers für Vers mit möglichster Treue ins Deutsche zu übertragen."

This was a laudable aspiration; would that he had fulfilled it. But it is a question whether his translation with its frequent omissions, especially of adjectives, is any truer than that of Harries. Although the latter's work is much longer,<sup>31</sup> it does not give the impression of being long-winded, and it is much more readable than Neuendorff's. As far as accuracy is concerned, Neuendorff has made as many errors as Harries, many of whose mistakes he has copied. Besides these, Neuendorff has borrowed many expressions and indeed whole verses from the earlier blank verse translation.

Except adjectives, Neuendorff has omitted but little. The sense is in general correctly reproduced, only the color is changed. In order to make a verse-for-verse translation it was necessary to sacrifice something and the modifiers were the sufferers. One word out of nearly every line has been omitted and it is not Thomson's *Seasons* which has been translated but rather an abridgement to a verse form of four accents, of which the following is an example:

<sup>30</sup> Wieland, *Neuer deut. Merkur*, June, 1810, p. 98.

<sup>31</sup> Thomson 5417 vv., Harries 6389, Neuendorff 5415.

Sp. 764

Nor, undelighted by the [boundless] Spring  
 Are the broad monsters of the [boiling] deep,  
 From the deep ooze, and [gelid] caverns roused,  
 They flounce and tumble in [unwieldy] joy.  
 Dire were the strain, [and dissonant] to sing  
 The [cruel] raptures of the savage kind;  
 How the [red] lioness her whelps forgot  
 Amid the [thoughtless] fury of her heart;  
 And the lank, rapacious wolf, the [unshapely] bear;  
 The [spotted] tiger, fellest of the fell,  
 And all the terrors of the [Libyan] swain,  
 By this new flame their [native] wrath sublimed,  
 Roam the resounding waste in [fiercer]<sup>1</sup> bands,  
 And growl their [horrid] loves.

In this way nearly the whole of the *Seasons* might be shortened without destroying the thought or the pictures as far as personification, metaphor, simile or the like are concerned, but still the character and worth of the poem would be lost. Only a pale ghost of the original would remain which would show the outline and figure but which would utterly lack all the color of the real *Seasons*. If it is the verbal adjectives which are omitted then the action and vivacity of the poem suffer. In Thomson's *Spring* (1762 edition) there are some 1,279 adjectives, in Neuendorff's *Frühling* only about 870—400 less = 32%.

The verse in this translation is generally smooth and flowing—German blank verse had reached perfection many years before; the words and expressions rarely are unpoetic, although not always the best that the German literary language in its perfection had to offer. Neuendorff has allowed himself nearly the same freedom in the use of metrical forms as Thomson; caesura and dieresis are found almost anywhere in the line, and long and short periods are interpolated with isolated

<sup>1</sup>This is an interesting use of "fiercer" recalling Klopstock's peculiar use of the comparative.



verses. The feminine ending is also used, although the translator in his introduction says: "Die häufig vorkommenden weiblichen Versendungen erkenne ich als einen Mangel der Uebersetzung, der mir aber hinwegzuschaffen unmöglich war; die öftere Vertauschung der beiden Anfangsjamben mit einem *Choriambus* dagegen ist absichtlich geschehen, weil ich sie bei Thomson fand; so wie auch hie und da, wie in allen jambischen Dichtungen, ein Anapäst statt des Jambus mit Recht gebraucht ist."

### 3. FRIEDRICH SCHMITTHENNER.

The next translation of the *Seasons* appeared in Zwickau, 1822, with the title,

Jakob Thomson's  
Jahreszeiten  
metrisch verdeutscht von  
Friedrich Schmitthenner.

This translator, who may be placed in the same class where Lessing set von Palthen, has criticised the *Seasons*, in his preface,<sup>32</sup> as follows: "Thomson ist in der Beschreibung am wenigsten stark. Anstatt die Naturgestalten in ihrer genetischen Entwicklung zu ergreifen, sucht er nur zu oft das Mannigfaltige im Raum darzustellen. Vergebens sieht sich der Geist in dem Gewirre bunter Bilder, die uns gleich den Nebelgestalten seiner Herbstnacht umgaukeln, nach einer organischen Einheit, einem nothwendigen Princip, um, das sie bindet; rings eitel bunte, todte Gruppen, die uns anstarren. Die Diction ist endlich so verschlungen, so mit Zwischensätzen und oft unnützen Beywörtern beschwert, dass die Perioden höchst unbehülflich und schleppend werden. Am schwächsten aber ist Thomson, wo er, durch das unverständne Vorbild Virgil's verleitet, sich dem Lehrgedicht nähert. Gewöhnlich sinkt hier der Ton zur gutgemeynnten, aber unergötzlichen Prosa des gemeinen Lebens herab." Thus writes the grammarian and lexicographer whose attempt

<sup>32</sup> P. XIII.

at a metrical translation has resulted in the stiffest and dreariest of the poetical reproductions. While actually much shorter than Harries', it creates the impression of being much more wordy, expanded and unwieldy.<sup>33</sup>

Metrically Schmitthenner's verses cannot compare with Neuendorff's; they are rougher and contain too many anapests. The chief characteristic fault is that the weak *e* of the final syllable has to carry the accent too often.

*Frühling* 922 (in the 1746 edition, v. 843):

Als die zerissene Britannia  
In ewigem Tumulte blutete,

The accenting of this weak *e* is permitted in German poetry, even poetry of the classical period, but only when it is preceded and followed by a weaker syllable.<sup>34</sup> And even then it must be handled very skillfully by an artist; here such cases can be considered only as the shortcomings of one who could do no better.

#### 4. DIETRICH WILHELM SOLTAU.

Die Jahreszeiten nach James Thomson, von D. W. Soltau, Braunschweig, 1823. Under this title the last writer, who translated the *Seasons* into blank verse, published his work. Soltau, although no poet, was what may be called a professional translator, who, through much practice, had acquired considerable skill in Germanizing foreign poems; he had a splendid vocabulary and no small ability in verse-making. Moreover, he possessed good poetic feeling and instincts, and he was willing to search out diligently the one appropriate word with which to reproduce his original. He is the first—and only one—of the metrical translators who has sought to make his work melodic and poetic rather than literal. And still he has succeeded in reproducing the sense in a way which arouses the

<sup>33</sup> In Harries' *Frühling* there are 1387 vv.; in Neuendorff's, 1171; Schmitthenner's, 1285; Thomson's, 1176.

<sup>34</sup> Minor, p. 121.

same feelings as his original much better than did those writers who have been so anxious to make a slavish rendering. In this he is approached only by Schubart. He has sought to preserve all the color and shadings which he found in his original and at the same time he has made his work so flowing and poetical that it nowhere bears traces of being a translation; and just for this reason it is the best translation. His word-paintings are as animated and as true to nature as those of his original, although in details there are often changes. His vocabulary and feeling for words corresponds quite exactly to Thomson's; in short, he has caught the spirit of the *Seasons* and reproduced it with charming accuracy. Soltau has not translated all of the *Seasons*, but has omitted all passages which sing the praises of England or Scotland and of their famous men, and also the panegyrics to Thomson's patrons and friends are not reproduced. The translator justifies these omissions in his preface:<sup>35</sup> "Da nun alle hier berührten Episoden sich lediglich auf örtliche Gegenstände beziehen, so sind sie zwar nicht ohne Interesse für den Britten; allein ich glaube mich nicht zu irren, wenn ich voraussetze, dass sie dem Deutschen Leser bey weitem nicht so viele Unterhaltung gewähren würden, als es mir Zeit und Mühe kosten würde, sie zu übersetzen, und sie mit manchen unentbehrlichen Anmerkungen zu begleiten." "Da die Personen, auf welche diese Stellen sich beziehen längst verstorben sind, so haben sie heutiges Tages nicht einmal für den Britischen, und noch viel weniger für den Deutschen Leser, irgend einiges Interesse." The fox-hunt is also omitted with the explanation: "Dieses Bild ist zwar sehr lebendig und kräftig geschildert; allein es schien mir gegen die vorhergehende rührende Idylle von der Lavinia gar zu grell abzustecken, und selbst mit den eigenen Worten des Dichters im Widerspruch zu stehen."

Soltau was correct in feeling that such passages are a blemish on the *Seasons*; with the exception of the fox-hunt most of them are tedious and barren and the poem is much more readable without these interruptions. The fox-hunt and

the following carousal are, however, so vividly portrayed and are so characteristic of the English sportsman of the time that they should be retained even if they are not in keeping with the idyl of *Lavinia*. But not even Soltau was able to reproduce the *Seasons* completely in a verse-for-verse translation, although he has, in a number of verses, exceeded his original somewhat, reproducing the 4,655 lines which he translated by 4,829, an addition of  $174 = 4\%$ . But he was more careful than his predecessors in selecting what to omit or condense, generally choosing cases where Thomson has repeated the idea or simply given a different shade of meaning. In spite of all his skill and care, Soltau has been obliged to sacrifice adjectives; although he has omitted more of these than the preceding translators, he has been more painstaking in the selection of the words retained, thus reproducing the color of the original more nearly than the others were able to do. In a footnote to Wi 94, Soltau excuses these omissions as follows: "Diese kleine Periode ist eine von den vielen, in welchen Thomson die beschreibenden Beywörter so sehr angehäuft hat, dass es unmöglich war, sie alle bey zu halten, ohne den Deutschen Leser durch ihre Menge zu ermüden." Of the 1,191 adjectives which he found in *Spring* he has reproduced but 742, an omission of 38%. As he allows himself no anapests, he was forced to omit many verbal adjectives, although he has retained a larger percent of these than the other blank verse translators. With the exception of Brockes' work, this translation is the freest that has been made. In personification, Soltau has tried to retain the sex ascribed in the original; thus in *Spring* 47 he has rendered "Morn" by "Morgenröthe," so as to preserve the expression "Mother of dews." In Su. 216 he has used "Sonnengott" in place of "Die Sonne," as the masculine is necessary in the picture. Soltau probably knew the other translations, although he has made no use of them, except, perhaps, of Harries, from whom he has taken a few expressions, being led thereby into an occasional error. Little fault can be found with his verse form; as in the original we find accent-shifts, isolated verses,



caesura and dieresis freely placed and all the other embellishments of iambic pentameter. Indeed his verse produces the same effect as Thomson's. There is the same melodic flow, varied by sufficient irregularity in rhythm and variation in the length of periods to avoid monotony.

So excellent is his rendering of the *Seasons* that this work alone would well entitle Soltau to the position assigned to him in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, where he is placed, as a translator, next to Wilhelm von Schlegel and J. D. Gries.<sup>36</sup>

### 5. THE INADEQUACY OF BLANK VERSE.

It has been sufficiently shown what difficulties a translator must overcome if he wishes to translate a descriptive poem like the *Seasons* into German blank verse. It is impossible to retain all that is found in the original without greatly increasing the number of lines. Goethe mentioned this difficulty in a conversation with Soret. "Wir sprachen darauf von Uebersetzungen, wobei er mir sagte, dass es ihm sehr schwer werde, englische Gedichte in deutschen Versen wiederzugeben. 'Wenn man die schlagenden einsilbigen Worte der Engländer,' sagte er, 'mit vielsilbigen oder zusammengesetzten deutschen ausdrücken will, so ist gleich alle Kraft und Wirkung verloren.'" <sup>37</sup>

Köster writes: "Wer Shakespeare oder Byron Vers-für-Vers ins Deutsche übersetzen will, empfindet oft die Schwierigkeiten, den ganzen Inhalt und jede Nuance eines englischen Satzes mit einer ebenso geringen Anzahl von Silben wiederzugeben." <sup>38</sup>

Moreover, iambs are not well adapted for translating the *Seasons*, because the German descriptive adjective, when declined, so often has the form x' x x, which does not fit into blank verse. Not only the present participles and other verbal adjectives in -ive have this form, but also many more modifiers which in English fit the meter perfectly. The following classes of adjectives must all be omitted or changed if the translation is written in blank verse:

<sup>36</sup>*Allg. deut. Biog. Nr. 34*, p. 586.

<sup>37</sup>W. A. vol. 41, p. 334, Dec. 30, 1823.

<sup>38</sup>*Zs. f. d. Attertum*, vol. 24, p. 214. Criticism of McClintock's Translation of Faust.

Su. 987—a cloudy speck	einem wolkgigen Fleck
Wi. 723—icy gale	eisiger Luftzug
Su. 812—the manly river	der mannhafte Strom
Su. 1278—bashful coyness	schamhafter Spröde
Su. 928—fearful flocks	furchtsamen Schafe
Su. 855—cruel sons	grausame Söhne
Su. 1058—awful rage	furchtbaren Wüthen
Su. 922—inhospitable woods	unwirthbaren Wälder
Su. 825—gorgeous Ind	prachtvollen Indien
Su. 888—ruthless deeds	ruchloser Unthat
Su. 935—tyrant fang	tyrannischem Joche
Su. 1014—threefold fate	dreifachem Tode
Su. 1136—larger curve	in breiteren Krümmen
Su. 1444—farthest cots	entlegensten Hütten <sup>39</sup>

It seems impossible to avoid these three difficulties in rendering the *Seasons* in blank verse—perhaps this is not the most appropriate meter, hexameters may offer the best means of translating Thomson's poem. Wilhelm von Schlegel writes: "Ob man gleich, den Regeln nach, jeden Dichter so viel als möglich in sein eigenes Silbenmass übersetzen soll, so liesse sich doch zweifeln, ob für Thomson's landschaftliche Poesie der Hexameter nicht angemessener wäre, weil die malerischen Beiwörter in ihr eine so grosse Rolle spielen, und der Jambus uns in Ansehung derselben sehr einschränkt, indem darin weder gewöhnlich Adjectiva vor jambischen Substantiva noch Partizipia prae-sentis vor trochäischen Platz finden können."<sup>40</sup>

This meter not only permits the use of such adjectives, but also its greater length of line enables the translator to retain them in a verse-for-verse rendering. Freytag states in regard to poetic translations: "Wir haben schon hervorgehoben, dass der Uebersetzer nicht das Recht hat, die fremde poetische Form (falls sie unserm Sprachgeist nicht widerspricht) durch beliebige eigene zu ersetzen.—Der französische und der italienische Rythmus sind für uns unmöglich; also müssen wir sie durch

<sup>39</sup> Examples taken from Rosenweig's translation, see p. 110.

<sup>40</sup> *Jenaische Allg. Lit. Zeitung*, 1797, *Werke*, 11, p. 3-5.

deutsche Formen ersetzen. Englische und skandinavische wiederum sind uns verwandt; wir haben sie fest zu halten."<sup>41</sup>

The change of meter is perhaps not such a detriment as it is commonly considered. It must be remembered that the reproduction is not for those who know the original and can compare the two forms, but rather it is for a public who will read only the translation. If now the style of the translation is familiar to the readers and if it is considered by them as lofty as the style of the original seemed to its public, what effect can the change of form have on the translation? We, who are familiar with the *Seasons* in blank verse, can scarcely estimate correctly the effect it would have in hexameters on the Germans, who are more accustomed to that meter than we are. It is particularly well adapted to the German language, and had been used in the descriptive poetry of that nation even before it was perfected by Goethe. Perhaps it is not going too far to say that Thomson, following his model, Virgil, might have written the *Seasons* in hexameters if they were better adapted to English verse and if he had had the ability to handle them. If Soltau had adopted this form, he might have succeeded in producing a translation which would rank even higher than the one which now stands to his credit.

The data in the following table are taken from *Spring*; it presents a survey of the use of adjectives and of metrical details in the various blank verse translations.

	Thomson	Harries	Neuen.	Schmitt.	Soltau
Adjectives .....	1276	1273	1273	1276	1191
Retained .....		1124 88%	875 68%	885 69%	742 62%
Omitted .....		149 12%	398 32%	391 31%	449 38%
Verbal Adj.....	290 23%				
Retained .....		168 58%	110 38%	134 46%	64 24%
Omitted .....		40 14%	56 19%	28 10%	109 40%
Changed .....		82 28%	124 43%	128 44%	97 36%
Isolated vv.....	28 1%	32 2%	30 2%	46 3%	29 2%
Enjambement ...	525 44%	585 42%	511 44%	595 46%	524 46%
Run-on vv.....	651 56%	802 58%	660 56%	691 54%	618 54%
Total .....	1176	1387	1171	1286	1142

<sup>41</sup> *Zs. f. d. d. Unterricht*, 1887, p. 172, 248.

Fem. Endings..(?)	20	1%	525	38%	353	30%	555	43%	424	37%
Mas. Endings ...	1256	99%	862	62%	818	70%	731	57%	718	63%
Accent-shift—										
First foot.....	93	7%	48	3%	54	5%	65	6%	74	6%
Other feet .....	33	3%	16	1%	8	0.7%	9	0.8%	25	2%
Anapests .....	3	0.2%	25	2%	3	0.3%	2	0.2%		

## B. THE HEXAMETER TRANSLATION.

There has been but one complete translation of the *Seasons* in German hexameters, and at first reading this would seem to overthrow all the arguments in favor of this being a more suitable form than blank verse for such a rendering; it is one of the stiffest and crudest translations that has been made. The author was Carl Friedrich von Rosenzweig, secretary in the royal Saxon embassy at St. Petersburg, where the first edition of this translation appeared in 1819. A second edition appeared in Hamburg in 1825 with a few unimportant changes. The first edition contained the English text taken from Murdoch's edition of 1762, but this was omitted in the second edition of the translation. Von Rosenzweig's style, if his method of writing may be thus dignified, is extremely monotonous and wearisome, cumbersome and lacking the vivacity and charm of the original, which he has followed slavishly.

With the longer line it was not necessary to condense in order to make a verse-for-verse translation; on the other hand, there was not a long line to be filled out, hence little temptation to add original material. The translation renders the 4,517 verses of the 1762 edition by 5,391 lines. The following example shows the method of turning blank verse into hexameters:

Sp. 48. Be gracious, Heaven, for now laborious man  
Has done his part. Ye fostering breezes blow!  
Ye softening dews, ye tender showers descend!  
And temper all, thou world-reviving sun,  
Into the perfect year!

Sey huldvoll, o Himmel! denn der arbeitsame Mensch hat  
Seinen Theil gethan! Ihr, blaset, befruchtende Winde!



Ihr, erweichende Thaue, milde Schauer, entsinket!  
 Und du, zeitige Alles, wiederbelebende Sonne,  
 Zur vollendenden Jahrszeit.

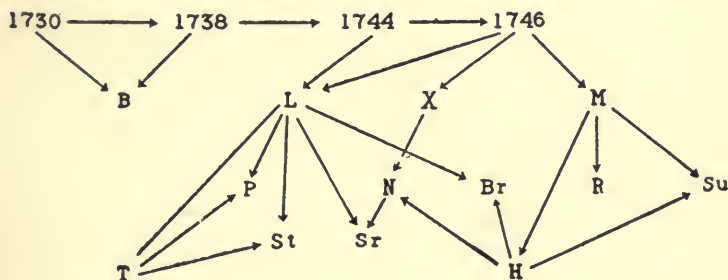
In general von Rosenzweig has retained each verse as such and in such a way that the arrangement of the line before and after the caesura has not been changed. Verses 48-49, above, illustrate this method. The isolated verses are reproduced in the same form (Cf. v. 50) with few exceptions—only two cases in *Spring* are not thus retained. The author has also been careful to keep the same form in such verses as the following:

Sp. 882. Nor till invoked  
 Can restless goodness wait.  
 Und nicht, bis man sie anspricht,  
 Steht rastlose Güte an.

As a whole, this work cannot compare with Soltau's. Its verse is too stiff and clumsy and it bears too many traces of being a translation. But the author was able to reproduce all that he found in the *Seasons* as fully as the prose translators. For the reasons already given von Rosenzweig was very successful in retaining modifiers, especially the verbal adjective. The following table shows in how far he excelled Soltau in this respect:

Adjectives	Thomson	Soltau	Rosenzweig
Retained .....	1273	742 62%	1205 94%
Omitted .....		449 38%	68 6%
Verbal retained .....	290	64 24%	247 85%
Omitted .....		109 40%	7 3%
Changed .....		97 36%	36 12%

The following diagram shows the relation of the various translations to the original text and to each other:



B	Brockes, 1745.
Br	Bruckbräu, 1827.
H	Harries, 1796.
L	Lyttleton, 1750.
M	Murdoch, 1762.
N	Neuendorff, 1815.
P	von Palthen, 1758.
R	Rosenzweig, 1819.
Sr	Schmitthenner, 1822.
St	Schubart, 1789.
Su	Soltau, 1823.
T	Tobler, 1757-1764.
X	English text unknown to me.

MORTON COLLINS STEWART.

Union College.

## TUNSBURG BYLOG.

From the CODEX TUNSBURGENSIS (Cod. Reg. n. s.  
1642 4to.

(Continued.)

EN ef huſ bzenar i ælði / i kaupangre. oc uerðar eigi loge huſum here. oc geta huſ/men einir saman bozget. þa fare / mal þeſſ er ælð ſkulði uarð/ueita. eftir hinu fyzra ſkiloðe. En ef huſbonðe letar after garðſlið. oc uil / eigi fleiri men leta in koma. en / huſmen ſina. oc ſialfan ſik. ſeckar *mork ſilfers* uiðz konung. En ef aðzum manne uerðar ſkaðe af. ſtanðe mal hans / vnðir raðas manna ðome. her ſegir ef elðar er lauſ

Ðar ſkal ker i garðe uera / ſem eigi er kialða. oc uatn i. oc ſtege til elðhuſa. oc. ii. krockar i huarium fiorðonge. En huar / ſem þeſſ miſſir. böte konunge *mork ſilfers* / oc fae til ei at ſiðar. En til ſkal / huar maðr renna. ælðar kömar i bö. oc höyzir hozn eða klucku / oc hafe með ſer. ii. men ein ſaa<sup>12</sup> / oc bolöxſi oc ſkiolð oc með þeim / uappnom allum er biarga ma/ uiðz ælði En konoz allar hafe með ſer fatur oc spon. oc uaðz / auſur. oc bia2gi huar ſem ma / meſt. eða bote öyzi *ſilfers* huar eigi uil / biarga Nu ef maðr ſtenðar firir uatne / ef ælð þazf at ſlökkia. ſeckar *mork ſilfers* / oc take huar ſem bannar. ſegl oc / alt annat þat ſem þazf til nauð/ſyniar. oc böte eftir ſkyn ſamra / manna ðome. oc ſua firir uatn. þa/r ſem þazfer manna liggia uiðz / En ef men faza til með tuæim hanðum tomom. þa er huar þeira / ſeckar *mork ſilfers* uiðz konong. En ef maðr þazf at riufa huſſ. firir ælðz ofgange. oc ſten ðar ſa firir er a. þa / böte. xi. marka kononge. oc ſkal þo niðz riufa huſ at uſeckiu Ef ælðz / ſtoðpæðz uið þau huſ er niðz / uaro rofen. þa ſkulu biar men / gera honom annat huſ iam-gott / aftar En ef ælðar fer vm / þ[au]huſſ er niðz uaro bzoten. / þ[a eig]u þeir engo at böta Sa[ſkal] elð aby2giaz er ſiðazt h[efi]r i huſi eða henði. vm bzy/giur gi/lðaz

<sup>12</sup>The Ms. has *saa*.

**D**ær skulu bzyggiur gilðar uera *oc* stref / gerð oc almenningar. er gialky/ri oc raðez men meta at gilðir se oc uel fözar. oc se gozt / innan half / manað2. er gialkyzi / hefir laga stefnu gozt. firir ua/ttom at böta. En ef eigi er sua gozt. böte *kononge mork silfers*. En ef ar / eða hanðgenner men. halða ei / skilum upp firir gaððum sinum / sem að2 er malt. þa firir bio ðe gialkyzi nockrom manne þei/ra huð at leigia. eða heren i at / halða. fy2 en þeir halða skilum / uppi firir garða sina sem að2er / biar men. En ef maðr bzytar up / huð eða gaððz lið mannz. oc letar / opet stanða. þa a byzgiz han / þat alt er oz þerðar stolet. oc / böte *kononge mork silfers*. En hinum er huð atte. böte eftir þui sem. xii. sky/nþamer men meta. firir skaða oc auerka eftir lagum. vm mel/ting kozns

**E**ngi men skulu kaupa kozn til meltingr / hua2ke utlenþkar ne inlenzkar / En ef meltir gialðe *work silfers kononge* / oc se maltet upp nemt En ef han / syniaz syni með æiði nema ii m/anna uitni se til. þa böte han *mork / silfers* sem aðar. En ef heraz men / kaupa kozn i bö oc flytia heim / til meltingar. oc aftar siðan / til þalu. þa liggar þeim slíkt uið2. sem biar monnom. ef þeir / melta til þalu. vm kaupmen er sigla

**K**aupmen þeir aller er sigla til tunþberg / oc liggia þar at bzyggö ium sem / þeir leiggia huð af huðbondom / oc þegar er fa2mar er af þa le/ggi skipp a uagh utt. oc rymi / sua firir þeim er með fermðo sk/ipi koma. En þeir leggi firir / almenninga er eigi eigu buðir / uið2 bzyggiur. En lege skal / huar taka ser sem nu er melt / no2ðan f2a konongs garðe oc suð2 / til olafa klaufsta2s. En þeir er / bzyggiu legge hafa. snui þeir / skut stafne at bzyggiu. en aðre / a uagh ut. oc ef nockoz gerer að2u/uið. en nu er malt oc kerer huðbo/nðe þat firir gialkyzia. eða kaupmen. þa a gialkyzi. at taka halfa / *work silfers* firir huaria grein þessa. oc ha/lðez þo þessa skipan. sem aðar er melt. vm alla siglinga men



Sua er oc melt. oc staðfastlega / tekit. at aller siglinga men / þeir sem sigla til tunþbergþ. sku/lu skipa i huþ upp ua2-nenge þinum / huarke kaupa ne selia a skipum / nema köypt se til konongs gazðz. / þat er fyrt firir boðet at kaupa / malt. miol. oc hunangh. korn. huæ/iti. vin. kleðe. le reft. uaðmal. / ruggh. öztar. baunir. þkreið. smö2 / lyþia. meiþa. þilð. oc alþkynþ uaru/fleþk. oc katla. uax. lin. oc alþkynþ utlenzþkan uarninghar En ef noko2 uerðar at þui kunnar eð2 / þannar. at han sel þenna uar/nengh. .a. þkipi eða i aðrum stað en / nu er melt. eða a torgo. þa böte / *anork silfers konunge* þa sem þelði. oc. að2a þa sem kaupir. oc gange aftar ka/up þeira. En ef þeir kaupaz þiðan / uið2 i löynðom. oc uerðar þar me / þannu upp uift. þa er sa uaznengar / upp nemar. ef uitni ero til. firir h/uaruin tueggia. vm kaup men

Kaupmen aller gange til þkip / ð2atter. þegar hozn kuæðar / uið2 hua2t sem þeir koma no2ð / an eða sunnan oc hafa þeir uer/et. iii. netar I by. oc þkulu huþbönðar. oc heraz men ganga. til þk/ipð2attar. þem kaup men ef þeir / hafa. iii. netar i bö ueret, en engi / gange fy2 ne gialðe nema uili / vttan skip se sua mykit. at þ/eira þa2f uið2. En huar þem eigi gengar. þem nu er melt þa / gialðe öy2i. *silfers kononge* firir hafþkipþ / ö2t[ö]gh fir *ir* auþtar farar þkipþ. / half örtogh firir by2ðingh. nema / nauðþyn banne. Su er fy2þta at / maðr þöke guðs huþþ oc helga kirkiu / Ef maðr þtenðar at ottoþongh. eða at / möþþo. þa þkal eigi takþettia. oc þ[o] / at takþett se. þa þkal eigi fe böta / Sua þkal oc ef maðr ber fott þin til / þkipþ. eða i f2a. eða reiðir mað2 / manne peninga þina. eða tekur / eða liggur maðr vnðir elði oc let/ar bzenna sek. eða er maðr i baðe. / eða letar ser bloð. eða þitar ifir kono þinni siukri. eða baznom / eða iuir þeim manne. er han er / a2f take eftir. eða fö2er ðauðan man af henðe ser. eða þitar ifir / ðomon. eða mat þinum. eða fö/22e með manne tak. eða öþter takz þen man. er oz bö er buin / En maðr þkal iamnan þitia i þki/þi eftir at þþeta fanga manna / ein maðr. oc sua i huþum ef engi / er laþþ firir. Sua

oc ef maðr höyðir / eigi hoðn oc ueit eigi til huað er bleðð. þo  
 þanne han þat með / ein eiði sinum. firir gialkyria. oc þua  
 allar aðzar nauðsyniar / þer þem her ero talðar. nema / sa hafe  
 uitni til. er malet a /. Nu koma men til skipðzattar / þa þkulu  
 þeir eigi fy2 a reipum / taka en þtyzi maðr byðar þeim. En  
 ef þeir taka fy2 a festom. oc ge/ngar skipp hua2ke ut ne upp. /  
 þa biði lið til þeðð. en meira kan / at koma. oc gange eigi fy2  
 ibzot / en hinir koma. nema böte slikt / þem aðar uar skilt.  
 vm skipð/rat Nu taka þeir fy2 a festom / en þtyzi maðr biðar  
 þa. oc lesta þeir / skip. firir lið löyðis. þaker. böte / þtyzi manne  
 þkaða þan er þeir / gera at skipi hans. En ef þty/ri mað2 biðar  
 þa a feðtar / taka. þa leiti þ2yð2 uið2. en ef þa gengar eigi upp  
 eða utt / þa ero þeir uþeckir aller. er þa2 uaro. oc gange gialkyzi  
 a annat þrete. en annat renna2e / oc öðte huan man takz. er  
 þeir / hitta. beðe uti oc inni. i þeiri gangu. oc gange um allan  
 by Sua er oc melt. ef feðtar þlitn/ar. þa er þtyzi maðr biðar  
 a festom / taka. þa ero þeir aller uþecker / er þar uaro. En ef  
 þtyzimaðr uil skip þit up þettia. þa þkal han ganga til / gialky-  
 zia. oc krefia han hoðnð / vm kuelðet. oc leta blaða til skip/  
 ðzattar vm margunen. oc sua þk/al / kalla til allra skipðzatta.  
 er meira / ber en fim leðter. en oll þmere oc minni. þa mego  
 vpp settia vtan / gialk yzia löyfi. En huar er að2uuið gerer.  
 en nu er melt. þecker *mork silfers* uið2 konongh oc biaz men.  
 En þeir en þma skipk eigu. fae til bonða / lið. at þettia upp eða  
 utt. En ef han / fer eigi. kreui þua hoðns sem / að2 er melt  
 vm þto2 skipk. lang / skipk ma upp settia. hua2 sem / han uil.  
 þo at han þpyzi eigi gialkyzia at. her segir vm utl/enz þkra"  
 manna up skipan /

**E**n ef utlenzþk/ir kaupmen þkipa fy2 upp. en þeir  
 þpyzia / löyuið at. þan þem firir konongð ga/rðe reðar.  
 þecker *mork silfers*. Sa þo / er þat gerer oc þua þa er selr /  
 vnðan konongs fo2boðe. oc flyti after / þat þem han selði vnðir  
 iamt uerð Sua sem gengar manna i millum / oc a þokn a þeððo  
 sa þem firir ga2/ ðenom reðar. En han þkal tekitt hafa þlikt er

"Utlenzskra so written in the manuscript.







han uil innan. iii. / *ðaga foʒfalla lauʒt. eða ʒeli hua/rium er han uil her segir at engi uar ʒkal taka firir aʒzum /*

**Þ**AT er nu þui neʒt at uar ʒkal eingi / *firir aʒzum* taka. oc ecki skulum / *ver oʒʒ at gripðeilðom gera. ðomʒ er hua2 maðr uerðar firir sinu at / hafa. En ʒa er firir aʒzum* tekari./ þa ʒkal han þat aftar fö2a. oc / böte þeim fulrette *er han tok firir / En ef ʒa uil eigi lauʒt leta þa. / beiðiz han fe ʒins. oc leggi honom/ran uið2. lettari han eigi af / þui fe er han tok. þa er han seckar / uið2 konong half2e mork ʒilfers oc þeim / fulrette er han tok firir. oc ʒö ke ʒit með lagum. vm heim ʒokn*

**E**ngi maðr ʒkal gera/ atfo2 aʒzum manne innan/biar. ne heim ʒokn ueita. oc en/kinz mannz fe taka. uttan loghʒott ʒe / huarke bazun ne ʒyʒlu maðr. gia/lkyzi ne annar maðr. En ʒa er / heim ʒokn ueitir. eða upteckr / uttan logðömt se honom a / mote. þa er han ʒeckar. viii. örtar / oc. xiii. *mork ʒilfers kononge. hinna hu ar ork honom ueitti lið til. oc / böte aftar fe bonða. oc hinum / fulrette er atte. En ef þeir / uilia eigi galða ʒem nu er melt / fa2e o2 lanðe konongs ua2s. eða / konongr bere<sup>14</sup> rett a Eftir gag/num oc uitnim skal huart / mal ðöma oc cetera. Nu ʒkulu þau | oll mol halðaz oc cetera Huaru/etna þar et cetera. vm kaup|men oc kaup*

**Ð**at er nu þui / neʒt at uer biar men / verðom miok uið kaup at lifa En i bö uarom skulu / aller ʒzialser men. oc ful/tiða kaupum sinum raða / Sua kono2 ʒem karlar. kono2 / skulu eigi huʒ kaupari ne io2ð. / nema bonðe lofe henne. eða san nar erfenge. Ver skulum aller / kaupum uarom allum hæimilð2 / tekiu uið hafa. oc skal engi maðr gripp ʒin selia nema sa bioðe / vm er a með uattom huatt / sem vm uil tala eigande sið/an. Nu ʒkal nefna gripi þa / alla. er heimilð2 taka skal *firir / hafa. Ef men kaupari hus eða / skippi þat sem haft er. eða öyxi / a ʒkapte. eða ʒpiot. ʒuærð með / vmgerð. kleðe oll skozen. kat/lar haðer. oc oll þau uoppn / er hað ero. heʒtar aller oc y/xn*

<sup>14</sup>The *b* of *bere* unusually short and extends below the line in place of above it.

tamðer. oc aller þeir grip/ir er halð ero. Nu iðzaðz / annar huar þeira ka upz/ðins þa skal sa ueiria lagum / oc ðome er halða uil. til logmannz / o2 skurðar þui at han a engi / maðr at riufa. nema kononge liki / annat sannare. þui han er / ifir skipaðz logen. vm<sup>15</sup> gripa kaup

**E**f maðr kaupir grip hafðan af / manne. þan er hæmilðz maðr / er til nefndar. Nu kömar maðr fr/am oc kallar þan grip stolon ue/ra fza ser. En hin er köypti nef/ni hæmilðr man sin. oc seti ðo/m firir. oc logmannz o2sku2ð. oc ef þeir / þar koma. oc fer han heimilðz / man firir sik. þa er han skilðar / uiðz. En ef han fer eigi hæmilðs / taka. þa skal saðar abere. leiða/ fram. ii. manna uitni skilrika. / oc taka bok i hand ser. oc skiote þui til guðs at gripar sa er þe/ssi maðr hefir oc han kallar ser. a han / ef han / skal urentar Vera. oc þe/ima gripp galt han eigi. ne gaf / oc eigi salum selði. oc engi sa / er han bauð Vm oc suæiri at / fullan eið. take sa grip sin / er u uitni baro til. En hin er kö/ypti oc eigi fek haimilðar / man. böte þiof jok. sua mykla / sem gripar sa er fiar uerðar. / eða vinni eið settar eið. oc nef/ndar söze at han stal eigi þan grip / oc uere siðan laus i fza. En ef / han hittir heimilðar taka sin. þo / at siðare se gialde han honom sit. oc suare lagum kononge oc bza/r monnom oc fae ser heimilðar ta/ka. her segir vm uaru kaup

**E**N öll uara ny oc unöyt / huazt sem þat er uappn / eða kleðe. eða lereft. aða annur uara. i huariu sem þat er þa skal / alt at strete kaupum hafa. be/ðe meira oc minna. En með stret/e kaupi oc nyium uarnenge. oc unyium. er eingi maðr skylðugar / at þa hæmilðar taka. Ef maðr kaupir kleðe. lereft. uaðmal / oc alt þat er falz finz i. suare sliku firir sem selði. sem aðar uattar. nema þui at einj at / han uifsi ei. at fals uar i. oc/ hafe firir set tar eið. Siðan leiði huar fzam sin hæmilðar taka. til þess er til p2oþs kömar / oc suare sa firir falz. er firir a at / suara at lagum. vm handalað/kaup

<sup>15</sup>The *m* of *vm* is written above the *v* in the Ms.

**E**N huarueta þer sem maðr kaupaz uíð at lag/um þa skal hanð sála. En ef maðr sel aðzum manne síðan. þa sk/al han gíaldá. halfa *mork kononge* En hin ha fe kaup sit. er fýzri. kö/yti. En ef maðr kaupir uíðz man / oc hefir eigi þæninga a ser. oc / gengar han heim eftir þæningum / oc uil honom reíða sitt. oc hefir hin selt i bztott. er han kömar afatr. / þa skal sa er köypti taka. ii. húsfafta men með ser. oc krefi han kaups oc leggi honom ran uíð En ef han helðar taksetti han til stefnu oc til laga ozskurðar en / logmaðr seggi honom kaup sit. sòke sem uita fe. en hin er selði. er / seckar halfze *mork silfers* uíð konong. En ef han fer eigi fenget honum hit sanna kaup eða annat iam gott / þa gíalde han öyzi af *mork* kaupi / huariu oc þo öyzi at minna / kaup se oc ero þeir þa satter / Nu er a hanð salat kaup oc ero / eigi uitni til syni með ein eiði sa sem selði ellegar halðest kaup þeiza. / En ef þeim er uitande er síðare / köypti at annar hafðe köypt aðar seckar öyzi *silfers* uíð konongh firir / *mork* kaup huazt. hoßso maðr skal sö / kia fe sit af manne /

**E**ngi skal gefa sok a annazs fe ef maðr/ a fe af manne huart sem er / meira eða minna oc gengar sa eigi i giagn er luka a. þa öste / han taks til stefnu. oc laga oz/skurðar. En ef han hefir uit/ni til skulðar. eða gengar hin igiogn eða seggir logmaðr a han. / þa sòke sem uita fe. En ef han / ðylr skulðar oc ero eigi uit/ni til stande firir með loggerðum. vm uita fe manna /

**Ð**at er uita fe er fest. er / firir uattom. þat er oc uit/a fe. er men taka handum sa/ man. oc sia. vi. men af huarf halfu. Allt þat er ðomar ðömar/ manne þat er ui ta fe oc er þat uíðr / genget firir uattom Sua er oc ef / manne er mot stefnt oc ðöma / mot men aðzum manne fe at gíaldá þat er uita fe. Aller lagga ozsk/ urðir loglega sagðar af lognannz hendi ef han segir fe a henðar manne / at gíaldá aðzum manne þat er alt ui/ta fe. En sua skal uita fe sòkia / sem aðzar skulðir. Taka

tua huß/faßta men með ser oc gange til þe/ß er ðkulð a at luka oc krefi fiar / sinß ef han fer fe ðit þa er uel. / En ef han uil eigi luka ðeti hin i / fiar tak. at biar manna lagum / rettom oc gefe *honom* þat at ðok. / at han uil eigi luka *honom* fe ðitt. oc / ðeggi *honom* huart föza ðkal tak / En ef han fözer eigi tak *ðeckar aork silfers* / uið *konong*. Nu fözer *maðr* fiar tak / me manne oc gengar *maðr* i tak *firir* / han. þa ðkal han ðua i tak ganga / at han ðkal goldet hafa vm mað/gunin *firir* hömeßso at hafuð *kirkium* / En ef eigi er þa goldet þa ðkal / han krefia *fiað* sins. eftir mößso / huart ðem han er heima<sup>10</sup> eða b2otto / En ef han uil eigi til moðz koma / er i tak gek uiðz han þa ðkal lyða ra/ne a hendar *honom*. oc öste han takß / til moz er i tak gek. þa ðkal ðökianðe lyßsa rane a hendar *honom*. oc / niote uit na sinna. at han gek i *fiað* tak þeira annara at han / kuaððe fiar sins. oc lagðe *honom* / ran uiðz oc öste han takz til moz / En ef þetta berß at fullu. þa er sa / *ðeckar* er i fiar tak gek. *work silfers kononge* / oc öste ðakar abere liðas oc at farar at *honom* at taka annat halfu. / meira af *honom*. hafe ðakar abere / fe ðit oc fulrette. en *konongr* oc biað / men þat ðem oc er. Nu ðynia moz / men til gangu. þa er hußbonðe huar *ðeckar öyri silfers* er a mote / uaro. of eigi uilðu til fara. / Nu ðtanða men *firir*. oc ueria / oððe oc eggju. þa ero þeir fzið / helgir er til ðökia oc laga uilia / geta. en hinir aller ubota / men er *firir* ðtanða. huart er [þeirl] / fa ben eða bana. oc sa *ðeckar*. viii. örtogom oc xiii. *aork silfers* uiðz *konong*. en / uinna huar sex *mork silfers* her ðegir | huat ða *maðr* ðkal eiga er i tak ge/ngar

**H**uarueta þar ðem / *maðr* gengar i fiar tak *firir* / man ða er huß a i bö uarom. eða | skip a lunni, þa gange i sua my kit tak ðem huß eða ðkipp er ue/rt. En ða ein i. vii. örtom oc xiii / *aork* tak. ðem huß eða ðkip a. eða / lauða fe. er þeß er uert *firir* / þui at ða er i tak gengar *firir* / man. ðkal sua allum ðkilum | upp halða. ðem uerianðe ðkildi / ef han löypar eigi vnðan. En fier tak ðkal huar *maðr* föza / ef han gengar uið

<sup>10</sup>The e of heima appears above the h in the Ms.



firir huſfa/ſtum monnom. eða koma uitni / til. eða böte kon-  
 onge *mork silfers* nema / þui at einſ. at han gange ſialfar i  
 tak með uattom. þa ſkal han / heim ganga með uattom. oc /  
 tak ſetti han. en ef han uil eigi / þa ſkal han ganga nauðigar.  
 / han ſkal i ran ſakz huſſ setia hua2t sem han uil eða eigi  
 En / vm mazgunin eftir skal han / leiða f2am a mott lauſan.  
 oc / ek han a pæninga sua marga I / bö uarom at til ſkulðar  
 vinz / oc gialðaz han þat. þa er uel. En ef han uil eigi gialða.  
 þa / nefni sakar abere at fo2. at / ſökia sem aðar er ſagt Nu  
 ſetar mað2 man i fiar tak / oc uil engi ganga i fia2 tak uið |  
 han. oc. eigi ſialfar han. þa leiði / þan man vm. iii. garðſlið  
 með / uattom. oc beiði ef noko2 uil ganga i fia2 tak firir han.  
 En ef engi uil i ganga. hafe þen man heim með ser. oc seti i  
 ra/nz saks huſſ. oc söke sem fy2 uar skilt. Nu setar maðr  
 man i tak. þan er o2ei gi er / oc fer han eigi uaz2lu man / at  
 ganga i fia2 tak firir ſik / leiði han vm. iii. garða oc beiði  
 uarð2lu manz. en ef eigi fer / leiði heim með ser. oc seti i ranz/  
 ſakz huſ at uſeckiu. oc krefi / gialky2ia ho2ns. en renna2e  
 bla/ſe til moðz. vm margunin. oc / leiði han lauſan a mot  
 f2am. oc / bioðe f2enðom. at þeir löyſi<sup>17</sup> / han. af þeiri ſkulð.  
 er han a honum at luka. En ef þeir uilia eigi/ löyſa han. þa  
 ſkulu mot men ðö/ma at han uinni þa ſkulð af ſer / þar ſem  
 han fer vinnu. þeim til / ſkulðar er a. ef han er uinnu fö2 En  
 ef han löypar i b2ot þa fer han ret lauſ. nema monnom uirð/iz  
 þau atuik. att meira miſk/unnar ſe uert. oc ſkipi sem þeir  
 uilia suara firir guði. ne/ma þeir hafe latet pæninga / ſina.  
 firir ælði. eða ſkipb2ote. / eða aðrum miſfel lum. suæiri ein /  
 eiði ef eigande heimtir. at han / ſkal luka þa ſkulð þeim er a  
 ef han hefir eigi uið2 uſkil að/ar kenðar ueret. her ſegir vm  
 oll vbota<sup>18</sup> mal.

**E**n vm oll vtlegðar mal oc / oll annur mal. huart ſem ero  
 ſtö2e eða ſmere. er *konongr.* oc *bia2men* eigu ret a þa ſkulu /

<sup>17</sup>ö and y is in the Ms. separated the space of a letter by a defect in the parchment.

<sup>18</sup>The left part of v is a double stroke in the Ms.

þau oll fara a mott. ef eigi / uerða nið2 sett með laga o2sk/  
urði firir logmanne. en þa sem / eigi uil log manz o2skurð  
lita / krefi gialy2ia ho2n2 oc lete til / moz bla2a. oc tini þa2  
huaratueg/gia mal efni. oc at ruðum malom / oc bo2nom uit-  
num. þa 2kal beiða mot men laga ðom2 a eftir þui 2em logbok  
sky2ir. oc logmaðr segir beðe með 2am/þykt sy2lu mannz oc  
gialky2ia oc allra / mott manna. oc þat sem þeir ue/rða a  
satter 2kal halðaz. En ef / þeir uerða eigi a satter. þa 2kal /  
i logretto skiota 2ettaz þeir / þer þa er uel en ef þat er eigi /  
þa skal til konung2 2kiota. oc þat / hafa at 2et er han gerer  
oc reka eigi lengar. þui at þar koma /fle2ter uetter saman. her  
2egir | vm mott

**E**ngi 2kal til moz bla2a vm nettar nema / elðar se lau2 eða  
her fare til biar. Vm ðaga skal til moz bla2a. þegar er uil. En  
ef ælðaz | uerðar lau22. eða her fer til / biaz laupi huar er  
ho2n höy2ir / eða klocka. eða böte *work silfer2 kononge* / En  
til annara mota. er engi sk/ylðugar til at ganga nema / hu-  
fa2ter men. oc sua til hu2/fa2tra manna 2tefnu. seekar öy/ri  
*silfer2* er eigi gengar þegar er / horn höyrir En þeir ero  
hu2fa/2ter men er leiggia gar ða eða / f2ial2eigu. oc at halfan  
/ eigi. eða fio2ðongh. eða leigi / oc byggir aðrum með ser. Eigi  
sk|al tak 2ettia siðan er ringðar / er eftans 2ongar. nema mað2  
| se b2ott buin. en þo eigi siðare / En han hafe 2tunð til at  
fö2a / tak. uitni skal uið hafa. at han fo2 sem han matte me2t.  
ef / gialky2i mi2trur. 2ol skal vm / 2umar ðagh raða take. en  
ðagar / vm uettar. Sa skal lan aby þgi/az et cetera. En þau  
skilo2ð er men|gera oc cetera. Nu leggar maðr að2um ue/ð  
*oc cetera*. Nu ler maðr að2a grip sin / *oc cetera*. Ef maðr  
tekar grip mannz *oc cetera*. / Alla gripu er men eigu 2aman /  
Nu roa men a men eða sigla *oc (cetera)* | Nu af þui at vinnu  
men oc cetera. vm uerk men|

**G**ialky2i uilium *Ver* at ran2ake hua2t 2umar / þui at oll  
grunar. at sy2lu men | take mutur. oc mi22a. þui bönd2 / uerk  
manna. oc ef þeir settaz /uið2 gialky2ia. þa ero þeir 2ak/lau2ir

uiðz syflu man. er þeir / koma heim. at þui sinni. þui | at  
eigi byziar at maðr gialðe. / tueim firir eina sok. vm fiþka /  
kaupp /

Laxa nya oc þua aðza fiþki nya oc þua oftroz / pat þkal  
kaupa a batom. eða a bryggium. ef uil. En engi fly/ti i buðir  
til mngz. En þa þem / byggir buðir til þeþþ. oc ueit / han þat.  
oc þua hin er leigir. gialði / þin öyri huar þeira kononge. oc  
faze | oz buð oc a bzyggiur ut eigi at | þiðar. Vm takþettingh  
til þtefnu /

EN ef maðr öfter man takz til /þtefnu oc til laga ozþkurðar  
/ firir hu azt mal sem þat er. þa þkal / hyggia at huazt han  
a. her þui / male at<sup>u</sup> andsuara eða eigi En ef / han a i heraðe  
þui male at suara / fae bzautar tak til heimiliþ sinþ / oc þkal  
bu hanþ take uarða. oc / söke siðan þakar abere. at lanðz /  
lagum. Huar maðr ma bioða aðrum / sokn sina ef sua uil.  
karlmaðr þem / kona. En þa þem uiðz vmboðe / tekaz söke  
sua annars þokn / sem þina. þui at oft fer maðz / eigi þialfar  
sott Nu ef maðr löypar / oz heraðe með fe mannz. oc til biazt  
/ uazs. þa kömar bonðe eftir oc /uil fe þit hafa. þa felz hin  
með / bonðe er i bö. oc ma han huaþgi / þtanða han. En þegar  
er bonðe / er heim faren þa gengar han / fþam i lioþþ. þa  
bioðe bonðe þeim / manne vm þokn þina með uattom /. ii. þem  
han uil at söke. þem han / ætte sialfz. oc hin þkuli er han /  
uere þialfþaz i hia Engi kaup maðr / þkal gera heraðz manne  
uþkil / oc eigi heraðz men kaupþtaðar / monnom. þit þkulu  
huarer hafa. en engi annan rena. En ef maðr takþettir man  
til þtefnu eða logmannz / ozþkurðar. oc dömez honom hu/arke  
fe ne eiðar. þa tugilðar | han þeim koþtnað sin. er han ylf/ði  
til rangþ malz. en kononge *work silferþ* / nema þsa sem taþetti.  
þueiri ein | eiði. | at han hugðiz. eftir retto / male sokia. hoþþo  
maðr þkal takþetta | til fiaþþinþ /

Sa maðr er öfter man taks han / þkal til seggia huart han  
/ skal föza tak. þa þkal þengat / föza tak þem han seggir. eða

<sup>u</sup>at written above the line.

/ bote *mork silfer* kononge. ef han fözer / eigi. En ef han seggir honom / eigi huart föza skal. tak. þa / liggar honom eigi uiðz. þo at han / föze honom eigi þat tak En / maðr skal tak föza. take han. iii. hu/þbönðar með ser þen ein er i / tak gange firir han oc hina /. ii. er han ski/ktotar vnðir tak / feftu. En eigi fleiri men fy/ lgi honom. oc ef þeir gera of / suæsse i apöttes ozðom. eða / uerkum. þa ma hin er firir er / lyfa heim sokn a hendar þeim / oc er sa sem tak fözðe seckar. viii. örtar oc. xiii. *mork silfer* uiðz kononge. En *mork* huar annara. oc sua skal oc þat sem maðr öfter man / tak rangliga gialði *mozk/silfer* kononge. En hin er hæim sokn / er ueit. skal hafa *mork silfer* af þeim /. viii. örtar. oc. xiii. *mork silfer* huart / sem lut a i hu/sfastra manna / eða ein löypir oc sua mego / honom uitni bera ein löypir / men sem hu/sfaster men / nema uattar þess manz er / taksetti. eða tak fözðe ne/ma han þurfi hu/suitni at / bera at han firirbauð þeim / allum at fylgia ser i gaðð. han / nema þeim þzem uattom. / tu/eim oc uarðslu manne. þa sku-lu þeir lax men ecki gialða / En huar þeira annara. er si/alf raða uaro i gangu með þeim / oc nockoza afund ueittu gi/alde. *mork silfer* kononge. En sa maðr er / gengar i tak firir man. oc a hi/n huarke hu/ ne skipp. i kaup/stað. sem i lagum er melt. oc / seggir han at han a hu/ eða / skipp oc a ecki þa er han sek/kar. *mork silfers* uiðz konong. En með þui at han leiðði þan man / i tak firir sik. þa er sa iamsec/kar er i leiðir sem hin er i gengar. nema han þozer at vi/nna eið bockaðan. at han sa/gðe honom / at han atte hu/s. eða skipp En / ef maðr skal öfta takz þa skal / han hafa. ii. hu/sfasta men með / ser en eigi fleiri En ef / hu/sfaster maðr syniar at ganga | með þeim at öfta man taks eða / föza tak. þa kuæði han með uattom / en ef han uil þa eigi at heldar / ganga en aðar þa er han seckar / öyzi *silfers* uið konong. En ef maðr hittir man uti oc uil öfta han takz / oc uerðar hin uar uiðz. oc ren/nar vnðan. riðar eða ro2 þa / skal kalla a han sua hatt. at fa/ru nautar han höyzi. oc mege / þat uitni bera. at han matte / höyra ef han uilði. þa skal han / föza þat tak. En ef han fözer / eigi. þa er han seckar *mork*



*silfers kononge* / En ef maðr löypar i garð manz eða i huð oc letar aftar garðlið / eða huð at ser en hinir kalla / oc biðia upp leta. en ef han uil / eigi upp leta. þa skal han öfta / han tak. þer þegar oc mela / sua hatt. at han mege höyza / ef han uil. föze þat tak. eða / böte *ork silfers kononge*. Eigi þarf han | at seggia huart han skal föza / þat tak. nema han uili. oc er þo / iam fult at logmale sem sakt | se her segir vm man helghi

**E**N vm man helgi uara oc / tak | setningh. oc vm allar / aðrar sökner. þa sk al alt fara / at biar manna lagum. oc eftir / þui sem bok uar þattar sua / uiða sem tak marker ero. en / þat er sua uiða ifir til ramf/na berghs oc smöz berghs oc þeðan oc til föða kelðu. föa föða | kelðu oc alt upp i syzu bek oc ut eftir bekenom oc öfza vm gu/nars bö oc ut vm steinin oc after vm teikar oc i fazkazls bzy/ggiur. sua skal kona ganga i/tak firir man sem kazlmaðz ef | hon a huð i bö uarom. Um punðara oc cetera. Uer ðubl alt oc cetera her segir vm stu[lð]

**Ð**at er nu þ[ui n]est at uar ska/l engi annan stela oc cetera / Nu er þa [gre]inande. at er sa / stela er eigi\* [vm f]e [þio]f stolet /

**E**N ef maðr stendar man með fe / sinu þiofstolno. þa skal bin/ða fola a bak honom. ef uattar / ero uiðz oc leiða han bundin til / galkyzia. En ef han uil eigi uiðz / honon taka. þa er han seckar. viii. / öztoghom oc. xiii. *mork silfers uiðz konong* oc skal þa föza syflu manne. En ef han uil eigi uiðz taka / þa er han sliku seckar uið konong / oc biar men sem galkyzi Nu sk/ lu biarmen eigi sekt galdra / fyzi vmboðes eða galkyzia en þeir sia sin rett sott/an. vm þiof a þingi.

**N**u skal til moz blasa oc leiða þa þiof a mottse er batt / með fola. oc föze föam uitni at | sa a fe er batt. oc at þat fe uar stolet i föa honom. oc þat annat at han batt .an a þui fe

\*Unfinished sentence. Eigi with a heavy line drawn across it in the Ms.

þa / skulu mott men vm döma. oc / ef þeir döma han miðbunðin / þa er þa seckar. v. *mork silfers* uiðz / *konong* er batt En ef þeir döma / han rett bunðin. þa skal gialky/ri fa bana til. En han uil eigi / til fa þa. er han sakaðz. viii örtogon / oc. xiii. *silfers* uiðz *konong* oc biar *men* / En ef biar men oc moz men / leta han ganga vnðan af / mote þa ero þeir seekir *mork silfers* uið *konong*. þo at gialkyzi uili eigi / refsingh a leggja vm stulð i / konung garðe /

**Ð**iofnað allan þa a *konongr* oc biar men sem / i siðasto capitulo seggir nema stolet se i *konong* garðe. eða or hans uarnaðar huðum. þa konungr ein i oc / a þa sokn a þui er *konongr* skipar / firir garð sin ef þeðan er stolet / En ef þiofaz kömar bunðin a / mott oc föle a bake honom / bunðin þa skal huar sit hafa / þeira er han hefir stolet i fza / oc [uit]ni bera till at þeir atto / En þa er þiof tok. skal hafa þat / allt er þiofaz hafðe a ser. oc han / tok með honom oc eigi bera uit/ni til at annar maðr atte. Oc / þo at han hafe til markar gulðz / a þa eða meira. I þeim lagum skal / huar þiof döma sem han stal hua2 / sem han uerðar gripin Nu ef / maðr rener man þiofe Nu finnar / maðr fe sit þiof stolet Nu stenda2 / maðr fe sit a þiofe

**E**N ef maðr er stolon fe sinu þa / skal han beiða ranðakz ef / han uil þan man er honom er mestar grum a. at fe hans hafe stolet / En hin skal uppi lata uera ranðak han skal hafa með ser ii huð/faðta men. oc ei fleiri. þeir skulu ganga in linða lauðir oc leta / ranðaka sik aðar en þeir gange / in. han skal seggia til iaztegnar / aðar er han gange in a þui fe er / stolet er En ef han hittir fe sit / i ozk. manz eða i stockom i byzðum / eða i kiðtum eða i luctum keralðom / þa skal han halða firir settar eiði oc / nefndar uitni at ei kom þer / at hans uilla eða uitanð En / ef han hittir vtenn laðð oc loco oc þo i hans huð halðe uppi settar/ eiði. oc fanga uitni En ef þesse / eiðar fella fellar til. IIII. *morka*. / Ef maðr tekur hauk bunðin i reiðri / Oc. XII. annur capitula. oc rettar / böttar. er stenda i lanðz bokenne.

GEORGE T. FLOM.

University of Illinois, Jan. 10, 1911.

## CHARACTER IN THE "MATTER OF ENGLAND" ROMANCES.

For the student of medieval life and literature the *dramatis personæ* of the romances—conventional as they are, and conventional as the romancers' treatment of them often is—are of no little interest. Professor Comfort's studies in the *chansons de geste*<sup>1</sup> have shown the importance of a knowledge of the character types of the French epic for an appreciation of the ideals and culture of medieval France. In this paper an attempt will be made to investigate, on a somewhat broader plan,<sup>2</sup> the four most important of the "matter of England" romances—*King Horn*, *Havelok the Dane*, *Bevis of Hamtoun*, and *Guy of Warwick*.<sup>3</sup>

Character stands in a peculiar relation to the other narrative elements of the metrical romance. It is, of course, never emphasized. Yet when romance after romance has been read, and a host of incidents have been forgotten, characteristic personalities stand out, which, modern English literature proves, have been of abiding interest. The more distinguished names—Gawain, Kay, Lancelot, Tristram, Iseult—were the fruit of a romance-activity which stands in strong contrast with the more popular art of *Horn* and *Havelok*. Yet the heroes of this seemingly more primitive group typify, I think, ideals of permanent interest. Appearing, as they do, in situations and relations

<sup>1</sup> "The Character Types in the Old French Chansons de Geste," *Pub. Mod. Lang. Asso.*, vol. xxi, pp. 279 ff.; "The Heroic Ideal in the French Epic," *Quarterly Review*, April, 1908.

<sup>2</sup> Many suggestions as to method have been obtained from the studies in narrative of Professor W. M. Hart, especially *Ballad and Epic*, Harvard Studies and Notes, vol. xi, Boston, 1907.

<sup>3</sup> References are made to the following editions: *King Horn*, ed. by Joseph Hall, Oxford, 1901; *Havelok the Dane*, ed. by W. W. Skeat, Oxford, 1902; *Bevis of Hamtoun*, ed. by E. Kölbing, E. E. Text Soc., Ex. Ser. xlvj, xlviii, lxx, London, 1885-1894; *Guy of Warwick*, Auchinleck and Caius Mss., ed. by J. Zupitza, E.E.T.S. Ex. Ser. xlii, xlix, lix, London, 1883-1891.

thoroughly stereotyped, they are perhaps more interesting for that reason, have more of the medieval flavor, gain in representative quality. If they are deficient in subtlety, they are not deficient in a crude strength of character and will, perennially attractive.

For these reasons it will be seen that characterization, to an unusual degree, perhaps, is bound up with plot on the one hand, and with the broad background of medieval life on the other, and it will be necessary, in discussing it, to trespass somewhat upon these other fields.

### *The Group.*

The well-known tendency of the *dramatis personæ* of medieval romance to fall into certain conventional relations is well illustrated by a group of characters which appears, with certain variations, in *Horn*, in *Bevis*, and in *Guy*. This group seems to belong naturally to stories of the exile-and-return type, but it is not restricted to them, as it appears very clearly in the *Guy*. Nor is it essential to the exile-and-return type, since it does not appear, unless faintly, in *Havelok*. The following table shows the correspondence:

	<i>Horn</i>	<i>Bevis</i>	<i>Guy</i>
The father	Murri	Guy	[Syward]
The hero	Horn	Bevis	Guy
The old friend	Apelbrus	Saber	Herhaud
The young friend	Apulf	Terri	Tirri
The foreign king	Aylmar	Ermin	Ernis
The foreign king's daughter	Rymenhild	Josian	Clarice
The defamer	Fikenhild	Two knights	Morgadour
The second lady	Reynild	King of Aum- beforee's daughter	[Oisel]

These lists might be paralleled, in part, with another from *Havelok*, as well as from romances far removed from this group, but as the relations of the *dramatis personæ* are not so clearly the same in these other cases, I have not thought it worth while to insist on the parallel. However, the possibility of making the table which here appears is not without significance,



and a very fundamental resemblance will, I think, appear on closer investigation.<sup>4</sup>

In respect to the hero's father the resemblance is incomplete. *Guy of Warwick* is not a story of the exile-and-return type, and Guy's father plays a comparatively unimportant part in the story. In *Horn* and in *Bevis* the resemblance is clear. In both cases the father is of very high rank, Murri being King of Suddenne and Guy the Earl of South Hampton, of noble character and approved prowess. Both are slain at the opening of the story, being overpowered by numbers, and their possessions, in both cases, are seized by those who have slain them—in the one case by the Saracens, and in the other by Devoun, Emperor of Almaine. Both leave young heirs who are helpless to protect their dominions. Birkabein, father of Havelok and King of Denmark, occupies an analogous position. He dies leaving his young heir in the power of a traitor, who seizes the kingdom. This situation is repeated in the same poem in the death of Apelwold, leaving his daughter and the Kingdom of England in the care of a traitor. Thus in each of the three romances of the exile-and-return type there is a king who dies, leaving a young son in the hands of enemies.

The children of these three fathers<sup>5</sup> too early dead experience a similar fortune. Horn, sent out in a boat to find a grave in the sea, luckily reaches the coast of Westernesse. Bevis, narrowly escaping death at the hands of his own mother, is sold into slavery and borne across the seas to Armenia. Havelok, after heart-breaking sufferings, likewise crosses the sea in a boat to find a home at Grimsby. Guy had no such experiences in his earlier days, but gained manhood at his own home. It is his

<sup>4</sup>Leo Jordan, *Über Boeve de Hanstone*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für rom. Phil. (xiv, Halle, 1908), pp. 41 f., gives a list of *dramatis personæ* in French exile stories which is not quite the same as the one above. However, it is interesting as showing that practically this same group of characters appears in a number of *chansons de geste*. Among the English romances, *Generydes* furnishes the list of *dramatis personæ* most nearly parallel.

<sup>5</sup>Not counting Apelwold, the father of a heroine.

later career which brings him into the company of Horn and Bevis, as will appear in the discussion of the other typical characters.

Curiously enough, Horn, Bevis, and Guy each have for teacher a kind, brave man, who remains a steadfast friend. Apelbrus taught Horn the craft of wood and river, as well as harping, carving, and serving the cup (vv. 229 ff.). Later he assists in the love affair of Horn and Rymenhild; and finally he is rewarded with a kingdom (vv. 1507 f.). However, the resemblance between *Guy* and *Bevis*, here as elsewhere, is much stronger. Saber is the "meister" of Bevis. After keeping Bevis concealed as long as he can, he is obliged to see him banished, but later sends his son to seek the lad; and he himself accompanies Bevis in some of his adventures. Almost the same thing happens in the case of Herhaud.

Gij a forster fader hadde,  
patte him lerd & him radde  
Of wodes & riuer & oper game;

Herhaud of Ardern was his name (vv. 169 ff.).

Herhaud, too, is a fellow-soldier of his friend, and himself seeks Guy when lost. Herhaud is also tutor to Guy's son Reinbrun, seeks him through many lands when he is stolen away, and in general stands in the same relation to the son that he did to the father. Like Saber, Herhaud has a warlike son who plays a part in the romance. Like him, too, he is warned in dreams when the hero is in need of assistance. Grim has certain points of contact with these characters, particularly with Saber. Both Grim and Saber are instructed to slay their charges, and both represent that they have done so. Thus in each of these romances there is an old friend who guards the early years of the hero; in three cases he is the tutor; and in the fourth case he stands in the general relation of guide and instructor, teaching, however, not knightly accomplishments, but the meaner duties of labor.

In three of the romances there is a young friend who is the faithful helper of his superior. In the fourth romance, *Havelok*,

there is only the semblance of an equivalent in the three sons of Grim. But Apulf in *Horn*, Terri in *Bevis*, and Tirri in *Guy*, occupy corresponding positions. In two of the cases the friend is presented with a bride and territory by the hero. Thus Reynild is given to Apulf, and the daughter of the King of Aumbeforce agrees to become the wife of Terri when she learns that Bevis is beyond her reach. Guy also plays an important, though not similar, part in securing Oisel for Tirri. In the case of Terri and Bevis and of Tirri and Guy the friendship lasts through many battles in which the comrades fight side by side.

The term *foreign king* refers in *Horn* and in *Bevis* to the father of the heroine. The Emperor of Constantinople, in *Guy*, occupies a somewhat analogous position. Bevis and Horn are welcomed at the courts of the foreign kings. Each is granted honors, but later is the victim of a false friend (two in *Bevis*), who misrepresents the relations existing between the hero and the king's daughter. This, so far, is true of Guy at Constantinople also. But the Emperor of Constantinople is not misled, while both the King of Westernesse and the King of Armenia trust the informers, and as a consequence the hero in one case is banished (*Bevis*, vv. 1229 ff.) and in the other is sent on a mission which is intended to result in his death (*Guy*, vv. 3727 ff.). Thus in the portions of the stories connected respectively with the foreign kings the three romances show strikingly similar characteristics.

The term *defamer* indicates sufficiently well the characteristic quality of one of the conventional enemies of the hero in these romances. Thus Fikenhild tells Ailmar that Horn

“lȳ in bure

Vnder couerture

By Rymenhild þi doȝter” (vv. 695ff.).

Similarly, the false knights whom Bevis had preserved in battle said of Bevis to the Emperor that

“þe doȝter he hæp now for-lain” (v. 1209).

In *Guy* it is the steward Morgadour who accuses the hero of having dishonored the Emperor's daughter.

"Into his bour wiþ strengþe he jede

& bi þi douhter his wille he dede" (vv. 3227 f.).

In these cases the resemblance between the villains lies chiefly in the identity of the charges which they make.

It is to be noted that the hero in each case has a love affair with the king's daughter. Clarice, it is true, does not become the wife of Guy; but the account of her relations with him has the characteristics of a romantic story, leading up almost to the marriage altar, when the hero recollects Felice in time. In the other cases the love results in marriage, and both Rymenhild and Josian take the initiative in the wooing. In both cases separation occurs as the result of the treachery of defamers, but the later fortunes of the heroines show wide divergence. However, so far as the general relations go, we again find strong similarity.

The last character of the group, the one I have called *the second lady*, is of slighter importance, and its presence here may be questioned. I mean by this Reynild in *Horn* and the King of Aumbeforce's daughter in *Bevis*, each of whom loves<sup>6</sup> the hero, but later becomes the wife of the hero's friend. Oisel, whose name I have placed in brackets in the table, can scarcely be included, except that it is through Guy's victories over Tirri's enemies that she becomes the wife of the hero's friend.

Of course I do not mean to say that the reappearance of this group of characters is sufficient ground for thinking that any one of this group of romances is derived directly or indirectly from any other.<sup>7</sup> But it does seem to me that there was a common narrative fund which every one felt at liberty to

<sup>6</sup> In *King Horn* it is not actually stated that Reynild loves Horn, though marriage is suggested to Horn by her father. However, in *Horn et Rimel* and *Horn Childe*, the love of Lembure and Aeula (corresponding to Reynild) is a prominent feature.

<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, cf. P. C. Hoyt, "The Home of the Beves Saga," P.M.L.A., 1902, pp. 237 ff., who thinks the resemblance between *Bevis* and *Horn* sufficient to indicate that the former is derived from the latter.



draw upon, which indeed was common property, since no one knew precisely whence it came. If we wish to know where it existed, it is not too vague to say that it existed in the stories already familiar, in the conventional incidents and characters which were found there, and which were being more and more conventionalized as they appeared again and again. Perhaps some elements were conventionalized out of existence; but one must think, from the state of the romantic literature which has been preserved, that the number of such was small.

It has been noted, no doubt, that in discussing this group of *dramatis personæ* nothing has actually been said about character. Rather has it not been plot, and are not the *dramatis personæ* (so viewed) merely the pegs to which the plot is tied? This question must be answered with a modified affirmative. What has been indicated thus far is that when a situation is used for a second or hundredth time in a romance, there is a strong tendency to place the new pegs about where the old ones were. Character, in the stricter sense, is then indicated only by the general relations of *dramatis personæ* to the plot. This, of course, does not sum up character; and a study of the characters as such will, I believe, add some confirming evidence of the existence of this recurring group.

*Stock dramatis personæ.*

Before going on to discuss characters as distinguished from *dramatis personæ*, it is worth pointing out that there are in the romances, as indeed in fiction of a later date, stock figures who are of little or no value as characters, but who do mean something to the plot. Thus in *Horn* and in *Bevis* there is the conventional porter. The only function which he serves is to delay the action by supplying occasion for an altercation at the entrance to the castle. Thus in *Horn*:

He com to þe gateward,  
þat him answerede hard.  
Horn bad undo softe,  
Mani tyme and ofte.  
Ne miȝte he awynne

þat he come þerinne.  
 Horn gan to þe ȝate turne  
 And þat wiket vnspurne.  
 þe boye hit scholde abugge;  
 Horn þreu him ouer þe brigge,  
 þat his ribbes him to brake;<sup>8</sup>

And suppe com in atte gate" (vv. 1067 ff.).

In *Bevis* the account is still more detailed. The hero, seven years of age, after getting the better of the porter in a word encounter, cleaves his head (vv. 394 ff.). The porter, it seems, nearly always stands at the gate to refuse admittance and to suffer for his refusal.<sup>9</sup>

The suggestion sometimes made that the minstrel is taking revenge for rebuffs suffered by his class is perhaps not altogether without foundation. The aim seems to be to make the porter a ridiculous figure. The humorous intention is sometimes marked.<sup>10</sup> Perhaps the porter in *Macbeth* is distantly akin to the porter of romance.

More intimately connected with the plot, and more important for the revelation of character in others, is the maid of the heroine. The fact that she does not appear in *Horn*, *Havelok*, or *Bevis* is a slight indication of the fact that they are not true

<sup>8</sup> In *Horn Childe* the porter's shoulder bone was broken (HCh vv. 958 ff.).

<sup>9</sup> In *John de Reeue* (Percy Folio, vol. II), vv. 719 ff., is a similar dispute between hero and porter, with the result that John

"hitt the porter vpon the crowne,  
 With that stroke hee ffel downe,  
 fforsooth as I you tell."

In *Sir Cleges* the hero gains admission to the king by agreeing to give the porter one-third of the gift he shall receive, and asks that the gift be twelve strokes, of which the porter gets his share in due time (vv. 247 ff.). Cf. Kölbing's note to *Bevis*, A 1. 419. Also see Hall's note to *Horn*, vv. 1067, 8; *Tristram*, vv. 619 ff.; Gautier, *Chivalry*, Eng. transl. by Henry Frith, London, 1891, pp. 369 ff.; C. Boje, *Über den Altfranzösischen Roman von Beuve de Hamtone*, Beihefte zur *Zeitschrift für rom. Phil.*, xix, Halle, 1909, pp. 71 f. The porter sometimes plays a different part; cf. *Gawayn and the Grene Knyght*, vv. 91 ff., and *Floris and Blancheflor*, vv. 749 ff.

<sup>10</sup> As in *Sir Cleges*; cf. note preceding.

romances of chivalry. Rymenhild may have sent a maid for Apelbrus to summon him for the first interview, but, if so, there is no indication of the fact. When Josian desires to communicate with Bevis, she sends a man. The absence of the romantic element in *Havelok*, of course, almost precludes the possibility of such a character appearing. In *Guy* there is a hint of this personage. Guy has just made a declaration to Felice, and swoons from the violence of his emotions. Felice bids a maid to lift him, which she does, weeping.

“Bi god of heuen,” sche seyð,  
 “& ich wer as feir a mayd,  
 & as riche king’s douhter were  
 As ani in pis wairld here,  
 & he of mi loue vnder-nome were  
 As he is of þine in strong manere,  
 & he wairld me so o lou þerne,

Me þenke y no myȝt it him nouȝt werne” (vv. 609 ff.).<sup>11</sup> But Felice rebukes her for commiserating Guy. One need only glance at the French *Horn et Rimel*<sup>12</sup> to note a marked contrast with the maid of *Guy*. Here Herselote is the natural messenger of Rimel; she tells in the bower of what is going on in the hall; she receives her mistress’s confidences, comforts her when distressed, praises the lover, and is on hand to assist in emergencies. This is the conventional part of the maid. It is to be found repeatedly. Lunete plays the part in Chrétien’s *Ivain*. In *William of Palerne*, Alexandrine is not only a confidante; she plays almost the part of a fairy in bringing William and Melior together, having power to cause dreams. Iseult’s maid is perhaps the most distinguished of all, performing more than one important service for her mistress.<sup>13</sup> Playing a part of far

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Generydes*, vv. 4630 ff., where the maid takes the part of the knight against the reproaches of her mistress.

<sup>12</sup> Edited by Brede and Stengel, *Das Anglo-Normannische Lied vom Wackern Ritter Horn*, Ausgaben und Abhandlungen, vol. viii.

<sup>13</sup> From these instances it is evident that the maid plays in medieval romantic literature the same part which maid or attendant so often plays in the later dramatic literature.

greater importance than the porter, the maid of romance has a more developed personality. She is faithful as a matter of course, loyal to lover as well as to mistress, resourceful, self-sacrificing, brave. But she belongs essentially to the chivalrous romance; she has no place in the very different type of romance to which the exile-and-return group belongs.

If the maid is a kind of good fairy in the romances, the steward is almost always a malevolent agency. Unlike the maid, he is well represented in our group. It is he frequently who envies the hero because of the favor bestowed upon him by the king, or because of his superior knightly qualities.

A steward was wiþ King Ermin

þat hadde tiȝt to sle þat swin;

To Beues a bar gret envie

For þat he hadde þe meistrie (*Bevis*, vv. 837 ff.).

The steward of the King of England also hates the hero. *Bevis* visits the king:

And alle þe barouns, þat þer were,

On Beues made glade chere,

Boute þe steward of þe halle

He was þe worste frend of alle (vv. 4303 ff.).

He later tries to slay *Bevis* and, like the steward of Armenia, pays for his treachery with his life. In *Guy* there are several stewards. The most typical, Morgadour, did his best to discredit *Guy* with the Emperor.

Traytour he was, and full of envy (v. 2962).

He, too, lost his life at the hands of the object of his envy. The steward of Duke Otous (vv. 4753 ff.) is slain by *Guy* while trying to lead away the wounded *Tirri*. After the death of Otous, his kinsman *Berard* becomes the Emperor's steward (v. 6497); persecutes *Guy*'s friend *Tirri*; shows his lack of honor by wearing two coats of mail in his combat with *Guy* (st. 187) and by trying to rid himself of his dangerous antagonist by casting him in the sea with the bed on which he is sleeping; but finally he, too, succumbs to the hero's valor (sts. 208 ff.). Again, the steward of Earl Florentin attacks *Guy* while a guest in his



master's castle, and his head is cleaved with an axe (vv. 6899 ff.). Thus in the romances of *Bevis* and *Guy* alone the appearance again and again of a treacherous, envious steward is striking. He appears very frequently elsewhere. The chief villain of *Generydes*, Amalok, is the steward of Auferius, King of India. He adds adultery with the Queen to treason against his lord. In *Sir Cleges* the steward commits the same offense and suffers the same punishment as did the porter.<sup>14</sup> The envious character of "Kay the seneschal," while not quite so offensive as that of most stewards, is perhaps due to the association of his position.<sup>15</sup> The typical steward, however, is treacherous as well as envious;<sup>16</sup> not a coward (for cowards are rare in medieval romance), yet with the manners, the sneakingness, so often associated with cowardice.<sup>17</sup>

Other lay figures are palmer, merchant, beggar. The palmer or beggar is frequently the hero disguised. But he may be merely the bearer of news. A palmer tells Guy of the war between the Emperor of Almaine and Duke Segyn (vv. 1803 ff.). It is from a palmer that Horn hears of the wedding preparations when he lands in Westernesse with his Irish force (vv. 1027 ff.). No doubt the palmer was a natural bearer of news. Thus the false news which Bevis, disguised as a palmer, tells Yvor, is instantly accepted and acted upon. Bevis asks a palmer where

<sup>14</sup>Referred to above, p. 436.

<sup>15</sup> For Kay at his worst, cf. the French romance *Ider*, in which he is guilty of the use of poison. See, too, G. Paris, in *Hist. Litt.*, XXXI, p. 160, apropos of Kay in the *Escanor* of Girard d'Amiens: "Il paraît avoir pris surtout le type du senechal dans les romans de Chrétien où, comme ici, sa mauvaise langue est le plus grave de ses défauts."

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Arthur and Merlin*, vv. 80 ff.; *Squire of Low Degree*, vv. 283 ff., etc.; *Sir Triamore*, vv. 61 ff., etc.; *Merline*, vv. 47 ff.; *Amis and Amiloun*, vv. 205 ff.; *Sir Degrevant*, vv. 1633 ff.; also "false steward" in "Sir Aldingar" (Child, No. 59).

<sup>17</sup> Of course there are good stewards now and then, as is the case with Guy's father. However, the association of steward with self-seeking and an ugly disposition seems widespread. In this connection it is interesting to compare No. LXII of the *Fables of Marie de France* (ed. by Warnke, Bibliotheca Normannica, vol. VI), "De Aquila et Accipitre et Columbis".

to find King Yvor and his Queen, Josian, when he approaches Mombraunt (vv. 2049 ff.).<sup>18</sup> Beggars are necessary to show the hospitality of lord or lady and to furnish an opportunity for the disguised hero to slip in with the crowd. The number thirteen, so frequently mentioned, springs from the custom of inviting thirteen beggars to appear at wedding and other feasts in honor of Christ and the Apostles. Thus Guy is one of thirteen beggars fed by Felice when he finally returns home after his long pilgrimage (sts. 278 ff.). In *Ponthus and Sidone* the mother of Ponthus is discovered by him among the thirteen beggars at the feast celebrating the regaining of his kingdom (pp. 119 f.). In *Horn et Rimel* it is a beggar instead of a palmer whom Horn meets on his return to his beloved. Merchants, too, may be messengers. Guy learns from Greek merchants of the war between the Emperor of Constantinople and the Sultan (vv. 2801 ff.). Merchants are also used for taking away children. Bevis is sold to merchants (vv. 505 ff.), and Reinbrun is stolen by merchants who pass through the country (*Guy*, C. vv. 8680 ff.).<sup>19</sup> A large number of subordinate *dramatis personæ* of various sorts is naturally characteristic of the *roman d'aventure*, in which the social life is more complicated than in the *chanson de geste*.<sup>20</sup>

*Typical Characters and Medieval Life.*

<sup>18</sup> For cases in French medieval narrative where there is an exchange of clothing with a palmer, cf. Boje, p. 70.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Prologue to "Man of Law's Tale" (*Cant. Tales*, B, vv. 127 ff.), where merchants are apostrophized:

Ye seken lond and see for yowre wynnynge;  
As wise folk ye knowen al thestaat  
Of regnes; ye been fadres of tidynge  
And tales, bothe of pees and of debaat.  
I were right now of tales desolaat,  
Nere that a marchant—goon is many a yeere—  
Me taughte a tale, which that ye shal heere.

<sup>20</sup> Two giants, brothers, whom the hero meets at different times and slays, seem a convention; cf. in *Bevis Grander* and his brother (vv. 1721 ff.; 1859 ff.); *Eglamore*, vv. 300 ff., 513 ff.; *Daurel* (*Hist. Litt.*, XXX, p. 137).

Looking again at this list of *dramatis personæ*, not this time as elements of the story, but as figures typical of medieval life, one sees at least four stand out as significant: (1) the king; (2) the knight; (3) the lady; (4) the vassal. These are not entirely exclusive of each other, as the knight may be king, and the vassal is, of course, usually a knight. However, the characteristic king is usually the father of the hero, or some lord under whom the hero takes service; the hero is nearly always an ideal knight; the hero's beloved is invariably represented as an ideal lady; and it is usually in a friend of the hero that faithful service to one's lord is best exemplified. So, for practical purposes, there is little or no confusion, and some light may be thrown, too, on the phase or phases of society for which the romances were produced, and also perhaps on the society in which they have enacted their subsequent history.

From the tremendous host of kings in medieval literature two great figures stand out—Charlemagne and Arthur—the one, at his best, the king of the *chanson de geste*, and the other, at his best, the king of chivalric romance; the one leading his hosts against the enemies of his country and fighting at their head; the other, for the most part at least, loosely controlling a band of knights errant, who are incessantly engaged in adventures for the sake of honor or for the sake of the "fair lady." In the so-called romance of Germanic origin, there is, of course, nothing to approach the splendor of either of these figures. But in these romances the kings are certainly more nearly related to Charlemagne than to Arthur. They are kings of national war. Murri, father of Horn, was such a man, although the primitive conditions which seem to underlie the story would make him little more than a tribal chief. With two knights he awaits the onset of the Saracens, and loses his life defending his territories. Nothing is said in the way of characterization, save that he was "gode king" (v. 33), as were also Ailmar of Westersesse (v. 219) and Þurston of Ireland (v. 782).<sup>21</sup> Apelwold, the father of Goldborough, was also a bold warrior.

<sup>21</sup>This suggests the "sē waes gōd cyning" of *Beowulf*, although the term "good" is perhaps even more conventional in the romances.

He was þe beste kniht at nede  
 þat euere mihte riden on stede,  
 Or wepne wagge, or folc vt lede;  
 Of kniht ne hauede he neuere drede,  
 þat he ne sprong forth so sparke of glede,  
 And lete him knawe of hise hand-dede (vv. 87 ff.).

In *Horn Childe* King Hafeolf is a bold warrior, fighting against the enemies of his country—the Danes and the Irish. In *Guy* *Apelstan* is represented as leading the English forces in their struggle with the Danes. In other words, the kings in this group of romances are fighters, usually defending their country against invaders. The king who, like Arthur and Alexander, conquers the world, belongs to a different type of romance.

Of exceptional interest is the account of King *Apelwold* in *Havelok*, because there is nothing precisely comparable to it elsewhere in the romances. Here is a king who is not merely a leader of warriors, but a lawgiver and a strong executive. We certainly have a picture of an ideal king as seen by the eyes of the middle and lower classes, by those who desired, not glory, but comfort and peace.<sup>22</sup> He loved God and holy church; he hated robbers and hanged outlaws. Chapmen might go through England with their wares fearlessly.

þanne was Engeland at ayse (v. 59).

Moreover, he was friendly to the fatherless (vv. 75 ff.) and

Hauede he neure so god brede,  
 Ne on his bord non so god shrede,  
 þat he ne wolde þorwith fede  
 Poure þat on fote yede" (vv. 98 ff.).

<sup>22</sup> The very enumeration of the classes who loved him is suggestive.

It was a king bi are dawes,  
 þat in his time were gode lawes  
 He dede maken, an ful wel holden;  
 Hym louede yung, him louede holde,  
 Erl and barun, dreng and kayn,  
 Knict, bondeman, and swain,  
 Wydues, maydnes, prestes and clerkes,  
 And al for hise gode werkes (vv. 27 ff.).



Here, surely, if anywhere, we get the ideal king of merchant and laborer.<sup>23</sup>

The heroes are more likely to be individualized than other characters. Nevertheless, the greater part of their traits are thoroughly typical. The ideal knight of this group is one of great personal beauty and strength, who hates infidels, enjoys battle, is a faithful lover of one woman. He is often rude, sometimes cruel, always pure. He stands opposed to the chivalrous, gentle, often immoral knight typified in Lancelot.

In these romances little is said, for the most part, regarding the personal appearance of the *dramatis personæ*. This is not

<sup>23</sup> W. W. Comfort, "The Character Types in the old French *Chansons de Geste*", P.M.L.A., XXI, pp. 279 ff., distinguishes three treatments of the king in the *chanson de geste*. He is represented (1) as grandiose and epic, less only than God; (2) as weak, old, sometimes cowardly; (3) as a mere political necessity—this last under the influence of the Breton cycle where the king is only "a fixed point of support, on which the leading characters in the story are made to lean". The noble king of *Havelok* seems English. However, the weakness of the kings in *Horn*, *Bevis*, and *Guy* seems to relate them to class (2). The Emperor of Almaine (in *Guy*) is clearly of this class; his capture while on the chase is an incident connecting him with stories of Charlemagne.

It may be worth while to note here that both Bevis and Guy had fathers who were good stewards. They furnish the nearest parallels to the account of Apelwold. Bevis's father Guy "kept well Englonde in his days".

He set peas and stabelud the laws,  
þat no man was so hardye,  
To do another velauye (M. MS. vv. 43 ff.; passage  
missing from one set of *Bevis* MSS.).

In *Guy*, Syward was a steward of similar virtues.

þei a man bar an hundred pounde,  
Opon him, of gold y-grounde  
þer nas man in al þis londe  
þat durst him do schame no schonde  
þat bireft him worþ of a slo,  
So gode pais þer was þo (vv. 137 ff.).

In Apelwold's time one could carry red gold upon his back and find none to trouble him (*Havelok*, vv. 45 ff.).

If one thinks of Chrétien's romances, one recognizes how incongruous similar lines would appear if found in them. The same is equally true of nearly all of the super-refined chivalric romances. Compare, too, the Alexander romances. Generosity, not justice, is the chief virtue of the chivalric king.

so likely to be the case with the hero. Thus of Horn the author says at the beginning:

Fairer ne miste none beo born  
 Ne no rein vpon birine,  
 Ne sunne vpon bischine:  
 Fairer nis non þan he was.  
 He was briȝt so þe glas,  
 He was whit so þe flur,  
 Rose red was his colur.  
 In none kinge riche  
 Nas non his iliche (vv. 10 ff.).<sup>24</sup>

His physical beauty continues to receive attention. He is the "faireste" (v. 173); Ailmar admires his "fairnesse" (v. 213); Apulf says "he is fairere by one rib þan eny man þat libbe" (vv. 315 ff.); when he visits Rymenhild the bower is lighted "of his feire siȝte" (v. 385);<sup>25</sup> Berild has never seen so fair a knight come to Ireland (v. 778); King þurston speaks of his "fairhede" (v. 798); and at the close the author says:

Her endeþ þe tale of horn,  
 þat fair was & noȝt vnorn (vv. 1525 f.).

Havelok likewise is very beautiful (v. 2133) and well-shaped (v. 1647). Bevis was a "feire child," and King Ermin said of him:

"Be Mahoun, þat sit an hiȝ,  
 A fairer child neuer i ne siȝ,  
 Neiþer a lengþe ne on brade,  
 Ne non, so faire limes hadde!" (vv. 535 ff.).

In *Guy*, too, not much is said of the personal appearance of the hero, not nearly so much as in *Horn*. There is nothing especially distinctive about the traces of description one finds, as they are the commonplaces.

<sup>24</sup> For numerous parallels, see Hall's notes. Medieval romancers were inclined to insist, as here, that their heroes were the most beautiful in the world; cf. *William of Palerne*, vv. 4437 f.

<sup>25</sup> The shining face is common, but more frequently belongs to women. In Chrétien's *Cliges* the hero and Fenice are so beautiful that they make the palace shine (vv. 2755 ff.).

The hero's strength and valor are of great prominence in all romances, but there are certain variations of greater interest than are found in descriptions of personal appearance. In *Horn* the hero's strength is frequently the object of direct praise from the *dramatis personæ*. The Admirad says to him, "þu art gret & strong" (v. 93), and adds that if he lived, in time he "scholde slen us alle" (v. 100); Ailmar says the strength of his hand shall become famous (vv. 215 ff.). The author of *Havelok* also takes great delight in his hero's physical prowess, and speaks directly to the audience:

For þanne he weren alle samen  
 At Lincolne, at þe gamen,  
 And þe erles men wornen alle þore,  
 Was Hauelok bi þe shuldren more  
 þan þe meste þat þer kan:  
 In armes him noman ne nam  
 þat he doune sone ne caste;  
 Hauelok stod ouer hem als a mast.  
 Als he was heie, so he was strong,  
 He was boþe stark and long;  
 In Engeland was non hise per

Of strengþe þat euere kam him nere (vv. 979 ff.).

Again and again this brute strength is brought out. *Havelok* eats more than Grim and his five children (vv. 793 f.); at Lincoln he upsets "sixtene laddes gode" and carries "wel a cart lode" of fish; his strength is admired by Ubbe, who thinks he should be a knight (v. 1650); he slays three men with one blow of a "dore-tre" (v. 1806); he puts the stone at the first throw so far that all competitors depart (vv. 1052 ff.). There is on the part of the author a certain simplicity of delight in the overwhelming strength of his hero that is almost unique. In the rapid succession of incidents in *Bevis* there is little time for commenting on the hero. However, there is a word at the beginning of his fighting career.

Be þat he was fiftene ȝer olde,  
 Kniȝt ne swain þar nas so bolde,  
 þat him dorste aȝenes ride  
 Ne wiȝ wreþȝe him abide (vv. 581 ff.).

In *Guy* we have gone so far toward the romance of chivalry that the emphasis, so far as direct description goes, is on something else than strength, which is left to be inferred from many a deed of valor.<sup>26</sup>

On the other hand, the mental character and accomplishments of the hero are emphasized in *Guy*, especially on the knightly side, and in *Havelok* on the homely side, while in *Bevis* and in *Horn* they are neglected. Indeed, scarcely anything is said of Horn's mental or moral characteristics. He was "of wit þe beste" (v. 174), "wel kene" (v. 91). His teachableness and good nature are indicated.

Horn in his herte laȝte  
 Al þat he him taȝte.  
 In þe curt & ute  
 & elles al abute  
 Luuede men horn child (vv. 243 ff.).

In *Havelok* again there is the unique quality which was noted in the account of the physical characteristics, but even more marked. The author probably had in mind that Havelok would make a good king like Apelwold, but he has made him seem more like a strong, rather slow-witted, but happy peasant. His life at Winchester, which is described most fully, makes him seem to be a powerful, mild-tempered boy.

Of alle men was he mest meke,  
 Lauhwinde ay, and bliȝe of speke;  
 Euere he was glad and bliȝe,  
 His sorwe he couȝe ful wel miȝe.  
 It net was non so litel knaue, . . .

<sup>26</sup> It is worth noticing here that something is said in regard to Guy's dress apart from armour; when he first calls on Felice he was arrayed in a "silken kirtell" that was so "well setting" that there was no need to amend it (vv. 211 ff.).



For to leyken, ne forto plawe,  
 þat he ne wolde with him pleye:  
 þe children that yeden in þe weie  
 Of him he deden al her wille,

And with him leykeden here fille (vv. 945 ff.).

Not only is his kindness shown by his playing with the children; it is shown in the care he later takes of his foster brothers and sisters and in the mercy offered to Godrich. He is as observant of law as *Apelwold*. Only after due trial may Godard and Godrich be executed.

Thus does the author intend for us to see him—strong, cheerful, merciful, fearless, law-abiding. It may be questioned whether he intended that *Havelok* should so appear, but he surely was lacking in initiative. It is *Goldborough* who arouses in him the ambition, or at least stirs it to the acting point, to regain his kingdom. It is *Ubbe* who collects the friends of *Havelok* in Denmark. *Havelok* would have been a happy peasant. He is a true member of the lowly classes—strong in body and in mind, whole-hearted, loving peace better than war, but fearless when called upon to fight, rather than a fiery king, full of aggressive ambition, or a luxurious, generous monarch such as the nobility admired.

But *Guy* is a hero of chivalry—not of the *Lancelot* type, nor of the *Galahad* type, although approaching the latter in the religious devotion of his later years. He stands somewhere between *Horn* and *Bevis*, on the one hand, and *Lancelot* and *Galahad* on the other. He has the knightly education which *Horn* had. He knows the craft

Of wode, of Ryuer, of all game (C. v. 171).

He is generous. He gives rich gifts to parsons and poor knights,  
 And to other oft þeue he wolde

Palfrey or stede, siluer and golde,

Euery man after his good dede

Of *Guy* vnderfangeth his mede (C. vv. 181 ff.).

Moreover he became ill from loving too well, and fought long years merely for the sake of a woman. *Guy* stands in fairly

strong contrast with the heroes of *King Horn*, of *Bevis*, and of *Havelok*, and approaches the heroes of another type of romance.<sup>27</sup>

Somewhat less need be said about the heroine in these romances. The part played by Goldborough is so small that she may be dismissed almost with a word. She is seen as a great lady, resenting her forced marriage to one apparently far beneath her in rank, and later urging her husband to regain his crown—a figure of strength, described as “swipe fayr” (v. 111), the “faireste woman on liue” (v. 281), as bright (v. 2131), as chaste (v. 288), and

Of alle þewes was she wis

þat gode weren, and of pris (vv. 282 f.).

The absence of a love element prevents the development of her character. She is queen rather than woman.

The character of Rymenhild, on the other hand, is that of a woman, individual in some respects, yet typical of a class, of which Josian, in *Bevis of Hamtoun*, is a member. Her individuality may be said to lie largely in the very prominence of certain typical characteristics. Her appearance is passed almost without comment. She is “Rymenhild þe briȝte” (vv. 382, 390) or “Rymenhild þe ȝonge” (v. 566). It is decidedly by her actions that she is interesting. It is a primitive, undisciplined

<sup>27</sup> Cf. W. W. Comfort, P.M.L.A., XXI, pp. 307 ff. on the Hero in the *chansons de geste*. See p. 325 for distinction between hero of earlier and later *chansons de geste*: “If any differentiation were attempted between the heroes of the earlier and those of the later poems, it would consist in this: the heroes of the later poems are less passionate, less fiery, less implacable; they feel the softening influence of woman and of many of the principles of Christian charity which the later Middle Age included in the terms *chevalerie* and *courtoisie*.” A comparison in these respects of *Bevis* with *Guy* is suggestive. But even in the latest *chansons de geste*, according to Comfort, there remains in the hero “an unmistakable trace of his genealogical connection with the paladins of Charlemagne. In spite of his love adventures, and the lorn maidens, and the kind fairies, his mind harks back to his old-time foe, the Saracens, and to his duty to God. If we are not mistaken, this undercurrent of sturdy faith, this seriousness of purpose, was just the quality which was sought by a portion of the public as contrasted to the more imaginative, fantastic, and *vain* heroes of the Breton cycle.”

nature. In love and in hate she is uncontrolled. She loved Horn "þat neȝ heo gan wexe wild" (v. 252). There is no reserve in her wooing. When Apulf enters her bower she at once takes him in her arms. When she finds she has been deceived by Apelbrus she is as unrestrained in her rage.

"Schame mote þu fonge  
& on hiȝe rode anhonge. . .

Wiþ muchel schame mote þu deie" (vv. 327 ff.).

When Horn refuses to plight his troth to Rymenhild, she swoons. She is all in tears over her dream of the net (v. 654). When she thinks Horn lost forever, she is ready to slay herself.

Heo feol on hir bedde,  
þer heo knif hudde  
To sle wiþ king loȝe  
& hure selue boȝe,  
In þat vlke niȝte,  
If horn come ne miȝte  
To herte knif heo sette,

Ac horn anone hire kepte (vv. 1195 ff.).

She is as faithful as passionate. When she knows that she is about to be forced into a hateful marriage, she sends a messenger to seek Horn (vv. 933 ff.). She watches the sea for her absent lover (vv. 975 ff.). Even to the last she has Apulf on the tower with his eyes searching the great expanse of water. Altogether she is a wilful, passionate creature of uncontrolled impulses, yet constant in love. The author does not think her worthy of direct description. Yet he has created a striking figure.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> As an instructive contrast, an examination of this same character elsewhere is valuable. In *Horn Childe* (the later English version) and *Horn et Rimel* she has lost her primitive traits. She is not wholly passionate; she devises plans. In HCh

þe miri maiden hir bithouȝt  
In what maner þat sche mouȝt

Trewe love for to ginne (vv. 364 ff.).

She wins Horn's favor first by costly gifts. Even more striking is the equanimity with which she learns of the deceit which the steward has practised in substituting Haperof for Horn (vv. 349 ff.). The heroine of HR is also a highly developed character, eager, it is true, but not merely impulsive.

As stated, Josian belongs to the same type. The account of her beauty is made somewhat more striking by the use of a figure of speech.

So fair zhe was & bryt of mod,

Ase snow opon þe rede blod (vv. 521 f.).

She was also "hende" and "wel itauzt," although she knew nothing of Christian law (vv. 525 f.). Like Rymenhild she loves passionately, and it is her persistence and her willingness to change her faith which win her lover. Perhaps it is the same persistent courage which gives her the strength to slay her undesired husband. A strong woman, equal to emergencies, faithful to lover and husband—less attractive than Rymenhild, but by no means unworthy—is the heroine of *Bevis of Hamtoun*.<sup>29</sup>

But in Felice we have a lady of the romance of chivalry. Fifteen lines at the outset and more elsewhere are devoted to her beauty, although the author remarks that it is so great that he cannot describe it (v. 60).<sup>30</sup> Her accomplishments are equally remarkable.

<sup>29</sup> Apparently of the same type, but interesting as tending away from it, is Melior, the heroine of *William of Palerne*. After falling in love with William, who apparently is somewhat mildly attached to her, she analyzes her feelings in a fashion which Josian and Rymenhild would never dream of. Yet she is the really active one of the pair; is the pursuer rather than the pursued indeed, acting, however, through her maid Alexandrine. William's love, it seems, becomes really passionate as the result of a dream which Alexandrine, by some magic power, introduces into his mind while he sleeps. Even then he merely stops eating, makes no effort to win the beloved; who comes to him while he is asleep in a garden. This figure is so much sophisticated as to seem considerably removed from Rymenhild and Josian. Yet she is not much farther removed from the type than is Rimel of *Horn et Rimel*.

<sup>30</sup> In the Celtic romances elaborate descriptions of dress as well as personal beauty are found. Cf. *Libeaus Desconus*, vv. 868 ff.; *Launfal*, vv. 926 ff. The brightness of the woman's face is characteristic. In *Richard Coer de Lion* a lady is "bryght as the sunne thourgh the glas" (v. 76); Cf. *Legend of Good Women*, Prologue B, vv. 232 f., *Le Bone Florence of Rome*, vv. 184 ff.; also the ballad "Lamkin" (Child No. 93), in which the head of a murdered woman, hung in the kitchen, makes the hall shine. On the personal appearance of women of chansons de geste, cf. Gautier, *Chivalry*, pp. 306 f.



All the vii artis she kouthe well,  
 Noon better that euere man herde tell.  
 His maisters were thider come  
 Out of Tholouse all and some;  
 White and hoore all they were,

Bisy they were that mayden to lere (c. vv. 81 ff.).<sup>30</sup>

In love she is as reserved and cruel as Rymenhild is unrestrained and generous, promising her lover favor repeatedly, only to withdraw it, until he has become the most famous knight in the world. After that her conduct shows a marked change. She seems a very mild and dutiful wife. When Guy becomes a pilgrim, she feeds the poor and prays for her absent lord, so that there is no better woman in the world (st. 279). As with Guy, there is in her traces of the ascetic ideal. The best woman, as well as the best man, is one withdrawn from the common life.

Here again we find the *Guy* far removed from the other romances. Josian and Rymenhild are passionate, primitive creatures, willing to do all and suffer all for their lovers. Felice is a woman more cultivated, more self-contained, more selfish, more of a "lady," and her later piety and devotion but emphasize the fact that she is a member of a class. Yet she in turn is far removed from the Guinevere type, and farther still from the heroine of so many of the later French romances—a married woman who devotes her life to intrigues with a lover.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup>Josian was educated in "fysik and sirgerie" and "knew erbes mani and fale", by the use of one of which she was able to make herself undesirable. This accomplishment is hardly comparable to the learning of Felice. The manner of its introduction is also significant, as it is told merely to account for Josian's ability to pick out the right herb. Knowledge of herbs, however, was not an unusual accomplishment and seems connected with skill in leechcraft. Acula, in HCh (vv. 790 ff.) and Gouvernail in *Tristrem* (vv. 1200 ff.) are instances. This accomplishment is in no sense characteristic of the romance of chivalry, but is rather a popular element which survives in the romances.

<sup>31</sup>On frankness of speech and other characteristics of women of the *chansons de geste*, cf. Gautier, *Chivalry*, pp. 308 ff., and Comfort, *op. cit.*, pp. 359 ff. See discussion of love, pp.

While the type which I have called the *vassal* shows less variety, it is extremely interesting. In Apulf, in Grim, in Saber, in Herhaud, as well as in other characters, one sees the relation of lord and follower at its best. Apulf, appearing only for an instant now and then in the story of *Horn*, leaves a vivid impression. There is never a hint of self-seeking. Not for an instant will he take advantage of Apelbrus's deception, when Rymenhild, thinking him Horn, declares her love. During Horn's long absence, he remains in Westernesse to guard the mistress for her lover. Herhaud, Grim, and Saber, likewise, are always willing to sacrifice all for their respective lords. Here is a glimpse of the more beautiful side of chivalry. However, it needs no emphasis here, as it is one of the most evident of the attractive features common to the whole range of medieval romance.<sup>32</sup>

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*(To be Continued.)*

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Comfort, *op. cit.*, pp. 307 ff., on the relations of vassal and lord in the *chansons de geste*.

## THE DRAMATIC UNITIES IN ENGLAND.

(Continued.)

In endeavoring to give a compact, and, as far as possible, a unified survey of Dryden's pronouncements on the unities, we have displaced from their chronological position a little coterie of minor critics and dramatists. Among the earliest of these is Sir Samuel Tuke, who reiterates the old familiar censure against the English stage,—

"Here's a fine play indeed, to lay the scene  
In three houses of the same town, O mean!  
Why, we have several plays, where I defy  
The devil to tell where the scene does lie:  
Sometimes in *Greece*, and then they make a step  
To *Transylvania*, thence at one leap  
To *Greece* again; this shows a ranging brain,  
Which scorns to be confined t'a town in *Spain*.

The possible *Adventures of Five Hours*!  
A copious design! Why in some of ours [English plays]  
Many of the adventures are impossible,  
Or, if it be achiev'd, no man can tell  
Within what time; this shows a rare invention,  
When the design's above your comprehension."

Another plea for greater regularity,—especially of simplicity in the unity of action, is found in Flecknoe's *A Discourse of the English Stage* (1664). After pointing out the imperfection of English plays, "excepting onely some few of Jon-

"*The Adventures of Five Hours* (1663), in Dodsley, vol. 15, p. 315. That the Spanish Stage was subject to the same Mediaeval influence as the English is evident from the words of Lope de Vega,—*El Nuevo Arte de Hacer Comedias*;—

"la cólera  
De un Españól sentado no se templa  
Si no le represeten en dos horas  
Hasta el final juicio desde el *Genesis*."

—Cited by Mr. Ker.

son's", the writer goes on to say,—“The chief faults of ours are our huddling too much matter together, and making them too long and intricate; we imagining we never have intrigue enough, till we lose ourselves and Auditors, who shu'd be led in a Maze, but not a Mist.”<sup>47</sup>

Milton, in the Preface, *On Tragedy*, to *Samson Agonistes*, (pub. 1671) sums up compactly the classic tenets. We hear again of “verisimilitude” and “decorum”, but, unfortunately, the poet does not give us his understanding of the terms. Says Milton, “It suffices if the whole drama be found not produced beyond the fifth act. Of the style and uniformity, and that commonly called the plot, whether intricate or explicit, which is nothing indeed but such economy, or disposition of the fable as may stand best with verisimilitude and decorum. \* \* \* The circumspection of time, wherein the whole drama begins and ends, is, according to ancient rule and best example, within the space of twenty-four hours.”

It was fitting that Edward Phillips should hold to Milton's opinion in the matter of the unities. In the Preface to *Theatrum Poetarum* (1675), the former says, “I shall only leave it to consideration whether the use of the *Chorus* and the observation of the Ancient Law of Tragedy, particularly as to limit of time, would not rather, by reviving the pristine glory of the Tragically, advance then diminish the present; . . . . the Indecorums are to be avoided in Tragedy,” etc.<sup>48</sup>

Thomas Rymer, first reader in the English Church of Common Sense, has already been mentioned as the friend of Dryden. He is able to prove, with a commendable attempt at logic, the close correlation of the three unities. “And peradventure,” says he, “if the Poet design any certain sense by his Fable, that sense will bind him to the unity of action; and the unity of action cannot well exceed the rule for time. And these two

<sup>47</sup> Attached to *Love's Kingdom*, a Pastoral Tragi-Comedy—in Roxburghe Library, *The Eng. Drama and Stage*, etc. 1869. Also given by Spingarn, *Crit. Essays*, vol. 2, p. 92.

<sup>48</sup> Spingarn, *Crit. Essays*, vol. 2, p. 270.



unities will not permit that the poet can far transgress in the third. So all the regularities seem in a manner to be link'd together."<sup>49</sup> For the rest, his criticism is mainly taken up with the unity of action, of which he has a very exalted opinion.<sup>50</sup>

In a similar strain, despite the influence of Dryden, Nathaniel Lee in the Preface to *Oedipus*<sup>51</sup> (1679) speaks of the superiority of the ancient drama. He is discussing the English underplot, and adds, "Perhaps, after all, if we cou'd think so, the antient Method, as't is the easiest, is also the most natural, and the best: For Variety, as 'tis manag'd, is too often subject to breed Distraction; and while we would please too many ways, for want of Art in the Conduct, we please in none."

Another anxious shielder of the rules is John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave. His statement is important as revealing his sense of the inadequacy of the practice, compared with the knowledge, of the rules. In the verse *Essay on Poetry*, he says,

"The Unities of Action, Time and Place,  
Which, if observed, give Plays so great a Grace,  
Are, tho' but little practis'd, too well known  
To be taught here; where we pretend alone  
From *nicer* Faults to purge the present Age,  
Less obvious Errors of the English Stage."<sup>52</sup>

<sup>49</sup>*Tragedies of the Last Age*, etc. 1678, p. 24. Also Spingarn, *idem*, vol. 2, p. 190. Cf. *A short View* 1693, *idem*, p. 209.

<sup>50</sup>See Hofherr, *Rymers dram. Kritik*, p. 28, "Von den Einheiten interessiert ihn [Rymer] eigentlich nur die echte, die der Handlung." Cf. *Tragedies of Last Age*, p. 106 for proof of this.

<sup>51</sup>*Works*, 3 vols. L. 1721—see vol. i, p. 263. This play was written with Dryden as collaborator. Cf. with what Lee says, the following from Langbaine's *Momus Triumphans* 1688: "They (the English dramatists) would have the greater Satisfaction in seeing a *correct Play*, by how much they were capable (by the help of these rules) to discern the Beauties of it."—Preface.

<sup>52</sup>In Earl of Roscommon's *Poems*, 1717, p. 308; also in Sheffield's *Works*, 1726, vol. i, p. 72. Cited, too, by Spingarn *Crit. Essays* v. 2, p. 291. The *Essay on Poetry* was written in 1682.

Despite these earnest desires, the critic, turned playwright, was forced to desert his theoretic standard. In the Prologue to the *Tragedy of Marcus Brutus*, Sheffield reluctantly admits to an infraction of the rule of place:—

“But here our author, besides other faults  
Of ill expressions, and of vulgar thoughts,  
Commits one crime that needs an act of grace,  
And breaks the law of unity of place.”

He then says, almost beseechingly,

“And where can Brutus die but in Philippi field?”<sup>53</sup>

The beginnings of a new tendency appear first in Congreve, in spite of Dryden's claim that his “ingenious friend” was careful in his practice of the rules. While professing an attempt to preserve them intact, Congreve cannot refrain from declaring that he finds them shackling and of secondary importance. “I confess,” says he in the Dedication to *The Double Dealer*, “I designed (whatever vanity or ambition occasioned that design) to have written a true and regular comedy, but I found it an undertaking which put me in mind of *Sudet multum, frustra que laboret ausus idem*.”<sup>54</sup> A decidedly scoffing vein is revealed in his Epilogue to the same play,—

“The lady critics, who are better read,  
Inquire if characters are nicely bred  
They judge of action too, and time and place;  
In which we do not doubt but they're discerning  
For that's a kind of assignation learning.”<sup>55</sup>

<sup>53</sup>*Vd. Works of Sheffield, or Duke of Buckinghamshire, 1753, vol. i, p. 243. The scene of the play is, of course, first Athens, then Philippi field.*

<sup>54</sup>*The Comedies of Wm. Congreve, ed. G. S. Street, 1895, vol. I. The date of the Double Dealer is 1693.*

<sup>55</sup>*Cf. idem vol. i, p. 100, Dryden, To My Dear Friend, Mr. Congreve etc.:*

“So bold, yet so judiciously you dare,  
That your least praise is to be regular.  
Time, place, and action may with pains be wrought,  
But genius must be born, and never can be taught.”

From this Farquhar's ridicule of all rules, is but an easy transition.

An important figure in criticism toward the end of the 17th century is John Dennis. He preserves the tradition of the end of the rules, justifying them by an appeal to "Nature." To him, the term is synonymous with "verisimilitude." That he is in essential agreement with Rymer is evident from his letter to Walter Moyle,—yet he is ready to grant, following in the footsteps of Dryden, that genius may overstep the laws and still not fail of greatness. In the letter<sup>66</sup> mentioned, dated Oct. 26, 1695, Dennis writes, "We know indeed very well that a man may write regularly and yet fail of pleasing; and that a Poet may please in a Play that is not regular. But this is eternally true, that he who writes regularly, *caeteris paribus*, must always please more than he who transgresses the rules. Nothing can please in a Play but Nature, no not in a Play which is written against the rules; and the more there is of Nature in any Play, the more that Play must delight. Now the rules are nothing but an Observation of Nature. For Nature is Rule and Order itself: There is not one of the Rules but what might be us'd to evince this." This is even true of the "mechanical rules," says Dennis. He first considers the law of place,—and nowhere is the pathetic fallacy of projecting the audience upon the stage, more apparent than in his discussion of this unity. Says our critic, "It is certain that it is in Nature impossible, for a Man who is in the Square in *Covent Garden*, to see the things that are at the same time transacted in *Westminster*." Concerning the unity of time, his argument would have been sweet and remembered music to the ears of Castelvetro:—"A reasonable man may delude himself so far, as to fancy that he sits for the space of twelve Hours without removing, eating or sleeping, but he must be a Devil that can fancy he does it for a Week." On the unity of action Dennis is similarly narrow.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>66</sup>In *Select Works*, 1718 vol. ii, p. 537.

<sup>67</sup>In the same letter, Dennis, *a propos* of *The Mock Marriage* (1696) by Thomas Scott, scores the author for asserting "dogmatically

In the same year, 1696, appeared Blackmore's *Prince Arthur*. Dennis in his *Remarks*<sup>58</sup> on the "Heroic Poem," scored Blackmore for failing to arrive at just those elements of an epic, that the author had, in his preface,<sup>59</sup> prided himself on attaining. His censure is directed exclusively at Blackmore's ill-success in preserving the unity of action. "Mr. Blackmore's action has neither unity, nor integrity, nor morality, nor universality," says Dennis; certainly an array of faults sufficient to consign any work of art to everlasting perdition. On the same unity Dennis says later, "It is the Propriety or the Impropriety of the Episodes that preserves or corrupts the unity of action."<sup>60</sup>

From his attitude of rule-worship Dennis never departed, though he moderated his views somewhat.<sup>61</sup> In the Preface to *Iphigenia* he writes, "I endeavored to reconcile Variety to Regularity: For Irregularity in the Drama, like Irregularity in Life, is downright extravagance, and extravagance both upon the Stage, and in the World is always either Vice or Folly, and is often both."<sup>62</sup> The "higher strain," however, appears in the next paragraph of the Preface,—“At the same time I am far from thinking that any observation of the Rules can make amends for want of Genius; I have the lesson of my Master too constantly in my mind, to be guilty of such a mistake.”<sup>63</sup>

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in his Preface, that he who writes by Rule shall have only his Labour for his Pains”.

<sup>58</sup> *Remarks on a Book* etc. 1696. In his criticism Dennis derives directly from Bossu.

<sup>59</sup> E. g., "There are indeed many other Actions besides the Principal one, but they all depend on, and have relation to that which is Principal, with the Unity of which the Unity of the Poems stands or falls."

—Blackmore, in his *Preface*.

<sup>60</sup> Preface to *Iphigenia*, 1700.

<sup>61</sup> Under the influence of Dryden.

<sup>62</sup> Preface to *Iphigenia*, 1700.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Dryden's statement of this, *supra*, and his lines to Congreve on the *Double Dealer*. Dennis, however, clung to the rules, for in the same Preface he says, with evident pride, "That the present Tragedy is more regular than most of our Tragedies are, I have some grounds to believe."



It would carry us too far afield to enter at any length into the Collier controversy, which began about this time, with the appearance of the famous *Short View* (1698). Of this work, and its author's subsequent writings, Farquhar said with justice, "This gentleman had done the drama considerable service, had he arraigned the stage only to punish its misdemeanours, and not take away its life."<sup>64</sup>

As would be foreseen, Collier is in complete accord with the rules,—a fact that appears from the views expressed in his examination of *The Relapse*.<sup>65</sup> His opinions are borrowed from Corneille,<sup>66</sup> whose conclusions he is good enough to accept, but rash enough to narrow. In keeping with the French critic and his English followers, Collier points out the essential interdependence of the three unities. He is spiritlessly orthodox in his exaltation of verisimilitude,—but as there is nothing individual in his pleadings, we may dismiss the *Short View* in favor of one of the rejoinders it called forth.

In the shower of replies<sup>67</sup> to Collier that appeared almost immediately, there is one anonymous pamphlet,<sup>68</sup> which merits particular attention. The unknown writer anticipates fully the opinions that Farquhar maintained in his *Discourse upon Comedy*. The work is a noble vindication of the practice of the English stage,—a complete and sweeping denial of the need and efficacy of French rule and precept. As a defense and assertion of native genius, it stands unparalleled in its day, and is assuredly the handiwork of a man of taste and spirit and backbone. The writer does not seek to prop up his plea with subtle logic; he begs no question; he is content to rest his case

<sup>64</sup>Preface to *The Twin Rivals* (1702)—*Dramatic Works*, ed. A. C. Ewald, 1892, vol. ii, p. 5.

<sup>65</sup>Included in *A short View etc.*; 1698. *Vd.* p. 228 ff.

<sup>66</sup>Collier says, "He that would see more upon this subject must consult Corneille."—*idem*.

<sup>67</sup>See the list in Beljame's book.

<sup>68</sup>*A Defence of Dramatick Poetry: being a Review of Mr. Collier's 'View etc.'*—1698. *Vd.* Part II, p. 28 ff.

upon the practice of Shakespeare, and the dramatic "sense" of the English people. He is a clear-minded, level-headed critic, able to view the question from what was then a novel standpoint. Nor is he lacking in critical acumen, as several instances of fine insight attest.

First comes his Declaration of Independence—hitting the tone of boldness and vividness that marks the entire work:—"For the strict Observation of these Corneillean Rules, are as Dissonant to the English Constitution of the Stage, as the French Slavery to our English Liberty." His thesis thus stated, he goes on to support it,—“Here the shortest way to tell you what will please an English audience, I think, is to look back and see what has pleased them. And here let us first take a view of our best English Tragedies, as our ‘Hamlet’, ‘Mackbeth’, ‘Julius Caesar’, ‘Oedipus’, ‘Alexander’, ‘Timon of Athens’, ‘Moor of Venice’, and all the rest of our most shining pieces. All these and the rest of their Honourable Brethren, are so far from pent-up in Corneille’s narrower Unity Rules. . . . . that nothing is so ridiculous as to pretend to it. The subjects of our English tragedies are generally the whole Revolutions of Governments, States or Families, or those great Transactions, that our Genius of Stage-poetry can no more reach the Heights that can please our Audience, under his Unity Shackles, than an Eagle can soar in a Hen-coop.”<sup>99</sup>

This improves on the proud tone of modern English imperialism;—it is the very intensity of triumphant glorification of the home-bred. Yet it is sound in principle, despite the rather promiscuous assemblage of plays cited. The author then goes on to an exposition of the minor unities as the foremost English playwrights have understood them. His ideas are startlingly modern,—and the expression often no less so. “’Tis true”, says the unknown, “I allow thus far, That it ought to be the chief care of the Poet, to confine himself into as narrow a compass as he can, without any particular stint, in the two

<sup>99</sup>P. 32. Cf. p. 33, “Corneille may reign Master of his own Revels; but he is neither a Rule-maker nor a Play-maker for our Stage.”

First Unities of Time and Place; for which end he must observe two Things: First upon occasion (suppose in such a Subject as Mackbeth) he ought to falsifie even History itself. For the Foundation of that Play in the Chronicles, was the Action of 25 Years. But in the Play we may suppose it begun and finish'd in one third of so many Months. . . . . Secondly, the length of Time, and distance of Place ought to be never pointed at nor hinted in the Play. . . . . By this means the Audience, who came both willing and prepar'd to be deceived, and indulge their own Delusion, can pass over a considerable distance both of Time and Place unheeded and unminded, if they are not purposely thrown too openly in their way, to stumble at. Thus *Hamlet*, *Julius Caesar*, and those Historick Plays shall pass glibly; when the Audience shall be almost quite shockt at such a Play as *Henry the 8th*, or the *Duchess of Malfey*. And why, because here's a Marriage and the Birth of a Child, possibly in two Acts; which points so directly to Ten Months length of time, that the Play has very little Air of Reality, and appears too unnatural."<sup>10</sup> This is indeed refreshing after the disheartening dullness of so much of the criticism we have reviewed.

More daring still is the critic's attack on the major unity.<sup>11</sup> "Here," he declares, "must be Under-plots, and considerable ones too, possibly big enough to justle the Upperplot, to support a good English Play; nay, though the Under-plots do not much fight under 'the great General', and consequently the 'Play splits and the Poem is double', as Mr. Collier calls it; yet this instead of weakening the Contrivance or Diluting our Pleasure shall rather strengthen the one, and double the other."<sup>12</sup>

There remains for us the views of but one dramatist and critic, who comes on the threshold of the new century:—George

<sup>10</sup> P. 33.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. p. 35 ff. The author attacks Corneille and Collier on their notion of the unity of action, calling them "down-right dull and as seriously impertinent (as to our Stage Regulations) as their worst Enemies could wish 'em."

<sup>12</sup> P. 37.

Farquhar. It is perhaps fitting that this study end with the opinions of a critic who is truly English in his rejection of the strict rules and of rule-makers. Nowhere does this characteristic bent find better expression than in Farquhar's Prologue to *Sir Harry Wildair* (1701):

"Our youthful author swears he cares not a pin  
For Vassius, Scaliger, Hedelin, or Rapin;"<sup>13</sup>  
He leaves to learned pens such labour'd lays,  
You are the rules by which he writes his plays,"<sup>14</sup>  
From musty books let others take their view,  
He hates dull reading, but he studies you.

Among his friends here in the pit he reads  
Some rules that every modish writer needs.  
He learns from every Covent Garden critic's face,  
The modern forms of action, time and place."<sup>15</sup>

For a prose, though by no means a prosaic, statement of the same idea, we have Farquhar's *Discourse upon Comedy*<sup>16</sup> (1702). In spirit, and often in letter, this work is of a piece with the views of the nameless critic whose polemic against Collier we have rated so highly. There is the same superb confi-

<sup>13</sup> Sam'l Butler, *Upon Critics Who Judge of Modern Plays Precisely by the rules of the Antients* (1678) forestalls Farquhar in this independence. He says,

"Reduce all Tragedy by Rules of Art  
Back to its Antique Theatre, a Cart," etc....

Cited in Spingarn, *Crit. Essays*, etc.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Garrick's prologue to Whitehead's play, *supra*.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. The Epilogue to Congreve's *Double Dealer*, cited above; and see *Dramatic Wks. of Farquhar*, 1892 (ed. A. C. Ewald, vol. I, p. 339.) The same note is struck by Sewall in his *Prologue* to Betterton's *The Sequel of Henry IV*:—

"If sometimes devious from old rules he strays,  
And treads a-wry from Aristotle's ways,  
'Tis but to show.....he dar'd to give offense.  
And laugh'd at slavish Ties.....in any Sence.

<sup>16</sup> In a *Letter to a Friend*, Works, 1711, p. 62 seq.



dence in the native genius; the same willingness to find authority in "the Pit, Box and Galleries"; and the same angry impatience with the flatulent theorizing of "the learned". Farquhar is out of humor with "Our new author. . . . who first chooses a single Plot, because most agreeable to the Regularity of Criticism, no matter whether it affords Business enough for Diversion or Surprize. He wou'd not for the World introduce a Song or Dance, because his Play must be one entire Action. We must expect no Variety of Incidents, because the Exactness of his three Hours won't give him time for their Preparation. The Unity of Place admits no Variety of Painting or Prospect, by which mischance perhaps we shall lose the only good Scenes in the Play."<sup>77</sup>

Then comes the insistence upon the lesson to be gained from precedent: "The Rules of English Comedy," says Farquhar, "don't lie in the Compass of Aristotle, or his followers, but in Pit, Box and Galleries. . . . We must consult Shakespeare, Jonson, Fletcher, and others. . . . We shall find these Gentlemen have fairly dispenc'd with the greatest part of Critical Formalities; the decorums of Time and Place, so much cry'd up of late, had no force of Decorum with them; the Aeconomy of their Plays was *ad libitum*, and the extent of their Plots only limited by the Convenience of Action."<sup>78</sup>

Farquhar then takes a fall out of verisimilitude. "We can expect", he writes, "no more Decorum or Regularity in any Business, than the Nature of the thing will bear; now if the Stage cannot subsist without the Strength of Supposition, and Force of Fancy in the Audience, why should a Poet fetter the Business of his Plot, and starve his Action for the Nicety of an Hour, or the Change of a Scene since the Thought of Man

<sup>77</sup>p. 62.

<sup>78</sup>p. 73. Farquhar goes on to say, "I would willingly understand the Regularities of *Hamlet*, *Harry the Fourth* and of Fletcher's plays; and yet these have long been the Darlings of the English Audience, and are like to continue with the same Applause, in Defiance of all the Criticisms that ever were publish'd in *Greek* or *Latin*." He is against rambling plays, however: *Vd.* p. 78.

can fly over Hours and Years with the same Ease and in the same Instant of Time, that your Eye glances from the figure of six to seven on the Dial-plate; and can glide from the *Cape of Good Hope* to the Bay of *St. Nicholas*, which is quite across the World, with the same Quickness and Activity, as between *Covent Garden Church* and *Will's Coffee-House*."<sup>79</sup>

This completes the citations from the critics and dramatists of the 17th century, to the end of which period we have followed the evolution of the theory of dramatic unity. We have witnessed the rather fruitless efforts of Jonson to acclimatise an exotic plant, and the more (though never uniformly) successful attempts of later critics under the compelling guidance of the French. Nor was the wordy fight given up with the end of the century,—for the question is still a moot one in the next.

In retrospect, too, it is possible to see the rise of the spirit that led eventually to the overshadowing, for a time at least, of the unities. The origin of this spirit we have found in Mediæval England, and both Farquhar and the anonymous opponent of Collier, are but 17th century exemplars of the early tradition militating against undue restraint. It is to be noted that at the end of the 17th century, with the growth and final voicing of the English freedom, comes a new impetus to the appreciation of Shakespeare and his Elizabethan co-workers. As an accompaniment of this is, of necessity, the rejuvenance of the imagination. Yet the unities, once freely admitted, were not to be cavalierly dismissed. As a matter of fact, they have never since died out in England, as they never have been superseded in France,—nor is it in the nature of the drama for them to become a dead issue in either country. As Professor Posnett says, "The truth is that under an aspect conventional, pedantic, and therefore repulsive alike to creative and critical freedom, the unities conceal an attempt to solve certain problems involving the highest efforts of philosophic inquiry. The need of dramatic limitation in space, time and action, is no mere whim of critical fancy. It rests on truths which the evolution of

<sup>79</sup>p. 79. Cf. the note in Pye's *A Commentary* etc., cited above.

man, socially and individually, establishes, and which his animal and physical environments amply confirm."<sup>80</sup>

This leads directly to the question—are the unities extinct in the English drama of today? Prof. Lounsbury would have us believe that they are.<sup>81</sup> He says, "it is equally evident that it is Shakespeare's practice which is the one followed upon the modern stage. Stress is no longer laid upon the unity of time and place. In regard to these the doctrine is now so thoroughly discredited in theory and discarded in practice, that there are playwrights of our day who, so far from accepting it, do not even know of its ever having had an existence. Accordingly it might seem an unnecessary slaying of the slain to consider it here at any length"<sup>82</sup> . . . . . But, looking far into the future, Professor Lounsbury is able to speak of "some period in the revolution of the ever-changing<sup>83</sup> canons of taste and

<sup>80</sup> *Comp. Lit.* 1886, p. 35.

<sup>81</sup> And compare what Professor Thorndike says in his *Tragedy* 1908 (which I read after this article was in the hands of the editor): "Even the unities, whether as observed in the Greek Theatre or as defined by French and Italian critics, may, after generations of debate, be safely relegated as nonessential." (p. 7). But cf. p. 10 ff: "Though the action of modern tragedies has usually been less simple than that of the Greeks—the tendency today seems to be toward a return to the simplicity that Aristotle had in mind."

Professor Thorndike, who seems ever ready to put accepted views to the test, discusses Ibsen's unity of action (p. 11 *idem*) and on p. 313 points out that "in practice the unities are likely to result in a counterbalancing defect, in a concentration of incident improbable and artificial."

<sup>82</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 13. Prof. Lounsbury cites Browning's plays as preserving the unities, and adds, "But plays like these—never acted or unsuccessful if acted—are not representative of the dominant influences which now affect the English stage." (p. 15). Against this it may be urged that Browning's plays are not unactable because they preserve the unities,—any more than Tennyson's which disregard them in general.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Brunetière: *La Loi du Théâtre* (Preface to *Les Annales du Théâtre*, par E. Noël et E. Stoullig, p. V) "Mais, la vraie vérité c'est qu'il n'y a pas de règles, en ce sens; il n'y en aura jamais. Il n'y a que des conventions, qui sont nécessairement changeantes, puisqu'elles

criticism", when "the doctrine of the unities may, for awhile at least, come again into fashion. It is improbable, to be sure; it is by no means impossible."<sup>84</sup>

With Prof. Lounsbury's opinion I am unable to agree. In this study it has been several times implied that in their strictest acceptance—that of "critics of a dissecting turn of mind"<sup>85</sup>—the unities are indefensible. But, viewed broadly, the rules, having their basis in a by no means contemptible desire for limitation, are closely connected with the *unity* of all art works. It is true that this unity is a higher and nobler thing<sup>86</sup> than Boileau or Rapin or Bossu ever dreamt of, or than Corneille, perhaps, ever conceived. Whether one calls it, with Lessing, *moral* unity, or with some others unity of *imagination*,<sup>87</sup> or yet again, unity of *interest*, or *impression*, or *appeal*,<sup>88</sup>—it is, in the final analysis, the unity of Michael Angelo,—“the purgation of all superfluities.” And the unity of action, and even those of time and place—if one could forget the discredit into which Italian and French theorizing has brought all three—belong of right to the drama, and have work marked out for them.

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n'ont pour objet que de réaliser le caractère essentiel de l'oeuvre dramatique et que les moyens d'y réussir varient selon les lieux, les moments, et les hommes.”

<sup>84</sup> Cf. p. 23, “There are indeed certain subjects, or certain ways of treating a subject, which may be said to exact” (the observation of the unities.) Prof. Lounsbury instances *Gammer Gurton's Needle* for place, and Randolph's *Muses' Looking-Glass* for time.

<sup>85</sup> Schlegel, *Vorlesungen über dram. Kunst*, xvii.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Schlegel, *idem*, “Far, therefore from rejecting the law of a perfect unity in tragedy as unnecessary, I require a deeper, more intrinsic, and more mysterious unity than that with which most critics are satisfied. This unity I find in the tragic compositions of Shakespeare, in quite as great perfection as in those of Aeschylus and Sophocles.”

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Courthope, *Life in Poetry, Law in Taste*, pp. 48 & 65.

<sup>88</sup> For the knowledge of, and references to, these three terms, as for many other valuable suggestions, I am indebted to the kind interest that Professor A. L. Bouton of New York University has taken in this paper.



At this day the unities are coming to their rightful heritage. In more than one important phase of contemporary drama they are demanded,—and what is most significant—demanded by the exigencies of the stage. Just so did they arise to exercise their rightful functions in the Greek theatre.

In particular, two features of the modern drama tend to conserve the unities: the employment of Scenery, and the paramount interest in Character. Scenery is to the modern stage what the Chorus was to the Greek—an ever-present, limiting force. It permits of few changes, and if there ever was a powerful factor in preserving the veridical, this is it. Scenery is verisimilitude objectified and made visible. Hence arises its greatest draw-back—it clips the wings of imagination.

But scenery is an outer, a palpable feature of the stage. The other is an inner, subtler, and more potent effect,—the prying into the moods of men, the laying bare of the springs of action. If a connection were established between scenery and character, it would, from a certain viewpoint, scarcely be a fancied one. The spectator, his imagination once atrophied and rendered useless by elaborate scenery, turns perforce, to follow curiously and questioningly, the actors. From the actions of men he turns to the motives of these actions,—from Plot, he turns to Character. Nor is the change wholly lacking in compensation, for the spectator's mind is now centered upon human beings, coping with forces and problems that to him are usually comprehensible, and always familiar.

This is, of course, not the whole of our drama of to-day—but it is assuredly one significant phase of it. Perhaps, too, it will be increasingly our drama of to-morrow. At any rate, the dramatic unities—whether or not playwrights know the philosophy and the sophistry of them—show unmistakably the signs of renewed vigor. One can but hope that vacuous theorizing will not be their portion again.

LOUIS SIGMUND FRIEDLAND.

*New York, April, 1910.*

HELDEN UND MÄCHTE DES ROMANTISCHEN KUNSTMÄRCHENS. BEITRÄGE ZU EINER MOTIV- UND STILPARALLELE VON RUDOLF BUCHMANN. H. Haessel Verlag in Leipzig, 1910. XVI + 236 Seiten. M. 4.60. Untersuchungen zur neuen Sprach- und Literaturgeschichte. Herausgegeben von Professor Dr. Oskar F. Walzel. Neue Folge, Sechstes Heft.

Unter Vorbehalt (S. VII), später von anderen Gesichtspunkten aus die begonnene Motiv- und Stilparallele fortzusetzen, wählt der Verfasser "Helden und Mächte des romantischen Kunstmärchens" zum Gegenstand seiner Betrachtungen in vorliegender Studie. Angeregt zu dieser Untersuchung wurde er durch seinen Lehrer Walzel; daneben aber auch durch Winke in zwei Rezensionen: der Richard M. Meyers über Leo Bergs "Deutsche Märchen des 19. Jahrhunderts" (Berlin, Leipzig, 1905) in "Euphorion, 1906, XIII, S. 655 f., wo als Aufgabe gestellt wurde "in erster Linie den Stil, in zweiter die Phantastik dieser Produkte anschaulich zu machen"; und der J. Minors zu W. Pfeiffer; Über Fouqués Undine" (Heidelberg, 1903) in "Götting. gelehrte Anzeigen," 1903, Nr. 9, S. 739 ff., wo ebenfalls verlangt wird, dass der Verfasser "den Stil der romantischen Märchen überhaupt einer eingehenden Untersuchung zugrunde gelegt hätte . . . so wie die stoffliche Seite." Also Aufforderung, man möchte fast sagen Herausforderung, von massgebender Seite. Gewiss Grund genug, die Arbeit zu unternehmen! Und mit sichtlicher Freude und Eifer hat sich Buchmann frisch und energisch ans Werk gemacht.

Seine 252 Seiten umfassende Arbeit besteht aus einem kurzen Vorwort, einer schönen, ziemlich vollständigen Bibliographie von 9 Seiten und Einleitung. Die eigentliche Abhandlung zerfällt in zwei Teile: A. Der Held des romantischen Kunstmärchens (152 Seiten); und B. Mächte des romantischen Kunstmärchens (69 Seiten); Schlussbetrachtung; und Inhaltsverzeichnis. Unter der ersten Abteilung (Held) behandelt Verfasser Themen wie: "Motive und Stil des Zwiespalts" (Zwiespalt der Seele, Wehmut, Unentschlossenheit, die Einsamkeit); "Rätsel, Wunder, Märchen"; "Traumleben"; "Der Held und seine Alltagsumgebung"; "Die Liebe"; "Kindheit und Kindlichkeit"; "Vererbung der Heldenrolle"; in der zweiten (Mächte): "Mystische Gestalten" (Mächte des Innern, Feen, Alte hässliche Weiber, Furchtbare Schönheiten, Verwachsene, runzliche Männlein, Zauberer usw.); und "Elementargeister".

Die früheren Arbeiten auf diesem Gebiet haben sich entweder nur mit Einzelercheinungen befasst oder haben nur engere Gruppen verglichen, oder aber das Differenzierende wurde betont. Diese Untersuchung bringt eine vergleichende Darstellung der Motive wie auch des Stiles des romantischen Kunstmärchens, un zwar sind die den romantischen Kunstmärchen gemeinsamen Züge herausgehoben und parallelisiert worden, und zuweilen auch die Volksmärchen zum Vergleich herangezogen. Das Werk bildet somit ein treffliches Gegenstück und Ergänzung zu der weniger ausführlichen Charakteristik des Volksmärchens von Friedrich Panzer, *Märchen, Sage und Dichtung*," C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, München, 1905.

In schöner, äusserst befriedigender Weise hat Buchmann seine Aufgabe gelöst. Er hat sein immerhin umfassendes Material vollständig in seiner Gewalt und schaltet souverän darin und damit. Das ist ja auch nicht anders zu erwarten und lässt sich als unbedingte Forderung stellen. Verdienstlicher schon und deswegen mit besonderem Lob hervorzuheben ist die äusserst klare, durchsichtige, man möchte fast sagen französische Disposition. Mit ungewöhnlicher Übersichtlichlichkeit behandelt der Verfasser sein sprödes Material und fasst es in logisch gut gewählte Paragraphen zusammen. Diese Empfindung hat man stets bei der Lektüre, und noch mehr wird sie einem gegenwärtig bei Übersicht des Inhaltsverzeichnisses.

Wiederholt (S. 70 usw.) zitiert Buchmann "Die Traumbuche und andere Märchen für grosse Leute," um Vergleiche mit späteren Märchen anzustellen und verweist mehrmals gerade speziell auf Leanders Märchen, "Die Traumbuche". Ein viel typischeres und für seine Zwecke ergiebigeres Märchen von Leander wäre sein "Vom unsichtbaren Königreiche" gewesen. Es ist schade, dass er nicht dieses zum Vergleich herangezogen hat, wie z. B. auf S. 155.

Sehr klar und einsichtsvoll behandelt Buchmann besonders den Zwiespalt des Helden im romantischen Märchen und verweist auch auf denselben Grundzug bei den Romantikern selbst, z. B. bei Tieck (S. 11), wie er denn überhaupt auch konstatiert "den romantischen Märchenhelden verstehen lernen, heisst auch zugleich dem Romantiker als Menschen näher zu treten" (S. 10) und zitiert (S. 22) Ricarda Huchs schönes Wort: "Mehr als andre Menschen hat der romantische Charakter Grauen vor der Einsamkeit und ein an Schwäche grenzendes Bedürfnis nach Gesellschaft und befreundeter Umgebung." Ein eklatantes Beispiel dieser Zwiespältigkeit findet sich auch bei Brentano, besonders in seinem Verhältnis zu Sophie. Die Ehe gestaltete sich in Verzückungen zartester Liebe und in wilden Stürmen leidenschaftlicher Zerwürfnisse. Die beiden Gatten konnten



sich nicht entbehren, und doch konnten sie nicht friedlich und zufrieden beieinander leben. Clemens sucht Befreiung und Erleichterung auf Reisen, doch kaum ist er von Sophie fort, so gereut es ihn schon, und er empfindet Heimweh und Sehnsucht nach seiner Frau. Am schärfsten kommt dieser Zwiespalt bei ihm zum Ausbruch bei Gelegenheit seiner Reise zu Arnim im Herbst, 1804. Er schreibt ihr so geradezu kindisch, dass sie ihm vernünftig, halb derb, halb komisch die Wahrheit sagen muss: "Soll ich weinend oder lachend auf Deinen letzten Brief antworten?—einen grössern Don Quichote wie Dich, trug gewiss nie die prosaische Erde! Zuhause sitzt sein treues Weib, liebt ihn, lebt eingezogen arbeitsam, trägt ihn in und unter dem Herzen, und ist ganz zufrieden—er reist ganz lustig durch die Welt, zu einem geliebten, wunderholden, einzigen Freund, er könnte ganz ruhig und glücklich sein, aber weil er nun gar nichts weiss, ihm gar nichts fehlt, so kämpft er gegen Windmühlen, und trägt sich mit den unwesentlichsten Grillen!—Ich bitte Dich, nimm doch das Gute wahr, das Dein ist, es nicht geniessen, ist auch Sünde, und bekämpfe diesen unbeschreiblichen Hang, stets nach dem Fernen Dich zu sehnen. Diese ewige Sehnsucht gehört nur Gott. . . . Deine Begierde nach mir ist eben das, was Du oft bei mir empfunden, was Dich jetzt zu mir zieht, zog Dich oft von mir weg." (Briefwechsel zwischen Clemens Brentano und Sophie Mereau, II, 126). In derselben Weise sagt Wilibald im ersten Bande von Tiecks Phantasmus: "Ihr alle seid so seltsame liebe und unausstehliche Menschen, dass man ebensowenig ohne euch, als mit euch leben kann. In der Ferne sehn' ich mich nach euch allen und bin ungemut, und in der Nähe ärgre ich mich über alle eure mannigfaltigen Torheiten." (Tieck, Schriften, Berlin, 1828, Bd. IV, S. 47).

Neben der eigentlichen Aufgabe bringt Buchmanns Werk auch noch viele beiläufige Bemerkungen und Angaben von Interesse, so z. B. (S. 99), dass Brentano ausnahmsweise keine starke Neigung zum grammatischen Superlativ zeigt (was man gerade bei ihm besonders erwartet hätte); dass sich Hoffmann (S. 198) in vielen Stücken von den anderen Romantikern abhebt; wie es sich doch stets zeigt (S. 208), "dass Hauff kein typischer Romantiker ist."

Ganz einwandfrei ist die Arbeit indes freilich nicht. Bei Betrachtung des Ganzen kann man sich des Gefühls nicht erwehren, als ob Buchmann seinen romantischen Stoff selber etwas romantisch, d. h. mit starker Neigung zu Superlativen, behandelt hätte. In seinem Eifer schiesst er wohl manchmal übers Ziel hinaus. So geraten ihm seine Belegstellen bisweilen etwas gar zu zahlreich und lang, ohne doch erschöpfend sein zu können, und seine Fussnoten schwerfällig und störend; von seinem



Gegenstand begeistert, spinnt er wohl auch zuweilen den Faden seiner Beweisführung etwas dünn und lässt sich zu unhaltbaren Aussagen hinreissen, wie wenn er z. B. (S. 42) behauptet: "Die romantischen Märchen kennen meistens keine andern Wunder als die des Traumes"; oder wenn er Stellen zitiert, die zwar seinen Gegenstand treffen, aber ganz allgemeiner Natur sind. So erfordert es z. B. kein eigentlich romantisches Temperament oder "noch nie erreichte Erhabenheit des gegenwärtigen Moments" folgende Aussprüche zu tun: (S. 94) "Pokal" eine solche Schönheit und Anmut habe ich [Ferdinand] noch niemals gesehen"; (S. 95) "K. Herz I: Kohlenmunkpeter hatte noch nie so schwere Träume gehabt"; (S. 95) "Radlauf: Mein lieber Müller, es ist mir niemals so wohl gewesen, als bei dir"—die als Beispiele für "erhöhtes Gefühlsleben", "Schwelgende Sentimentalität" angeführt werden. Andere zu beanstandende Stellen wären S. 36, wo Verfasser das Wort "Geschichte (Geistergeschichte)" mehrmals anführt als Beweis der "beweglichen Bezeichnung" für "Märchen". Hier ist das Wort doch wohl im allgemeinen, generischen Sinne zu fassen, so dass nicht in Buchmanns Sinn damit als Beweis operiert werden darf. Ebenso scheint es mir zweifelhaft, ob die S. 100 und 101 angeführten Beispiele "Innerstes (das Innerste)" mit dem Verfasser als Belegstellen für den grammatischen Superlativ aufzufassen sind. Wir haben as hier doch wohl vielmehr nur mit der beliebten Umschreibung für "Herz" zu tun. Die Beispiele für das Oymoron (S. 17) sind nicht alle glücklich gewählt, wie z. B. "unverständliche Wünsche", "schmerzlicher Müssiggang", "anmutige Verwirrung"; ebenfalls unglücklich ist S. 102 "ewig, ewig" als Beispiel von "Die Doppelsetzung des Positivs ist gleich dem Superlativ", da es von "ewig" keinen Superlativ gibt. Doch ich will nicht an einer Arbeit mäkeln, die viel dazu beitragen wird, auch dem Nichtdeutschen die gerade dem Ausländer sehr schwer verständliche deutsche Romantik zu erklären und näher zu bringen.

Die äussere Ausstattung des Werkes ist mustergültig. Papier und Druck lassen nichts zu wünschen übrig. Ganz besonders angenehm berührt die Freiheit von Druckfehlern. Nicht als ob hierin ein besonderes Verdienst läge—es ist das ja nur, wie es sein soll; aber in unseren Tagen des diesbezüglichen Schlendrians wirkt es doch erquickend. Von eigentlichen Druckfehlern habe ich nur einen gefunden: Hermann Grimm (S. X.); sonstige geringe Druckmakel finden sich auf Seiten 59, 87, 100, 102, 120, 128.

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DER JUNGE GOETHE. Neue Ausgabe, in sechs Bänden. Besorgt von Max Morris. Insel-Verlag, Leipzig. 1909 +

The original edition of *Der junge Goethe*, in three volumes, the work of Hirzel and Bernays, was a fruitful undertaking, and the fact that the chronological idea on which it was based has increased rather than decreased in popularity is made evident by the publication, now in process, of two such editions of Goethe as the Wilhelm Ernst Ausgabe (Insel-Verlag, Leipzig), and the Propyläen Ausgabe (Georg Müller Verlag, München). But *Der junge Goethe* has of late fallen somewhat into disuse as a general work of reference because of the appearance meanwhile of so many documents not accessible to Hirzel when his compilation was published in 1875. At the same time there has been arising a demand for a new edition, and Max Morris has assumed the editorial task of revising the text and filling in the gaps up to the time of Goethe's departure for Weimar, where his edition will end, and of enlarging the scope of the collection to include drawings (all that are known at present, except that in the case of the Swiss drawings a selection is given, the whole group being accessible in the 22d vol. of the *Schriften der Goethe-Gesellschaft*), conversations, and other items of record that throw light upon the poet's early life and work. This material, preceded by a new introduction of forty some pages, about half the length of that of Bernays, which it replaces, is to fill five volumes, to be followed by a sixth containing material of doubtful authorship, a brief commentary on the whole five volumes of text, and information concerning lost writings. Of this series of volumes the first four have thus far appeared and the remaining two may be expected within a reasonably short time.

The compilers of the first edition purposely left out, among other things, the translation from Corneille, the *Ephemerides*, the fragment of a novel in letters, extracts from the Koran, the paralipomenon to *Werther*, the Alsatian folksongs collected for Herder, and the contributions to Lavater's work on physiognomy, but Morris does not intend to omit even the smallest scrap known to have proceeded from Goethe's pen in that period. Hence we find even the *Labores Juveniles*, the *Positiones Juris*, legal papers, advertisements, book dedications, and album inscriptions, even if but quotations from other writers, or another's verses changed to suit his purpose, as in the case of the made-over poem by Gleim written in Klose's album (I, 210). Some of the items may seem to some people trivial, but none of them could be omitted from a collection that pretends to be complete and aspires to become a standard work of reference.

From the contents of the part of the first edition corresponding to his four volumes now out Morris has omitted:

1. The short poem, *Der Demoiselle Schröter* (I, 92). It is known that Goethe, while a student at Leipzig, composed poems addressed to Corona Schröter for some of her admirers, who had them printed and circulated; but that is the only basis for ascribing to him the authorship of these particular lines (published anonymously in 1767), since there is no direct evidence connecting them with him. Eugen Wolff (*Der junge Goethe*, 331f.), however, brings forward some arguments in favor of his authorship.

2. Two of the eleven poems to Friederike, those beginning "Ach, bist du fort?" (No. 4), and "Wo bist du itzt?" (No. 5). Opinions differ so widely as to the authorship of the eleven numbers (I, 261ff.) that Morris ought to include these two under his heading "Zweifelhaftes." In the recently published vol. V<sup>2</sup> of the Weimar edition Wahle says (p. 215f.) that it was a mistake to place nine of the songs under the heading "Goethe zugeschriebene Gedichte zweifelhaften Ursprungs" in the Weimar edition (IV, 353ff.), since there is now no longer any doubt that the only poems of the number that are to be ascribed to Lenz, and not Goethe, are numbers 1 and 8 (*DjG*, numbers 4 and 5). In this connection it may be remarked, however, that there are still a few scholars who have yet to be convinced that these two numbers belong to the corpus of Lenz's writings. From Morris's failure to incorporate "Röschen auf der Heide" (*Fabelliedchen*) in his collection we may infer that he is not one of those who believe that Goethe wrote both this poem and the other version of the same theme, *Heidenröslein*. In some other cases he prints different versions of poems in their entirety. In the case of "Es schlug mein Herz, geschwind zu Pferde," however, he gives neither the first printed version nor the final version, but a composite of these two and the manuscript fragment.

3. The three poems "aus Ossian" (I, 286-292). It was shown in Suphan's edition of Herder that these three translations were the work of Herder (XXV, 679f. and IV, 494). Goethe's version of parts of the second and third poems is found in its proper place in Morris's vol. II, p. 111ff., as the beginning of a letter to Herder. This portion of the letter was omitted in the first edition.

4. *Brief an Lottchen* (II, 35). It is now universally recognized to have been an error to think of Charlotte Buff as the Lottchen here addressed, and Morris will doubtless include the poem in vol. V.

5. Of the thirty-six contributions to the *Frankfurter gelehrte Anzeigen* Morris omits thirty-one altogether, the larger part of one other, and three paragraphs of the "Nachrede," leaving only three whole articles as they stood in the first edi-

tion. On the other hand, he inserts five others. Though it is impossible to decide with certainty what contributions to the periodical were the work of Goethe, it was long ago established that the list included in the *Ausgabe letzter Hand* is far from accurate. Morris evidently feels in no wise bound by Scherer's admonition to future editors (*Litteraturdenkmale*, VII, p. lxiixf.) not to make any additions to or omissions from the sacred text of that edition, but to reserve opinions and conjectures for introductions and appendices. Neither does he follow Witkowski's example in the Weimar edition, where the whole collection appears with two additions, the parts not accepted as Goethe's in smaller type, including all the articles of the year 1773. Morris only recently published a book of his own on the *Frankfurter gelehrte Anzeigen* and follows here the results of the investigations there reported. Inasmuch as his results differ so materially from those of Scherer, Biedermann, Witkowski, and others, we shall have to wait for his other volumes before passing final judgment on his reduction of the number of Goethe's certain contributions to ten.

6. A letter to Betty Jacobi (I, 397). No date is indicated in the *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Jacobi*, except that we may infer from the position given it by the editor either Nov. or Dec., 1773. In the Weimar edition (II, 127) Erich Schmidt gives as the probable date "Ende November, 1773." Von der Hellen accepts this date (*Goethes Briefe*, I, 152). Strehlke (*Goethes Briefe*, I, 303) dates it "Anf. Dezbr., 1773." As Erich Schmidt had the use of the manuscript letter for the Weimar edition I can see no reason for omitting it. Either Morris gives it a much later date or the omission is due to oversight.

When we consider the additions that he has been able to make to the 1875 list of documents we realize forcibly the large amount of material brought to light since that date, much, though by no means all, of it the result of the opening of the Goethe Archives in Weimar. By virtue of the enlarged scope of the compilation he inserts 143 *Gespräche*, using this term in a slightly broader sense than in the title of the new edition of *Goethe's Gespräche*, now appearing, where it comprises "Zeugnisse der Zeitgenossen." Morris includes records that establish dates in Goethe's life. These items are scattered through the four volumes, inserted at the end of the group of documents for each of the ten sub-periods, and are numbered consecutively from the beginning, like the letters, which are placed at the beginning of each group. For the same period the first volume of the revised *Goethe's Gespräche* has only 84 numbers, but this can be accounted for partly by Biedermann's somewhat narrower scope and his plan of arrangement, which



reserves for his fifth volume (not yet published) the numbers which he considers of interest and value only to specialists.

The list of new poems, beside those already mentioned, begins with the three addressed to Goethe's grandparents in 1757 and 1762, followed by verses written in the albums of his mother (1765) and Björkland (1766), the latter from the book *Annette*, with a few minor verbal changes. Next comes the book *Annette*, of which but two poems, *Ode an Herrn Professor Zachariae* and *Das Schreyen*, were published before 1875, the latter in a revised form in the *Neue Lieder* (1770). The collection made for Friederike Oeser is given in full (I. 243ff.), even though this involves repetition of all the numbers, which, under the circumstances, is justifiable. *An meine Lieder* (I, 364), first published in Schiller's *Musen-Almanach* (1799), later included among the poems (1806) with slightly different readings (the list given in the Weimar edition is incomplete), under the title *Am Flusse*, was, of course, well enough known in 1875, but it was not until shortly after the appearance of *Der junge Goethe* that Vollmer called attention to the fact that, in all probability, this poem was the one meant in the postscript of Goethe's letter to Schiller of the 30th of June, 1798, "Hierbei das älteste, was mir von Gedichten übrig geblieben ist. Völlig 30 Jahre alt." To be sure, Düntzer induced Vollmer to take it all back and accept his assertion that "die Stelle ohne den mindesten Zweifel auf *Die Laune des Verliebten* geht" (*Goethe's lyr. Ged. erl. von Düntzer*, 3te Aufl., IV, 126). But Vollmer's original suggestion is so well borne out by the internal evidence of the poem that it has been accepted by such men as Loeper, Scherer, von der Hellen, and Blume, whereas Düntzer's date for the poem, 1798, is nothing but a guess. Of the two poems, "Ob ich dich liebe, weiss ich nicht," and "Ach wie sehn' ich mich nach dir," published anonymously in the *Iris* in 1775, but first ascribed to Goethe by Bergk, in 1857, Hirzel included the latter, but not the former. Morris includes both, and rightly, as it seems to me, for the manuscript evidence in favor of Goethe's authorship (*cf.* Wahle, *l. c.*, 229 f.) is strongly supported by internal evidence, the lines "Seh ich nur einmal dein Gesicht, Seh dir ins Auge nur einmal, Frey wird mein Herz von aller Quaal" being so characteristic of Goethe that several parallels suggest themselves at once to one familiar with his lyrics. The rimed couplet, "Bald leuchtest du o Graf" (III, 77), was first published by Heuer, with facsimile of the manuscript, which contains a wood cut, in the *Jahrbuch des Freien Deutschen Hochstifts*, 1903, p. 296ff., as "die kürzeste und treffendste Rezension, die Goethe wohl je geschrieben." The two short poems, *Der Autor* (Was wär' ich Ohne dich Freund Publikum!) and *Der Welt Lohn* (Was du dem Publikum

gesagt), which Düntzer found in the *Wandsbecker Bothe* (1773) and was inclined to claim for Goethe (1857), were not accepted by Hirzel, but Morris includes them (III, 86). Wahle says (*l. c.*, 238): "*Der Welt Lohn* dürfte allenfalls unter die Gedichte zweifelhaften Ursprungs aufgenommen werden; bei dem andern ist Goethes Autorschaft ganz unwahrscheinlich." This was the opinion of Loeper (Hempel ed., III, 406). In the absence of thoroughly convincing evidence it would seem safer to include both under the head of "Zweifelhaftes." The fragment "Und fand als ich mich aufgerafft" (IV, 38) was first published in the Weimar edition (XXXVIII, 453) in 1897. Of the two new short poems (six and two lines) taken from *Lavater's Tagebuch* (IV, 100) the first (Wenn Du darnach was fragst) was not known till 1899, whereas the second (Wir werden nun recht gut geführt) had been published in 1854. *Des Künstlers Vergötterung* (IV, 101ff.), the original form of *Künstlers Apotheose*, was first published by Loeper in 1879, in *Briefe Goethe's an Sophie von La Roche und Bettina Brentano*, p. 55ff. The four lines beginning "In iammervolle Seelenfreuden" (IV, 165) were first published by Wahle (*l. c.*) in 1910. *Künstlers Erdenwallen* seems to be given in the two versions, that of the text as it first appeared in print in 1774 (III, 324ff.) and that of the manuscript found among the papers of Alma von Goethe (IV, 96ff.).

To the list of letters in the first edition Morris has been able to add over a hundred in the period covered by his first four volumes. Among these are, of course, the Leipzig letters to Cornelia (13) and Behrisch (20), first published (with a few errors) in Vol. VII of the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* in 1886. There were three to Sophie von La Roche in this part of the first edition, one of them, however, incomplete. Beside completing this one, Morris has twenty-eight more to add. These letters were first published, for the most part, in Frese's volume, *Goethe-Briefe aus Fritz Schlossers Nachlass* in 1877, and then in more reliable reading by Loeper in his volume, *Briefe Goethe's an Sophie von La Roche und Bettina Brentano*, in 1879. The chronology of these letters presents difficult problems, and Morris has in many cases assigned a date different from that given by the earlier editors, who by no means agreed with each other. One letter, Frese's No. 5 and Loeper's No. 6 (Weimar ed., II, 102) he would apparently date over a year later than the summer of 1773. Otherwise he has overlooked it. Two letters, published in *Goethe und Werther* as Nos. 88 and 83, and likewise as separate letters even as late as the Weimar edition, are printed by Morris as one letter (No. 196, vol. III, 72ff.), as they are by Philipp Stein and Eduard von der Hellen in their editions of selected letters. Of the poem entitled *Brief* in the

first edition (III, 169f.), all after the first two strophes Morris prints as a letter to Merck (IV, 150f. Cf. *Briefe an Merck*, I, 55, Anm.). The following number (278) in Morris' edition was to be found in the original edition as follows: the first two strophes at the beginning of the poem just referred to, the third and fourth as *Lied eines physiognomischen Zeichners*, at the beginning of a letter to Lavater (III, 83). There are any number of minor changes in the letters, new readings, restorations of Goethe's spelling, and the like, which it would take too much space to enumerate. Morris has reread all the extant manuscripts and this fact will give his text a special value.

The same is true of the poems and dramas, and his texts will hereafter have to be taken into account. In his "Vorwort" he claims to give for the first time in print the oldest form of *Die Laune des Verliebten und Götter, Helden und Wieland*.

When we consider the enormous amount of work involved in the collection and preparation of the material for this edition we realize that Morris has rendered future students of young Goethe a great service, that will result in broader and deeper knowledge in individual cases, and in a more general interest. The best commentary on the most of Goethe's works is an intimate knowledge of his experiences and interests during the time when he was at work on each creation. Morris's *Der junge Goethe*, a well annotated edition of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, and Gräff's *Goethe über seine Dichtungen* will be from now on the indispensable works for the study of Goethe before his departure for Weimar. Furthermore, the first named, and the last, of these works go a long way toward supplying the deficiencies of small Goethe libraries, since they contain so much important material which, without them, would have to be gathered from widely scattered sources.

What a delight it is to have in such convenient form, and chronologically arranged, everything that has come down to us from the most interesting period of Goethe's life! These documents speak to us with a directness, and leave us with an impression of the phenomenal development of the precocious child into the world-conquering literary giant, that no biography can hope to approach.

Inasmuch as all the critical apparatus that Morris will give in connection with his edition is to appear in the sixth volume, it is not easy to say as yet that a reading differing from those we are used to is a misprint. I have noted, however, the following:

II, 14: the date of the letter should be the 10th, instead of the 30th, according to Schöll, *Briefe und Aufsätze*, 47; *Aus Goethe's Frühzeit* 9; Weimar ed., I, 247.



III, 120, l. 1: insert "aus" between "sucht" and "eurer".  
l. 2: "Spengel" should be "Sprenkel".

The books are well printed, attractively bound, and sold at a commendably cheap price.

[I received the fifth volume of the edition after the above was lined, and hence too late for it to be included in this notice, further than the supplementary statement that the *Brief an Lottchen* appears on p. 255; the letter to Betty Jacobi, among the "Nachträge" (p. 481), which include, among other things, the quotations from *Belsazar* and *Die gekrönte Einsiedlerin* (Billeter's reading of this second title is *Die Königliche Einsiedlerin*), found in the recently discovered *Urmeister*; the letter to Sophie von La Roche, p. 13, the date assigned being nearly two years later than that of the first edition. None of the misprints noted appear in the six-page list given by Morris, p. 492ff.]

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DR. OTTMAR RUTZ: NEUE ENTDECKUNGEN VON DER MENSCHLICHEN STIMME. H. C. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, München, 1908. M. 5,—Geb. H. 6,—SPRACHE, GESANG UND KÖRPERHALTUNG, Handbuch zur Typenlehre Rutz. C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, München. 1911. M. 2, 80.

These two books contain fundamental discoveries which are of the greatest importance not only for singers, public speakers, actors, physiologists, psychologists, and phoneticians, but also and not in a minor degree for all philologists, historians of literature and finally, I dare say, for every man interested in the mysteries of nature and the human soul.

I shall never forget the day when I first became acquainted with the theories of Ottmar Rutz. We had been discussing, in a session of Sievers' Seminary in Leipzig, the question of authorship in several middle high German poems and one of the main criteria had been the question of "Stimmqualität." This means that works of different authors, when read aloud, can be discriminated thru the different quality and level of voice with which the reader involuntarily and unconsciously reads them. An observation made during that recitation was that one of the students believed himself compelled to read a certain poem in a sunk in position. The next time Sievers came in with Rutz's first book, "Neue Entdeckungen" . . . and gave in a short resumé the main ideas of Rutz's teaching. One of the most animated and interesting sessions followed, all of us taking sides pro and contra; for, prepared as we were, we immediately realized the enormous potentialities of these hypotheses. But already at



that time they were more than hypotheses and are still more now, because many have experimented with the theory since, and Rutz, as well as his mother, have, thru lectures and demonstrations, won a number of followers.

The quintessence of Rutz's teaching is this: All authors and musicians (and in fact all persons) can, according to their emotional disposition, be classified into three (theoretically four) types. These types are called the first or the Italian, the second or the German, the third or the French type, the terms being chosen because of the prevailing number of examples in the corresponding nationality.

Each type is subdivided in different classes as follows:

warm or cold  
heavy or light  
lyric or dramatic  
strongly developed or undeveloped.

To each of these types and classes corresponds the action of a certain abdominal muscle, if the respective emotion is to be expressed, and this is in fact the vital point of the whole theory.

The fundamental movement for the first type is:

the expansion of the abdomen in a horizontal direction,  
for the second: the pushing back of the muscles over the  
hips, and the pushing out of the chest toward the  
front;

for the third: the pushing downward of the abdominal  
muscles.

The warm or cold subtype is ascertained by the curving in  
or out of certain points on the waistline;

the heavy or light by the pushing out of the triangle be-  
tween the ends of the sternum and the floating ribs;

the dramatic or lyric by the drawing together or apart  
of the vertical muscles of the back on the waistline;

the strongly developed or undeveloped by the curving in  
of a point just above the navel.

All these movements are illustrated by photographs in Rutz's  
"Handbuch."

It never happens that the type of a person becomes changed unless he voluntarily or involuntarily take on another type in order to reproduce the emotional expressions of another person. Thus it follows that an actor or singer who wants to reproduce the works of an author, be it poet or musician, must go thru this change, if his own type does not happen to be the one of the respective author. If he neglect it, his voice will soon become tired, because he will try to do with his larynx what he can only do effectively with his abdominal muscles, and the results will be pressing of the larynx, break of registers and finally the ruin of his voice. Of course, some people

are more susceptible and unconsciously take the type of the work to be reproduced. But in general this phenomenon is quite rare, as Rutz shows thru a long list of performers whom he has observed on the stage. He saves us in addition the work of having to experiment and search for the types ourselves, giving a surprisingly extensive list of poets and musicians, classified according to their types and subtypes.

Here one may look for one's favorites and perhaps some will have the same experience I had, namely, to find them all in one column. I myself am a North German by birth and consequently one would expect my voice to be especially fitted for reading Storm, Reuter, Hebbel. Long before I knew anything about Rutz's theory I recited some of Hebbel's dramas and always noticed afterwards that the muscles of my abdomen ached just as after a heavy physical exercise, while I never had any such feeling with Goethe, C. F. Meyer or Keller. Later, after the *Neue Entdeckungen* had appeared, I wrote to Rutz about some details concerning his book and he gave me in return, simply from reading my letter, an exact analysis of my type (Italian type, cold and heavy subtype). I call it exact, because I can prove it not only by the sound of my voice, but by physiological observations of my own abdominal muscles.

I may mention another very interesting instance. All of Robert Schumann's works show the second type except the music to Heine's Grenadiers. As this melody closely follows the air of the Marseillaise, it adopts the third type throughout. Recent discoveries of Schammlberger and Sievers finally applied the theory to the works of painters and sculptors. Schammlberger noticed that he reacted upon Böcklin's pictures by performing the movements of the warm subtype of the third type, and it was found afterwards that Böcklin's letters in fact were to be classed in the same way.

All this may seem ridiculous to many people at first sight. To my mind it is almost uncanny. But when a simple gesture or the sad sound of their own voice can react upon some actors, that the tears come into their eyes; when a physiological process can convey feelings, when, on the other hand, fear and other emotions act upon lungs, heart and stomach, why should this seem any more miraculous? Why should it seem more so than the physiological or psychological effects of rhythm which we know and observe every day? We can revive feelings and ideas in their subtle shades from reading their expression from paper and print; we can give to this expression the proper rhythm and melody down to the finest detail. Is that any stranger than that they should at the same time convey a certain play of muscles which originally accompanied these expressions? And that it does not disagree with

the present state of our knowledge of psychology is shown by the interest and the friendly attitude which Wilhelm Wundt has given to this theory.

Of the perspectives this discovery opens I can only mention a few: actors and singers will give a more exact reproduction of works of art in voice and gesture, psychology will enlarge one of her branches considerably, history of literature will be enriched by criteria of influence perhaps and especially by criteria of authorship as Rutz has proven by his various investigations (the problem of the *Sesenheimer Lieder* Goethes is attacked by him for instance and "*Erwache Friederike*" recognized as Goethe's own only to the extent of the lines 1-4, 21-24, 33-36, 41-44). How far the ethnological conclusions which Rutz draws in his "*Neue Entdeckungen . . .*" are justifiable I can not judge. I should imagine that also for this field the discoveries ought to furnish helpful methodical means.

We look forward to Rutz's further publications and hope he will find increasing interest in America as well as in Europe.

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GRILLPARZERS WERKE IM AUFTRAGE DER REICHSHAUPT-UND RESIDENZSTADT WIEN HERAUSGEGEBEN VON AUGUST SAUER ERSTER BAND DIE AHNFRAU. SAPPHO, Gerlach und Wiedling, Wien und Leipzig. 1909.

The first volume of the historical-critical edition of Grillparzer's works has at last appeared. This is the edition which was projected by the late Dr. Lueger, mayor of Vienna, and which by a final ordinance of January, 1909, was undertaken under the aegis of the city. The eminent Grillparzer scholar, Professor August Sauer, is the editor.

The initial volume is in every way a credit to the city and to the editor. Binding, paper, type and arrangement are excellent. Volume 1 contains the two plays, "*Die Ahnfrau*" and "*Sappho*." Two versions of "*Die Ahnfrau*" are printed. The one is the first version after Grillparzer's own mss. and is reproduced with more diplomatic fidelity than when originally published by Kohm in 1903. The other, the normal text, after the final filing by Grillparzer's hand, shows a number of very interesting variations from Sauer's other version in the 5th Cotta edition. The changes include the addition and elimination of whole lines, important and helpful changes in punctuation (e. g., comma after *Dolch*, line 244) and some interesting variations in wording.



Especially noteworthy are the deleting of the supernatural phenomena attendant upon the appearance of the ancestress (stage direction after line 321), and the changing of lines 551 and 556 to tone down the ancestress' guilt. So: *War das Kind verborgner Sünde* becomes *Ein Denkmal ihrer Sünde* and *Die Sünde einer Nacht* is weakened to *Das Werk von Trug und Nacht*. Several lines used for the rime and which were padding fall out (e. g., 669). Before 635 two lines are added:

*"Ihr verzeihet wohl die Stunde  
Und die Weise meines Eintritts."*

For both this play and "Sappho" the whole critical apparatus is deferred to a later volume, so that a complete survey of the variants is impossible at this moment. The practice of putting the variants in a separate volume, as has been done in the Schmidt edition of Kleist and the Berlin Academy edition of Wieland, is one that does not especially recommend itself. It is even more unhandy where an edition is being published through so long a space of time. Where the variants are at the end of each volume, the work of the scholar is lightened and the general reader is not much hampered by the weight of the extra apparatus.

The present edition is to be divided into two parts. One series is to contain those works which contributed to Grillparzer's fame; the other will consist of the poet's diaries, studies, excerpts, his letters, the letters to him and all available public documents relating to him. Both series are to be in the hands of the public by 1915. While this division into two parts makes the work of the scholar more difficult because it prevents a rapid survey of all the material of any one period, it adds to the popularity of an undertaking which deserves every aid to its sale. In this case the scholar will yield more gracefully to the general reader than in the case of the apparatus.

The two series, in all about twenty-five volumes, will be treated somewhat differently in the matter of orthography. The first division will appear normalized, tho Grillparzer's own capitalization and punctuation, of which he had original theories, will be retained. Here, too, the first volume shows a number of changes over the 5th Cotta edition. The second series, with the material from Grillparzer's workshop, will not be normalized nor will any attempt be made to arrange the poet's studies under rubrics. Each series will maintain within itself a strict chronological order.

There is a general introduction to the whole edition in the first volume. This introduction takes up, in the main, the history of the edition and of Grillparzer editions in general. Besides this general introduction there are special introductions to each of the two plays in the volume. These treat



mainly questions of source and in places are decidedly polemic. For "Die Ahnfrau" Sauer shows that the robber source is probably not the French version of the Mandrin tale, but a German translation which circulated under Schiller's name. He also points out that "Die Blutende Gestalt," the probable second source, is an adaptation of a part of Lewis' "The Monk," but rejects with scorn Wyple's "proof" of its use by Grillparzer, because of the presence of a dog-eared copy said to have been in the poet's library.

On the question of the changes introduced by Schreyvogel, Sauer can hardly come to any other conclusion than that Grillparzer must be held responsible. Even so, as Sauer points out, the gauntlet of criticism which Grillparzer ran left him wounded and quivering at its undeserved fury against the fatalistic elements in the play. Sauer also points out in some detail that such criticism was often induced and fostered by literary cliques.

The interesting relation of "Sappho" to Wieland is pointed out, but Sauer rejects utterly the assumptions of Schwering that the "Sappho" of Franz von Kleist was a source of Grillparzer's play.

In conclusion it may truly be said that this edition, which gathers everything together in a fitting way and in worthy form, will easily supersede all previous collections. It will rank as a brilliant achievement with Werner's Hebbel and with a number of other recent German historical-critical editions.

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## DIE GEDRUCKTEN ENGLISCHEN LIEDERBÜCHER

BIS 1600. Wilhelm Bolle. Palaestra XXIX. Berlin, 1903.

We have here a complete text of all the Elizabethan Song-books before 1600 which have not been reprinted already in Mr. Arber's *English Garner* or elsewhere. The usefulness of such a collection is very great, if one considers the importance of this lyric literature that is now made perfectly accessible to all students. But in this volume we have more than the text; the author sums up or indicates in critical and biographical apparatus practically all that his predecessors have accomplished in the subject; nowhere else can the Elizabethan song-books be approached so conveniently, nor can any purely literary study of the song-books be expected to give us a better knowledge of them.

The author's treatment of the lyric is orthodox and conservative; and it is well at the outset to insist on his conscientious

thoroughness, for the subject of lyric poetry is so rich in unexplored or unsettled questions that these pages will suggest many different problems to each reader, and are likely to fail somewhat of the authority they deserve. In the main these questions will be unimportant, but one serious charge can be brought here, as against most study of the lyric, that it is done from the standpoint of the literary man, not the musician. In song-literature, whether or not the words and music are twin-born, they are at least closely related—how closely, it is one of the first duties of the critic to decide—and when the scholar chooses to investigate the words alone, it is always to be suspected that the music, had it entered into his reckoning, would have changed his results.

For example, in explaining here the origin of the Ayres (p. IV.), no account is taken of the influence of the lute in breaking down the old polyphonic music, an influence recognized by the musical historians (cf. *Oxford History of Music*, III., p. 16), and quite apparent in the original editions from the prominence given on the page to the lute music, as in Robert Jones' *First Book of Songs*, 1600. In this same Introduction the author divides this lyric poetry into classes natural to the literary critic, but unsatisfactory to the musician. We are told that there are three classes, the courtly reflective lyric, the courtly song-lyric, and the folk-song. In the second class, to name no other sub-divisions, we have the madrigal and the ayre, clearly distinguished as the single strophe sung to unaccompanied polyphonic music, and the succession of stanzas, each to the same repeated melody, accompanied by instruments. But the division, convenient as it is, implies that the sonnet is not set to music, and that the madrigals and ayres do not contain reflective lyrics; whereas Byrd's *Songs of Sundrie Natures*, here reprinted, contains several sonnets set in sections as madrigals, and many of the strict madrigals are reflective. The real question is where the line shall be drawn between the literary lyric and the song, or when did the sonnet form cease to be considered proper for musical setting—questions in the solution of which more than literary qualities are concerned; the secret is involved in the relation of words and music in general, which is not treated in this book.

After the Introduction, we have a summary of what is known of the relation of composer and poet in these songs. This subject is always fruitful of discussion, since the arts in Elizabeth's time are considered to have been intimate, and yet in the songs, with the exception of Campion's, we have little real evidence that poet and musician were closely associated. The author here gives us all the information accessible, from the literary standpoint; but how intimate the arts really were,

even when one man wrote both words and music, may be questioned by the critic who compares the elementary condition of the music with the high development of the poetry; it is hard not to believe that the song writers who were poets, even Campion, wrote what to them was poetry, rather than material for music. Certainly the popular reprinting of so many songs in *England's Helicon* would imply that the music was considered even then as the supplement of the words, not the complement.

The next section, dealing with the lives of the song writers, contains practically no material not found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, but frequently the same sources are more fully quoted. For different reasons Byrd, Morley and Dowland are particularly memorable among these musicians, and the quotations of sources in each case skillfully indicates the peculiarity of the career. In the life of Byrd there are some variations from the *Dictionary of National Biography*, as in the date of Tallis and Byrd's petition, p. XXI., and in the evident misprint of the date of Byrd's death, p. XXXII. And though the article is much expanded, it omits any mention of the number of pieces in Queen Elizabeth's Virginal Book usually ascribed to Byrd. For such a mention perhaps we could exchange the elaborate relation of the Shelley suit over the Stondon Place, which has no bearing on Byrd's musical career. The article on Morley is admirable for its discrimination; it justly notices but slightly the overfamed *Triumphs of Oriana* and lays proper weight on the *Plain and Easy Introduction*, the chief ground for Morley's reputation among contemporary musicians; the long passage quoted from it (pp. XXXVII-XLIV.) shows clearly the Elizabethan's idea of song writing. It is interesting, however, to see what is perhaps the classical controversy over accent and quantity, reflected in Morley's counsel to parallel the word quantity strictly in the music (p. XXXVIII.), advice which neither he nor any other successful song writer ever practised. Dowland is much more the practical musician than the theorist, and the long account of his life, with the quotations, brings out most clearly the reputation which these English musicians achieved on the Continent.

The following section, on the content and form of the Morleyan lyric, taken as typical of the madrigal, gives a tabulated summary of the themes treated, and a short index of the uses of monologue, apostrophe, and other figures. This is followed by an interesting discussion of the stanza and the rhythm in these songs. As the word-accent is clearly indicated by the rhythm of the music, such surprising results as are tabulated on p. CIII. perhaps seem more valuable than they really are; in all song writing the musical setting is an unsure indica-



tion of how the lines would be read as poetry. Fifteen pages devoted to the rhetoric of the songs complete this section.

Of the actual reprints of the songs, the principal part of the book, little need be said. Each reprint is prefaced with a description of the text in its original published form, and an account of previous collections of separate songs. Watson's *First Set of Italian Madrigals Englished*, Morley's *First Book of Canzonets*, 1595, and Yonge's *Musica Transalpina*, are annotated with the original Italian Madrigals from which the English songs were translated, so that comparison of the two versions is now easy for every student. The only misfortune of this reprint is that certain inaccuracies, probably printer's mistakes for the most part, render the text unauthoritative. The variations of spelling are numerous,<sup>1</sup> and it is frequently uncertain what voice-part the editor is following for the words. On p. 2 in the reprint of Byrd's *Psalms, Sonnets and Songs*, he states that in spelling he follows the Superius. Several of the other books reprinted have no Superius, and in Watson's *Italian Madrigals Englished*, 1590, which has a Superius, many lines (cf. ll. 1 and 4, p. 47) are wanting in that part and are supplied from the Tenor and Bassus. No mention is made of this by the editor. A short statement of his practice in such matters would have made the text more reliable, but even as it is, of course, it is sufficiently accurate for most students. At the end of the English text, several contemporary German translations are added.

These criticisms, as was suggested at first, are intended not as censure of this book, but as indications of the problems that remain to be investigated in lyric poetry. This book is the most serviceable contribution yet made to the literary study of this branch of the lyric; to improve upon it one would have to enter new fields and investigate actual song.

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JOHN ERSKINE.

## THE PLAYS AND POEMS OF GEORGE CHAPMAN.

Edited by T. M. Parrott. Volume I. The Tragedies. London: George Routledge & Sons. 1910.

A well edited complete edition of George Chapman's works has long been among the desiderata of students of the Elizabethan drama, an edition comparable to Bond's Lyly, Boas's Kyd and the now appearing variorum of Beaumont and Fletcher. The only complete edition that we have had, that of

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Dr. C. W. Hathaway of the U. S. Naval Academy for the use of his careful collation of several of these song-books with the originals, besides my own comparison of them.—J. E.



R. H. Shepherd, in 1874-5, is wanting in accuracy and unmodern in editorial methods. Moreover, the results of the research of the past thirty-five years necessarily leave Mr. Shepherd's work out of date. *The Comedies and Tragedies of George Chapman*, London, 1873, a collection that is complete except for the omission of *Chabot* and *Eastward Ho*, is open in general to the same objections as the Shepherd edition. No recent edition has had more than a few selected plays.

The aim of Professor Parrott's work is at once to "satisfy the demand of scholars for an accurate text and present the work of the noble old poet in a form suited to the general reading public." The edition is not made for the sole use of specialists in Chapman's work; yet it is painstakingly exact. It is also well suited to general readers of the drama, for a piece of editing need not, in order to be popular, be slipshod in workmanship or untrustworthy in results. That there is place—nay, demand—for such an edition of Chapman will hardly be denied.

The text of the eight tragedies has evidently received the utmost care. The early edition chosen as a basis has in no case been selected by accident or from motives either of convenience or sentiment. The first edition has in each instance been used, except in the case of *Bussy D'Ambois*, where the edition of 1641 presents Chapman's own revision of his text. Elaborate textual studies of the two Bussy plays,<sup>1</sup> the two Biron plays,<sup>2</sup> and *Alphonsus*<sup>3</sup> were exposed by the editor to scholarly attack in advance of the publication of this volume. Departures from the text of the selected edition are recorded in the text notes, as are the various readings of the old editions and some of the emendations advanced by modern editors.

The spelling and the punctuation have been modernized throughout. The author's actual language and grammar, however, are given without modernization. The frank compromise, made to satisfy the claims alike of the specialist and the general reader, is especially evident here. The editor has been commendably conservative in the matter of rearrangement of the verse lines, which is always a hazardous undertaking.

The *apparatus criticus* is, for the most part, well arranged. Each play has its separate introduction, explanatory notes, and text notes, totaling almost two hundred octavo pages. It is somewhat disappointing that the definition of individual words has, as a rule, been left to a glossary that will appear in the third volume. Obscurities in the text are, however, treated satisfactorily in the notes. There is no formal bibliog-

<sup>1</sup> In *Englische Studien*, vols. 38 and 39.

<sup>2</sup> In *Mod. Lang. Rev.* Oct., 1908.

<sup>3</sup> In *Anglia*, vol. XXX.

raphy either of editions or of criticisms of the plays, though at the head of the textual notes to each play mention is made of all independent texts.

The introductions to the various tragedies give a much fuller account of the stage history and the sources of the plays than can be found elsewhere. Professor Parrott includes not only the results of his own researches in this field, but also the comparatively recent discoveries of Boas, Koepfel, and others. The dates of composition of *Bussy* and *Revenge of Bussy*, 1603-4 and 1610-1611 respectively, are both later than the dates given in Schelling's *Elizabethan Drama*, in Stoll's "On the Dates of Some of Chapman's Plays," *Modern Language Notes*, 1905, and some other places. Yet Professor Parrott has clearly established his case with reference to *Revenge of Bussy*, and has made the later date of *Bussy* seem at least very probable. The date of Pasquier's *Les Recherches de la France*, the source of *Chabot*, has been given by Koepfel as 1621, and in this he has been followed by Ward, Schelling and others. The present editor is able to cite an edition of Pasquier of the date 1611 that is identical with the later edition. In many other points, Professor Parrott's work records additional information and correction of early errors that have been discovered either by himself or by some one else.

The presentation of Chapman's theory and practice of tragedy is the best that we have. For example, the comparison of *Caesar and Pompey* with Shakespeare's and Jonson's Roman tragedies is clarifying and convincing. Chapman's purpose is shown to be that of embodying "in dramatic form an ethical idea" as distinctly as Shakespeare's purpose was to make historical characters real and dramatically alive and Jonson's aim was to present a realistic picture of a certain phase of life. Again, in his treatment of the commonplace connexion of *The Revenge of Bussy* and *Hamlet*, Professor Parrott shows that the relation was fundamentally not one of imitation but of carefully planned contrast, and that in Clermont D'Ambois, Chapman has put forward his ideal avenger over against Hamlet and other heroes of the tragedy of revenge.

The criticism may be made of the treatment of Chapman's theory of tragedy that Chapman's eccentricities are rather too much normalized and his inconsistencies reconciled. Chapman's want of inventive and constructive power and the "invincible coarseness in his fiber" are made hardly sufficiently evident. Even this, however, is largely due to the editor's real understanding of Chapman's general viewpoint and to his analysis and appreciation of the dramatist's work from this point of view.

The introductions to the tragedies of divided or doubtful authorship in the Chapman canon, *Chabot*, *Alphonsus*, and *Revenge for Honour*, deal fully with the problems of authorship. The editor has no new theories to offer here; such originality as he introduces is that of new details of evidence to support his chosen theory. The problem of the Shirley-Chapman amalgamation in *Chabot* receives close scrutiny. The separation of the Shirley and Chapman parts is based on tests of diction, style, verse-measure, and general point of view. The general conclusion that Shirley revised a Chapman play will hardly be questioned. The separation made here is usually plausible and in many cases cannot reasonably be questioned. The task is, however, delicate, and the editor has attempted a niceness of division that, in the nature of the case, is very difficult of fulfillment. He says with regard to III, ii, 133, "This line looks to me suspiciously like an insertion of Shirley," and with regard to V, iii, 206-9, "It is possible that the obscurity of the last four lines is due to his (Shirley's) taking over a bit of Chapman which he did not understand, and which he rewrote in such a way as to give more sound than sense." These statements, left as they are without substantiation, are hardly more than mere guesses. The repudiation of Chapman's connection with either *Alphonsus* or *Revenge for Honour* will, it is to be hoped, be finally accepted.

If the forthcoming volumes of Chapman's comedies and poems respectively equal this volume of tragedies, the work should be for many years the authorized edition of Chapman. The mastery of the subject shown by the editor is unusually complete. The text is accurate. The criticisms are enlightening and free from eccentricity and from scholarly bias. In short, the volume should be generally acceptable to students of the Elizabethan dramas.

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D. L. THOMAS.

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STUDIES IN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN CELEBRATION OF THE SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY OF JAMES MORGAN HART, NOVEMBER 2, 1909. New York. Henry Holt and Company. 1910.

A fitting recognition of the services of Professor James Morgan Hart to the study of English is made in this volume, presented to him by his former students. The variety among the eighteen articles which the book contains reminds us of Professor Hart's varied interests. His disciples are obviously many men of many minds, who are here united in a recogni-

tion of their master as one who has worked through the pioneer days of American scholarship without developing the pioneer's narrowness and austerity. The energy of his legal mind and his thorough training in French and German have served to distinguish him as well from the insular professor of English of the old régime. In point of fact we suspect that Professor Hart has continued to be, in an inclusive sense of the phrase, what at one time he was entitled, a professor of modern languages. For his achievements as such, and more particularly for his highly esteemed services of many years on the editorial staff of *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, we extend to him our congratulations.

Some idea of the contents of this *Festschrift* may be conveyed by the mention of such varied articles as "A Middle-Irish Fragment of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*," by Dr. Edward Godfrey Cox, and "Contemporary American Philosophy," by Professor Thilly. One passes now from an earnest protest by Mr. Fordham of the New York Bar against the jargon of lawyers to Dr. Antoinette Greene's "Index to the Biblical Names in the English Mystery Plays"; and again from Dr. Monroe's "Textual Notes on Layamon" to Professor Northrup's pleasant essay on "Addison and Gray as Travelers." A pedagogical paper is contributed by Dr. Alma Blunt, whose experience with an "Elementary Course in Old English" at the Michigan State Normal College shows the value of philological training to a teacher of teachers, and the possibility of interesting the philologically untrained in *laut- and formenlehre*. Her plan is to enliven the study by a constant reference to modern English grammar and to the grammars of other languages. The obvious opportunity which the teacher of Anglo-Saxon has here is only too often lost sight of in university classes. The student of Meredith and he who would listen to the cathedral voices of literary criticism will find references to a chorus of these in Dr. Bailey's more than six pages of fine print given to "periodical articles concerning Meredith and his works." Professor Christobel Fiske's "Old English Modification of Teutonic Racial Conceptions" seemed to us in the main uncritical in presenting with equal confidence the generally accepted and what may be open to doubt. In a singularly sensitive characterization of the versification of Carew, Charles J. Semberow comes to the conclusion that Carew's "choicest effect, perhaps, and the one most peculiarly his own, is that arch pretense of logic which, step by step, shows the amorous acceptance to be a matter of necessity. It is the intellect decking itself in the garb of fancy; the illative sense at play with sentiment."



Among the articles which invite more extended comment is Professor Strunk's "The Importance of the Ghost in Hamlet." We are inclined to associate this substantive contribution to Hamlet commentary with Professor Stoll's admirable attempts to rescue Shakespeare from the critics. Dr. Strunk insists that the Ghost is not only a protagonist in the play but that he speaks from "sources of information denied to mortals." Where much is dark "we may look to the words and actions of the ghost as our sole infallible guide in interpreting the play." The drama, of course, does not raise the question whether murder is ever justifiable; "the chief test to be applied to Hamlet's conduct throughout the play is, simply, with what degree of efficiency and fidelity does he devote himself to this sacred duty [killing Claudius]." Less plausibly Dr. Strunk interprets "taint not thy mind" as meaning "do not brood over thy griefs, do not yield to melancholy." Does it not rather mean specifically: harbor no unnatural thoughts in regard to your mother. Inasmuch as Hamlet's recognition of the Ghost had been complete, the author says rightly that the play within the play can be regarded only as temporizing; Hamlet, according to the moral standard of the play, should have killed the king at his prayers. The fact that the Ghost does not appear after the third act Dr. Strunk interprets as "a plain inference" that "intervention is no longer necessary, that Hamlet's course, reckless as it may seem, particularly to those who wish, like Goethe, to conceive of him as a tender, fragile, or flower-like creature, unfitted to take risks or confront dangers, leads directly to the fulfillment of his task." Whatever we may think of his interpretation in detail, Dr. Strunk makes it very clear that the Ghost is so far the best of the Hamlet critics.

Professor Emerson's "Date of the Knight's Tale" offers historical evidence in confirmation of that which Professor Lowes presented some time ago for assigning the Knight's Tale to the early eighties (1381-2) as opposed to Tatlock's 1384-6. While admitting the great interest of Professor Emerson's paper, we think the passage he quotes—"By processe and by lengthe of certeyn yeres, etc."—provided for in part by Teseide XII, st. 3, furnishes no very sure foundation for his argument. This is in brief that "To have with certein contrees alliaunce" alludes to the treaty with Bohemia signed May 2, 1381, which really comprehended a pact with the papal states and Italy. Even if we grant that the passage is something more than an easy extension of Boccaccio's lines, we might question whether Professor Tatlock's criticism of Lowes's historical argument might not apply here as well: "The incident may well have sprung vividly to mind two or three years later." At best such evidence can fix chronology only at one end. Professor Emerson

is certainly overconfident in concluding "that the last part of 1381 or the first months of 1382" is "the certain date for the composition of Chaucer's Knight's Tale." He finds "confirmation of the date in the description of Palamon in language that would be certainly true of Richard, 'He is a kinges brother sone pardee,'" and in Theseus' (Wenceslaus?), addressing Emily (Anne?) as "suster" (l. 3075). In the main, we think that Professor Emerson has put the chapter of history which he here utilizes to better account in his recent valuable modification of Koch's interpretation of the *Parlement of Foules*.

The contributions to the volume which we have not mentioned are: "Thomas Forde's *Love's Labyrinth*," by Professor Joseph Quincy Adams; "The Power of the Eye in Coleridge," by Professor Lane Cooper; "Some Scottish Influences on Eighteenth Century Literature," by the late Dr. Albert Davis; "Alfred the Great in Popular Tradition," by Professor George Harley McKnight; "The Celtic Rite in Britain," by Dr. Mary Aloysia Molloy, and "The Plays of Edward Sharpham," by Professor Martin Wright Sampson.

H. S. V. JONES.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF TIMON OF ATHENS. By Ernest Hunter Wright, Ph.D. New York. The Columbia University Press. 1910. (Cloth, 8vo, pp. viii, 104. \$1.25.)

In this thesis Dr. Wright attempts two important things: to divide the text of *Timon of Athens* between Shakespeare and the unknown author; and then, with that as a basis, to establish the priority of Shakespeare's part. Such problems, of course, cannot be solved with absolute certainty; yet Dr. Wright has assembled the evidence, often abundant and cumulative, so as to make the conclusion that Shakespeare wrote first seem quite convincing. Of originality, naturally, there is little; the presentation, however, is excellent; and although, as I shall try to show, the thesis is open to some adverse criticism, it is, in large, a sane discussion of the problem.

In the division of the text between Shakespeare and the unknown writer, Dr. Wright necessarily follows, in the main, his predecessors. Not altogether, however. Fleay gave to the unknown author every prose passage in the play, for no other reason, it seems, than that they were prose. Students of *Timon* will gladly assent to a readjustment of a division made on such lines. Yet Dr. Wright seems too ready to assign a prose passage to Shakespeare "just because he wrote the body of the scene."

Let us examine his departures from the conventional distribution of the text.

In act I, scene i, he is inclined to give to Shakespeare the "you're another" Apemantus passages: "The evidences lean to Shakespeare's side—create a probability, at least, that Shakespeare is responsible for all that Apemantus says or does in the first scene." This is a matter of individual judgment; yet to the present writer it seems highly unlikely that the conventional attribution of the passages to the inferior author is wrong. What Apemantus "does" is exactly contrary to Shakespeare's express statement:

Subdues and properties to his love and tendance  
All sorts of hearts; yea, from the glass-faced flatterer  
To Apemantus, that few things loves better  
Than to abhor himself: even he drops down  
The knee before him, and returns in peace  
Most rich in Timon's nod.

As for what Apemantus "says"—surely that is too poor to have come from Shakespeare in 1607-8. Moreover, the cheap wit of Apemantus (which Dr. Wright calls "clever chiding") belittles the character of Timon and spoils the noble dignity of the opening scene. Since the unknown author elsewhere wrote and interpolated exactly such prose passages (II, ii, 47f.; IV, iii, 292f.), should we not place upon him the responsibility for these?

In his anxiety to assign III, i and III, ii to Shakespeare, Dr. Wright, I think, exaggerates the importance of the esthetic evidence. The two scenes may possibly have been written by Shakespeare (after he had produced *Hamlet* and *Lear*!); at the same time there is no esthetic evidence to indicate that they may not have been written by the unknown expander. They do Shakespeare little credit, especially if it be remembered that they offer to a dramatist excellent possibilities for noble language; for example, when the servant flings the "three solidares" back at the wealthy Lucullus, and being left on the stage gives utterance to a soliloquy on ingratitude. The fact that Dr. Wright's subsequent theory makes necessary the attribution of these two scenes to Shakespeare on esthetic grounds does not strengthen our faith in his judgment of the esthetic evidence. For the same reason, also, we are suspicious of his finding that the third dunning scene (III, iii) was not written by the author of the preceding dunning scenes (III, i, and ii). Mr. Deighton, whom Dr. Wright quotes with approval to substantiate his claims,<sup>1</sup> assigns *all three* scenes to Shakespeare—

<sup>1</sup> But Dr. Wright does not deal altogether fairly with the reader when he declares (p. 40): "Now the prose is in the Lucius and Lucullus scenes; the verse is found in the Sempronius scene." The truth is that both verse and prose appear in each of the three scenes.

that is, did not find any esthetic reason for dividing their authorship. That Mr. Deighton is probably right in regarding all three dunning scenes as by one author the reader may judge for himself by comparing the last part of scene ii with the first part of scene iii. To the present writer it seems (1) that if the third scene be printed as prose, it is technically as good as the first two scenes; (2) that the esthetic evidence does not clearly suggest Shakespeare as the author of the first two scenes; (3) that there is no esthetic evidence to show that the unknown author did not write all three dunning scenes. The contention, be it observed, is not that Shakespeare did not write the first two scenes (he may have done so), but that "the esthetic judgment" leaves us genuinely doubtful—does not "clear the way" as satisfactorily as the author assumes, especially later in the essay.

Again Dr. Wright is inclined to attribute to Shakespeare all of the mock-banquet scene, III, vi. This is open to grave doubt. One feels impelled to give to the unknown writer lines 57-94; the mock blessing uttered by Timon over the table laden with empty dishes and surrounded by false friends would have inspired Shakespeare to something worthy of the situation. But the mock blessing is, in view of the possibilities, little short of inane. Again, lines 116-132, besides being very poor, exhibit in their references to stones and blows exactly the kind of inconsistencies that the unknown writer is guilty of throughout the play.

On page 48 Dr. Wright correctly places the end of the spurious passage (IV, iii, 292f.) as line 376 instead of 362. And on page 50 he ascribes the entire Banditti Scene to Shakespeare with great plausibility. On pages 52-53 he attempts to give to Shakespeare V, i, 1-57, which heretofore has been assigned to the inferior writer. Surely Dr. Wright failed to read lines 43-57, which are unmistakably in the worst manner of the unknown writer:

*Tim.* [Aside] I'll meet you at the turn. What a god's gold,  
That he is worshipp'd in a baser temple  
Than where swine feed!  
'Tis thou that rigg'st the bark and plough'st the foam,  
Settlest admired reverence in a slave:  
To thee be worship! and thy saints for aye  
Be crown'd with plagues that thee alone obey!  
Fit I meet them.

One cannot believe that Shakespeare, in "the tragic disillusion of a noble, expansive, and confiding nature, finding vent in half-frenzied invective against the world," wrote so poorly on the subject of gold, especially when he had Timon for a mouthpiece.



In the second part of the thesis—the attempt to establish the priority of Shakespeare's work—Dr. Wright's trump card is a highly important consideration of the ten lines of prose in II, ii. He approaches this "very keystone" of his thesis on page 39. Unfortunately his first statement is incorrect: "Without exception critics give these lines to the inferior author." Fleay, it is true, thought the lines spurious; yet Furnivall in the same year<sup>2</sup> (1874) showed good reasons for doubting this ("I altogether doubt this"), and subsequent editors have generally followed Furnivall. See, for instance, Rolfe's edition of *Timon* in which the parts of the two authors are distinguished by different type; and compare his long note on the passage. This error leads to a number of subsequent misstatements, weakens a part of the argument (cf., for instance, pp. 40-41), and gives a false impression of originality to this part of the thesis.

Dr. Wright puts his theory thus: "The present argument, however, will depart from the accepted belief that the ten lines are spurious; in fact, the very keystone of the argument will be a theory that all but one of them belong to Shakespeare." The line that he judges spurious is the command to the third servant, "You to Sempronius." Yet even this is not so new as Dr. Wright seems to think. Furnivall, the first man to discuss Fleay's theory, suggested it: "I therefore believe that Shakespeare wrote those few prose words ordering the servants to go to Lucius and Lucullus (and possibly Sempronius), as well as the Steward to go, first to the Senators, and then—that having been already tried—to Ventidius. It is quite possible that the expander of the play put in the sentence 'You to Sempronius' (the third friend), for Shakespeare has not introduced a third servant by name."<sup>3</sup> Obviously Furnivall not only assigns the prose passage to Shakespeare, but also suggests as "quite possible that the expander of the play put in the sentence 'You to Sempronius.'" The theory, therefore, is not new.

What Dr. Wright does is (1) to show that the theory Furnivall thought "quite possible" is really "quite probable"; and (2) to point out the important bearing of this theory on the question of priority in authorship.

The immediate context, as Dr. Wright points out, seems to show clearly that the sentence "You to Sempronius" was a later insertion. But Dr. Wright goes further. He cuts out the sentence just quoted, and also the preceding phrase, "I hunted

<sup>2</sup>*The New Shakspere Society Transactions*, 1874. Dr. Wright's error is all the more difficult to explain because on page 40, in another connection, he quotes from Furnivall's essay, even a part of the very paragraph in which Furnivall rejects Fleay's attribution.

<sup>3</sup>*The New Shakspere Society Transactions*, 1874, pp. 234-44.

with his honor today," and discovers that "the passage settles into blank verse." Since this is confessedly the master stroke of the thesis, I give here the passages concerned. The following are the lines as ordinarily printed:

*Timon.* And, in some sort, these wants of mine are crown'd,  
That I account them blessings; for by these  
Shall I try friends. You shall perceive how you  
Mistake my fortunes; I am wealthy in my friends.  
Within there! Flavius! Servilius!

*Enter three Servants.*

*Ser.* My lord? my lord?

*Timon.* I will dispatch you severally: you to Lord Lucius; to Lord Lucullus you, I hunted with his honour to-day; you to Sempronius; commend me to their loves, and I am proud, say, that my occasions have found time to use 'em toward a supply of money. Let the request be fifty talents.

*Flam.* As you have said, my lord.

*Steward.* Lord Lucius and Lucullus! Humh!

Dr. Wright, having removed the two sentences referred to, prints the passage as blank verse:

*Tim.* I will dispatch you severally:  
You to Lord Lucius; to Lord Lucullus you;  
Commend me to their loves, and I am proud, say,  
That my occasions have found time to use 'em  
Toward a supply of money. Let the request  
Be fifty talents.

The reader must judge for himself whether this is better called blank verse or prose; and if blank verse, whether it is good enough to have been written by Shakespeare. The present writer must confess himself unable to decide, for often rhythmical prose may be thrown into rough blank verse; for example, the sentence in which Dr. Wright begins to comment on this passage—"But mark how all the evidence confirms the reconstruction, and how the blunders now explain themselves"—has a better iambic movement than any sentence in the passage cited as blank verse. The reconstruction, though clever, is not wholly convincing. Fortunately the probability of the theory is not dependent on this spectacular bit of evidence; for, as I have stated, the immediate context makes reasonably certain the inference that the phrase "You to Sempronius" was a later insertion.

Let us grant as beyond all doubt that Shakespeare ordered the servants to go to Lucius and Lucullus. Does this prove that Shakespeare wrote the scenes between the servants and these men? Surely it indicates only that he meant to write these scenes. Yet Dr. Wright somewhat confidently asserts: "It shifts the logical necessity to Shakespeare's side, and forces us to follow the esthetic judgment that those scenes are his";

"that same logical necessity, moreover, which will give the two preceding scenes (iii, i and ii) to Shakespeare. . . ." etc. The reader naturally rebels at being driven in this fashion.

Equally illogical is Dr. Wright's belief that "Shakespeare probably did write the scene [of the refusal of money by Ventidius] out, and that the other author cut it and replaced it with his own Sempronius scene." How does he arrive at this startling conclusion? "Surely Shakespeare meant to write that scene; and there is therefore a presumption that he actually wrote it. [Yet Dr. Wright's whole contention is that Shakespeare left the play in an unfinished condition.] Now the second author had good reason to cut the scene if it was before him. We have seen how he had nullified it. Having made Ventidius previously offer to return Timon's loan unasked, he could hardly show him spurning an appeal for the money in a later scene. [Dr. Wright evidently thinks that the unknown author would prefer to create a new character and write a new scene, rather than alter a few lines at the beginning of i, ii. If the Ventidius scene existed in manuscript, the unknown writer would not have nullified it, and thus have "undermined the plot," "sanctioned an abortion," and "subverted" Shakespeare's purpose, besides putting himself to an extraordinary amount of trouble. Finally, if the scene existed at all, according to Dr. Wright himself, it must have been a powerful one: "Surely—after the other friends of Timon have deserted—he meant to show Ventidius denying the request. Such a refusal would have put the climax on the ingratitude of Timon's friends. . . . Shakespeare apparently meant to make it a climactic scene." Yet with this magnificent, climactic scene before him in full, the unknown writer, Dr. Wright would have us believe, first undermined it, then, rather than alter a few words, threw it away, created a new character, and wrote a new scene to take its place.] It is altogether probable that that scene was before him in Shakespeare's writing; that he cut it and replaced it with his own Sempronius scene—making some effort to repair the break by just mentioning therein that Ventidius had proved faithless; and that these were the only reasons why he brought Sempronius into the play at all."

The final chapter on "Shakespeare's Plot" is an ingenious attempt to reconstruct the play as Shakespeare must have conceived it. This chapter is not only very interesting, but is highly valuable, and, like the rest of the thesis, is written in a most pleasing style.

A few notes and corrections may be added:

Pp. 18, 21. Dr. Wright fails to observe that Shakespeare may have had access to Lucian in numerous Latin translations.

P. 62. "But in the prose itself this name [Flavius] turns to Flaminius," and so frequently. It should be noted, however, that the transformation occurs only in one catchword, *Fla.* becoming *Flam.* This weakens the force of the statement just a trifle, for the possibility of a printer's error cannot be wholly ignored.

Pp. 98, 104. For "Josiah" read "Joseph."

P. 103. To the bibliography add: Fritsche, F. V. "De Timone Luciani et Shakespearii" (Adversaria Pars IV) Progr. acad. Rostoch, 1870.

*Cornell University.*

JOSEPH QUINCY ADAMS, JR.



## PERSONAL

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Professor A. R. Hohlfeld delivered a series of four lectures at the University of Cincinnati, March 6 to 11, on the Ropes Comparative Literature Foundation.

On March 31, the celebration of the founding of the Carl Schurz Memorial Professorship at the University of Wisconsin took place.

An article entitled "Der Schlüssel in der Mütterscene" by Professor Wahl of Williams College will appear in the next number of the Goethe-Jahrbuch (number 32).

A study of the Syntax of the Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon by Professor Morgan Callaway of the University of Texas will probably be published during the present year. The volume, about 300 pages in length, will embody the results of several years of investigation and will cover the grammar of the Old English infinitive in all its relations.

Dr. Robert Adger-Law's edition of *Romeo and Juliet* in the Arden Series will appear this year.

Dr. Harold De W. Fuller has been conducting Professor Spingarn's courses at Columbia University since Professor Spingarn resigned.

## ERRATA

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We wish to call attention to the following errata in Professor Stoll's article on Shylock (Journal, April, 1911):—

- Page 242, line 4, delete "noted" and transpose "avowed."
- Page 243, line 1, a comma after "day."
- Page 244, note, for "262" read "237."
- Page 247, line 18, for "adjuring" read "abjuring."
- Page 253, line 14, for "limit" read "hint."
- Page 253, note 41, read "Lagarde"
- Page 254, note 43, read "Lacroix."
- Page 255, note 51, for "Anglicanac" read "Anglicanæ."
- Page 258, note 61, insert a comma after "notice."
- Page 265, line 8 from foot, for "word" read "world."
- Page 267, line 4 from foot, for "heaps" read "heap."
- Page 273, line 7 from foot, commas after "presume" and "noted."
- Page 275, note 112, for "264" read "239."
- Page 276, note 114, for "1" read "237" and for "264" read "239."

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## THE INDEBTEDNESS OF MADAME DE STAËL TO AUGUST WILHELM SCHLEGEL.

In a long and interesting article entitled "Frau von Staël's Buch 'De l'Allemagne' and Wilhelm Schlegel"<sup>1</sup> a leading German critic, Oscar Felix Walzel, has compared Madame de Staël's book with the writings of the German Romantic School, especially with those of Wilhelm Schlegel, and because there were some resemblances in content, he has inferred that the work of the French woman more or less reflected the views of A. W. Schlegel. In referring to the romantic movement in both Germany and France he declares: "If indeed the two revolutionary epochs in literature, which, though associated in name, hardly admit of comparison, have a common element, if indeed relations have ever existed between the two, then the historian and the philologist can establish this fact beyond all dispute only in the way that has been indicated, and thus only can he open up progressively a sure path of historic dependence from Schlegel through the book of Madame de Staël to Victor Hugo."<sup>2</sup> And then he sums up his discussion in the following words: "Mme. de Staël has maintained her independence, where she had to judge of poets and poetry. In almost all questions of culture, science, religion and of plastic art she has gone over into the camp of the romanticists. When she propounds views that do not accord with those of the romanticists, then these are presented mostly as the acquisitions of older times, as the products of her relations with Villers and his circle. She criticises best and most correctly when she relies entirely on herself. With right V. Rossel has lately voiced the opinion: 'She has not comprehended very well this nation, both dreamy and practical at the same time; she has explained better its literature than its customs, better its literary genius than its moral basis.' In re-

<sup>1</sup> Forschungen zur neueren Litteraturgeschichte Festgabe für Richard Heinzel, Weimar 1898.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 279.

gard to literature she has spoken from her own soul; in regard to everything else she lent an ear to the whisperings of others. In the former instance she judged rightly, at least upon the whole; in the latter instance we must ever reproach her. But finally these reproaches apply not to Mme. de Staël herself, but to her guides from the romantic and the anti-romantic camp.”<sup>3</sup>

To me this conclusion would seem very probable, if there were not other earlier factors and influences to show that Mme. de Staël did not blindly reflect the ideas of her friends. I leave entirely out of discussion her German ancestry, her liberal Protestant faith that was broad and generous enough to honor all religious creeds, her efficient and thorough educational training, her constant association with Anglomans, gallicised Germans and revolutionary Frenchmen, her extensive correspondence with literary “emigrants” and with noted foreigners, her keen interest in Richardson, Goethe’s “Werther” and especially in Rousseau, the subject of her first truly critical work; and shall devote my attention chiefly to a book written before the time she began the serious study of German culture and before her acquaintance with the Schlegels—viz., “*De la littérature considérée dans ses rapports avec les institutions sociales*” (1800). This book, strange to say, Walzel seems to have overlooked entirely.

To the similarity in the fundamental conception of this work with “*De l’Allemagne*,” Lady Blennerhassett has already referred<sup>4</sup> but she has not traced out the likeness. The purpose of this discussion will be to show that some of the very ideas which Madame de Staël is supposed to have derived from Schlegel are already contained in her former work and that “*De l’Allemagne*” is but a broader, more detailed and more thorough delineation of the essential characteristics of German life and culture as Mme. de Staël had already conceived them before she went to Germany in 1803-4.

It will be remembered that the book “*De la Littérature*” was written by her to counteract the general feeling of disappoint-

<sup>3</sup> P. 333.

<sup>4</sup> *Frau von Staël, ihre Freunde und ihre Bedeutung in Politik und Litteratur*, 3 vols. Berlin 1887-9.



ment caused by the failure of the French Revolution, and to show that by the study of literature and of philosophy a new future might arise from this chaos of shattered hopes and institutions. It is in this book that we recognize for the first time her remarkable gift of penetrating into the very heart of her time, of understanding the general course of human culture, and of divining the true forces that were to bring about a regeneration of her nation and of humanity in general. And what is of great value, even in this book she discovers these forces in the philosophy and literature of Germany. Mme. de Staël was fully aware, not only of the sterility of the French literature and of the decay of its civilization, but also of the causes that had brought them about. She says: "We have now reached a period in which the character of the people resembles in some respects that which prevailed at the time of the fall of the Roman empire and of the invasion from the North. At this time the human race had need of enthusiasm and of austerity. The more depraved the manners of France are at the present day, the nearer the French approach to a disgust at vice and to an irritation against the endless calamities arising from immorality. The inquietude which now torments them will end in an animated and decided sentiment, of which great writers ought to avail themselves beforehand. The epoch of a return to virtue is not far distant, and already the heart yearns for uprightness, even if reason has not as yet insured its triumph.

"If we would succeed in works of imagination, we must offer a mild morality in the midst of severe manners; but when the manners are corrupt, we must constantly hold up to view an austere morality. This general maxim is still susceptible of a more particular application to our age." <sup>5</sup>

This quotation proves indeed that Mme. de Staël realized the dire defects of her own nationality, and was seeking means of counteracting and overcoming these evils. With the intuitive genius of a prophetess she had divined out of her inner consciousness and her own inner experiences the intellectual and

<sup>5</sup> *Oeuvres Complètes*, edited by Baron Auguste de Staël, 3 vols. Paris, 1844. De la Littérature, part 2, chap. 5, p. 312.

moral forces necessary to restore life to the decaying French civilization. Despite the fact that she then knew of German literature but a few works and those only through translation she had grasped its essential spirit with remarkable clearness. Filled with this spirit she developed principles and conceptions that coincided essentially with those of the German Romantic School, of whose beginning existence she knew nothing at this time. This seems another proof of the fact that the main ideas of this school were rooted in the Storm and Stress period.

In her present work, the central idea of which is "perfectibility," human progress constant and increasing from age to age, Mme. de Staël devotes a chapter to the discussion of German literature.<sup>6</sup> But before I summarize its contents I wish to state briefly the main tenets of her standards of criticism as set forth in this early work and then compare them with those of "*De l'Allemagne*." The theory of her intellectual dependence on Schlegel will lose one of its strongest supports can it be proved that these critical standards are essentially the same in both works, and tinged with Romanticism before she had met its German apostle.

I begin with the drama. As is well known, the French classic drama, grouped around the names of Corneille, Racine, and Molière, involved the principles of poetic diction as formulated by Ronsard, Malherbe and Boileau, to which must be added the Aristotelian law of dramatic unities. Of the three dramatists, Racine is considered ultraclassical by Mme. de Staël. She admires his purity of style and characterizes him as "the author who has attained the highest degree of perfection in style, in poetry and in the art of painting the beautiful in idea."<sup>7</sup> But she acknowledges the lack of feeling in his dramas. "Even Racine himself was somewhat deficient in the knowledge of the human heart, under those relations which philosophy alone can render evident."<sup>7</sup> Moreover, as this master of style "himself sometimes sacrifices style to the rhyme, to the hemistich and to

<sup>6</sup> Part I, chap. 17.

<sup>7</sup> Part I, chap. 19, p. 283.

the meter,"<sup>8</sup> Mme. de Staël questions whether the highest art of expression is always compatible with the exigencies of French versification.

In the age of Louis XIV, she says, the aim of authors had been merely perfection of style, but in the eighteenth century literature in France became a power as well as an art, in the hands of Voltaire and of Rousseau. As a poet Voltaire is inferior to Racine in style, but as a dramatist he has furthered the development of that art, because he portrays the *emotions* (!) with more energy than his predecessors, and because the characters and incidents in his dramas arouse more sympathy in the audience. "The tragedies of Voltaire are therefore most strongly *felt*; those of Racine are most admired." "Phèdre inspires astonishment and enthusiasm, but her character is not that of a woman of sensibility and delicacy. We remember Tancrede as a hero whom we had known, as a friend whom we had regretted."

But Voltaire was not a reformer; his aim was to enlighten society, not to change it. An aristocrat, he loved grandeur and royalty and delighted in animated grace and in exquisite taste of expression. \*He could not call forth from the heart the primitive passions of man. That was the mission of Rousseau. As Mme. de Staël writes: "Rousseau discovered nothing but he set everything on fire; and the sentiment of equality, which is productive of more disturbances than the love of liberty, and which gives birth to inquiries of a totally different order and to events of a far more terrible nature; the sentiment of equality, both in its grandeur and in its pettiness, is portrayed in every line of Rousseau's writings, and gains entire possession of mankind by means of the virtues as well as the vices of his nature."<sup>9</sup>

This statement proves that Mme. de Staël honored sentiment above mere reason; but exalted feeling, she says at the same time, even that of honor itself, may lead to insanity, if it is not held in check by reflection. Hence the necessity of reason in

\* Part I, chap. 20, pp. 285-6.

\* Part I, chap. 20, pp. 285-6.

life, especially to persons endowed with extreme sensibility and candor of temperament.

Besides these foregoing characterizations of individual authors, I shall consider briefly how Mme. de Staël regarded the basic elements of French classicism—reason, good taste and the imitation of Greek and Latin authors.

Reason has value as a mentor, to approve that which *enthusiasm* has exalted. It judges the other faculties, but does not constitute the identity of the moral being nor take the place of *soul*. Good taste is not dependent upon rules, but upon the impression created in an unbiased mind. If a literary work makes one *feel nobler and better*, it has genius and beauty, *though it violates all the so-called rules of taste*. Far better is a drama full of great faults but with beauty of *genius* than a writing of mediocre thought and sentiment but polished and correct in form. Intrinsic worth supersedes outward elegance.<sup>10</sup> "Style in writing is like the character of man; this character cannot be a stranger either to his opinions or to his sentiments, but modifies his whole being."<sup>11</sup>

Although the classic works of antiquity exhibit excellent qualities of form and subject matter, they should not be studied for the purpose of slavish imitation but only for the sake of appreciation. Their peculiar characteristics harmonize with the distinctive individuality of their nation and are indigenous to classic soil; but they do not accord with modern civilization. As Mme. de Staël says: "The models of antiquity should be studied in order to create and animate a taste and love for simplicity; but not to fill unceasingly modern productions with the ideas and fictions of the ancients; invention mingled with mythological imagery is almost always incongruous. To whatever perfection we may carry our study of the works of the ancients, we can only imitate them, but are absolutely unable to create new fictions in their style. If we wish to equal them we must not follow too closely in their footsteps; they have garnered from their fields; we would better reap in our own."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Part I, chap. 12; part II, chaps. 5-6.

<sup>11</sup> Part II, chap. 7, p. 320.

<sup>12</sup> Part II, chap. 5, p. 311.



To criticise well any art, as literature, music, painting or sculpture, one must have a knowledge of that art, a keen insight into its varied beauties, and an appreciation of its aims. Mme. de Staël admired the proportion, the simplicity, dignity of language, clear-cut outline and fidelity to reason of the French classic drama; she exalted the breadth and knowledge of humanity and the energetic portrayal of strong emotion in the Shakespearian works; but she reveled in the individualism, sensibility of soul and enthusiasm of Rousseau and, above all of "Werther."

But what is true and characteristic of a people at one time of its development does not correspond with its growth at another period, according to Mme. de Staël. The writings of the French classicists embody the spirit of their respective centuries, but the Revolution has inaugurated a new era—a new condition of social, political and intellectual life. Man is now the object of attention, and the dignity of common life and of current events is of more value than mere conventional ideals. The English and the German literatures already portray this new ideal; and while the French should not imitate their mode of representation, yet their underlying idea merits close attention. This thought Mme. de Staël expresses most clearly. "That spirit of philosophy which generalizes ideas, together with a system of political equality, must give a new character to our tragedies. This indeed is no reason why historical subjects should be rejected; rather great men should be portrayed with such sentiments as may awaken the sympathy of all hearts, and obscure facts should be enhanced by dignity of character; nature ought to be ennobled instead of perfecting mere conventional ideas. It is not the irregularity nor the inconsistency of the English and the German productions that we should imitate; but it would be a kind of new beauty for us, and for foreigners too, if writers could learn the art of giving dignity to common circumstances and of painting with simplicity events of great importance."<sup>13</sup>

From the foregoing statements it is clearly seen that Mme. de Staël's criterion of criticism bore close relation to the ideals of the German writers—of Herder, of Goethe and of Schiller, who

<sup>13</sup> Part II, chap. 5, p. 310.

again were the early leaders of the German Romantic School in its theoretic and stimulating aspects. This new German literature was characterized by a synthetic and subjective spirit. Individualism and nationality were its watchwords; feeling, imagination and enthusiasm the underlying forces requiring expression; the development of the highest human culture its goal. Religion was but a name for noble feelings and aspirations; morality dependent upon action devoid of personal interest and upon the impulsive inclinations of the heart; simplicity, the natural outpourings of soul and involuntary gesture of character; philosophy, the study of man and of nature in all their varied aspects.

In the present work Mme. de Staël makes no mention of the word "romantique," and I do not know of any instance of its use in French literature at this time. However, she does use the expression "romanesque" to designate the poetry of chivalry in the literature of the North. Also in "De l'Allemagne" she states that "romantique" is a name given in Germany to the poetry, "which is born of chivalry and of Christianity."<sup>14</sup> Despite the difference of nomenclature, the underlying idea is the same. It is evident, therefore, that she had the conception of the "romantic" previous to her meeting with Schlegel.

Having shown that Mme. de Staël's standard of criticism in 1800 was already closely related in spirit to that of the German writers, I pass to her critical conceptions as given in "De l'Allemagne," after a more careful study of the German authors in their native language.

Again, I begin with the drama. The difference between the French and German theaters is due to national taste. The French drama borrows its material from classical sources instead of from its own religious and historical recollections. Of the great tragic poets Voltaire is the only one who has drawn any subjects from modern life and who has depicted emotions that appeal to humanity.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> De la Littérature, part I, chap. 10, p. 247; De l'Allemagne 3 vols., London, 1813. v. 1:310, part II, chap. 5.

<sup>15</sup> De l'Allemagne 2:8. part II, chap. 15.

Again, the French classical drama considers the three unities as indispensable to the theatrical illusion, whereas only that of action is essential. Foreigners make this illusion consist in the painting of character, in the truth of language and in the exact portrayal of the manners and customs of the country represented. Illusion is but the semblance of reality, and it is only possible by *the emotion* it excites in us. And if change of place and extension of time add to this emotion, the illusion is more perfect. Hence rules are but the itinerary of *genius*, to show the way others have passed, but are not its vademecum. "Nothing in life ought to be stationary, and art is petrified when it no longer changes."<sup>16</sup> Besides, the pomp of alexandrines banishes numberless sentiments and effects from the theater. In the scene between Joas and Athalie, Racine has succeeded in giving noble and yet natural expression to the language of childhood; but he is the only great tragic poet in France who has been able to accomplish this.

Then too, nature is not always grand and majestic in her various phases of thought and action. She unites the sublime with the ridiculous, as in the Shakespearian drama. For this reason all classes in England admire Shakespeare, but in France only "the cultured few" appreciate the refined sublimity of the classical tragedies.

As in the drama, so in lyric poetry, the despotism of alexandrines prevents one from expressing in verse thoughts of real poetic worth, while the German hexameters, and especially the unrhymed iambic measures portray "the natural harmony inspired by emotion." For example, the lyric verse of Voltaire, though graceful, is but the expression of "the spirit of the most brilliant society."<sup>17</sup> Even Racine would be unable to translate into French verse Pindar, Petrarch or Klopstock without denaturalizing their original characters.<sup>18</sup>

In France, so Mme. de Staël writes, one reads a work not to be moved in spirit, but for use in conversation. One judges of

<sup>16</sup> 2:16, p. 2, chap. 15.

<sup>17</sup> 1:203, part II. chap. 13.

<sup>18</sup> V. 1, part II, chap. 9.

its merit by its clearness of style, its adherence to rules, its concordance with "bon goût," instead of by its originality of thought and its portrayal of intrinsic sentiment. In Germany all is different—independence and originality are the ideals. Each writer can create for himself a new sphere of thought and emotion. His aim is not to produce an effect but to develop a certain subject. To him clearness is only secondary and dependent on the subject and the reader. Hence the German authors are often guilty of unintelligibility. They "take pleasure in darkness; they often wrap in obscurity what before was clear, rather than follow the beaten road; they have such a disgust for common ideas, that when they find themselves obliged to recur to them, they surround these ideas with abstract metaphysics, which give them an air of novelty until they are recognized."<sup>19</sup> Although clearness of style is most desirable, it is inferior to thought and sentiment; and obscurity is pardonable, provided the work depicts strong thoughts and feelings. The qualities that depend on reason are subordinate to those proceeding from the *heart*. In Mme. de Staël's words, "Reason is none the less operative in all that pertains to the conduct of life; but when this housekeeper of human existence has regulated it as well as she can, the bottom of our heart is after all the seat of love."<sup>20</sup> Therefore "the first requisite in writing is a strong and vivid manner of feeling."<sup>21</sup>

Taste in literature, moreover, is not subject to arbitrary rules and conventional customs, but is dependent upon the natural and involuntary sensations which a literary work incites in a hearer or in a spectator. "The French ought to abstain from condemning even a violation of a rule, if an energetic thought or a true sentiment can be pleaded in its excuse. The Germans should prohibit all that offends natural taste, all that retraces images repulsive to our feelings; no philosophical theory, however ingenious it may be, can compensate for repugnant sensa-

<sup>19</sup> 1:203, part II, chap. 1.

<sup>20</sup> 3:321, part IV, chap. 5.

<sup>21</sup> 1:202, part II, chap. 1.



tions, just as no established rule in poesy can hinder involuntary emotions.”<sup>22</sup>

Then too, a work should express the distinctive characteristics of modern times and not be an imitation of a spirit no longer existing among the people. “No writer of our days will ever be able to attain to the composition of ancient poetry. It would be better, then, that our religion and our manners should create for us a modern literature whose beauty should consist in its own peculiar nature, like that of the ancients.”<sup>23</sup>

Besides representing the spirit of modernity, a literature should be national, that is, it should be indigenous to the soil and appeal to all classes, or in a word, have a popular element. It is here that Mme. de Staël through a deeper study of German literature discovers the idea of the popularity (*Volkstümlichkeit*) of literature which claims to be national. The French literature, the most classical of all modern literatures, is admired only by the educated in Europe and is practically unknown to the French people and bourgeoisie. This is due to the fact that it is an imitation and borrowed from another civilization, not native to the Gallic soil and temperament. “The literature of the ancients is among the moderns, a transplanted literature. . . . Poetry written in imitation of the ancients, however perfect it may be, is rarely popular, because in our days it contains no national element.”<sup>24</sup>

The literature that best fulfills the conditions of modernity, nationality, individuality, popularity and feeling, Mme. de Staël declares, is the so-called “romantic” literature of Germany, and its most worthy representatives are Goethe, Schiller and Bürger.<sup>25</sup> “The literature of romance and of chivalry is indigenous to us (moderns), and it is our religion and our institutions which have made it flourish.”<sup>26</sup> The poems of Goethe and Bürger are set to music and sung by all classes in Germany from

<sup>22</sup> 1:358, part II, chap. 14.

<sup>23</sup> 2:260, part II, chap. 25.

<sup>24</sup> 1:289, part II, chap. 11.

<sup>25</sup> 1:322, part II, chap. 13.

<sup>26</sup> 1:289, part II, chap. 11.

the Rhine to the Baltic, for they are the expression of the genius of the people.

Moreover, this new Germanic literature is by no means in its infancy. It is the literature of a nation most learned in the classics, a nation who, through its character, habits and philosophy has come to prefer the legends of modern chivalry to the antique pagan mythology of Greece and of Rome. And besides this "romantic literature is alone capable of further improvement, because, being rooted in our own soil, it alone can continue to grow and acquire fresh life; it expresses our religion; it recalls our history; its origin is ancient, but not of classical antiquity." <sup>27</sup>

And finally this romantic literature is the literature of the soul. "It employs our personal impressions to excite strong and vivid emotions; the genius by which it is inspired addresses itself immediately to our hearts and seems to evoke the spirit of our own lives; of all phantoms at once the most powerful and the most terrible." <sup>28</sup>

Does not this analysis of her criterion of criticism as stated in "*De l'Allemagne*" but reiterate with fuller details and explanations the main tenets of "*De la Littérature?*"

By the French critics, who were steeped in traditional classicism Mme. de Staël was reproached for cultivating the vague, confused expressions of the German taste, and for adopting a new manner, "the romantic." In answer to this, Jean Paul, in his review of "*De l'Allemagne*," says: "The Frenchman will be willing to pardon our authoress her German or British feeling, when he finds in the chapters on classic and romantic art, how little that feeling has prejudiced her taste for the Gallic art of writing." <sup>29</sup> Truly an enigma! In French eyes, a "romanticist," and to German vision, a "classicist." In reality she was a combination of both. While her conception of form remained chiefly that of French classicism, her "romantic" ideals were largely those of the so-called German "classic" writers, of

<sup>27</sup> 1:291, part II, chap. 11.

<sup>28</sup> 1:291, part II, chap. 11.

<sup>29</sup> Werke, Ed. 3. v. 19:170-1 *Kleine Bücherschau*.

Goethe and of Schiller, especially of the former, who was the idol of the early German romanticists. In fact, Mme. de Staël was a connecting link between the eighteenth and the nineteenth century; in her appreciation of the excellent features of French classicism, she belongs to the eighteenth century; in her exaltation of romanticism (German classicism) she opens up the new era; a defender of the good in the former, she is the prophetess of the latter.

However, one would prefer to discard these much abused terms, classic and romantic, and say that Mme. de Staël's chief standard was *popular and national individuality*, a standard preached most efficiently by Herder. If a literary work expressed the peculiar genius of a people, it was a masterpiece; if not, a failure. She admired Racine, Shakespeare, Goethe ("Werther"), Schiller and Bürger because their writings reflect the peculiar characteristics of their respective nations; she disliked Berlin because it imitated French life; she considered Wieland a frenchified German and hoped that he would have no followers; in all her writings she preached against affectation and imitation and advocated individualism and nationality. "Frenchmen of sense, when they travel, do not like to find among foreigners the French spirit; they seek rather men who unite national to individual originality. . . . The French themselves value nothing in foreign literature but its indigenous beauties. There is no nature, no life in imitation; and, in general, to all these understandings, to all these works imitated from the French may be applied the eulogy that Orlando in the Ariosto pronounces upon the mare he is dragging after him—'She possesses all the good qualities imaginable; but she has however one fault; that is, she is dead.'"<sup>30</sup>

To return now to the special chapter on German literature in "De la Littérature"<sup>31</sup> Mme. de Staël is one of the first writers to point out how the division of Germany into small principalities had contributed to produce so many talents. In spite of the feudal governmental system, German literature bears the dis-

<sup>30</sup> 1:89-90, part I, chap. 9.

<sup>31</sup> Part I, chap. 17.

tinctive characteristics of a free people. She sees the democracy of German literature, for which such men as Herder, Bürger, Goethe and Schiller were striving. Even the English have less independence than the Germans in their religious and political opinions, for they respect existing customs and traditions; whereas the German scholars, free from the dissensions of public discussions and the distractions of social life, maintain a republic of letters among themselves in the solitude of their own meditative studies and aspirations. Hence their inner life has been so highly developed. They excel in portraying the tender passions of the mind and in depicting scenes of melancholy. Here, too, is found in solitary contemplation the enthusiasm for the sublime and the indignation against social abuses.

While the general character of northern literature represents the sentiments of the heart and the philosophical resources of man, German literature is especially characterized by the fact that all this arises from the political and religious situation of the country.

From her extensive reading and keen intuition Mme. de Staël probably made the discovery that true poetry springs from other sources than reason, taste and philosophy. It is based on feeling, imagination and enthusiasm. In her analysis of "Werther," a work that she placed by the side of the masterpieces of other languages, Mme. de Staël shows that she, too, had at some time felt "that malady of the soul which has its origin in too exalted a mind, and ends finally in rendering life odious." There is, according to her, no production in any language that displays a more striking and natural picture of the wanderings of enthusiasm; a deeper insight into misfortune; a keener search into that abyss of nature where truth is visible only to an eye capable of discerning it. In this novel Goethe wished to depict a being exquisitely proud and sensitive, suffering that complicated agony which alone can conduct the human mind to the deepest depths of despair. At the same time she finds through her study of "Werther" that it is the union and harmony of head and heart for which Goethe is striving as the true human ideal. "What a sublime union do we find in "Werther" of thought and of



sentiment, of the blind impetuosity of passion and of the sober reasonings of philosophy! Only Rousseau and Goethe knew how to paint reflecting passion; passion which judges itself and yet knows it cannot subdue itself." The enthusiasm which this book has aroused, especially in Germany, is due to the fact that it is written entirely in the *national taste*. "It is not Goethe who has created it, he has only painted it from life."

Contrary to the spirit of cold reasoning and ironical eloquence so prevalent in her own country, she sees that enthusiasm is the essential feature of the Germanic character. Against French levity, the result of one-sided intellectualism, she emphasizes the prevalence of melancholy and earnestness in the German literature. Although she has read Klopstock's "Messias" only in translation, she is able to detect in it beauties of the first magnitude; and she declares that over the whole poem reigns a uniform "melancholy," not devoid of sweetness.

In the tragedies of Schiller she beholds beauties indicative of a great mind. They recall to us those impetuous emotions which portray the predominant affections of the soul, emotions that have been stilled or restrained by the ties or traditions of society. This is but the Storm and Stress idea, the spirit of the individual revolting against the narrow bans of social and political customs. When the mind is thus agitated by conflicting passions it feels a consoling influence in wild and gloomy prospects and vistas of nature; but when the spirit is peaceful, it delights in the contemplation of tranquil life and gentle pastoral scenes, such as writers like Gessner and Zachariä know how to describe.

Though Mme. de Staël appreciates the beauties of German literature, she is by no means blind to its defects, many of which she states are the result of imitation of foreign, or of native models. Only genius can depict enthusiasm and still hold fast to truth; too often, however, mediocrity substitutes a factitious enthusiasm which leads only to absurdities. The Germans, she thinks, are too indulgent in allowing an abundance of trivial notions in their philosophy, and in permitting the repetition of hackneyed thoughts. Sometimes, too, they are even deficient in taste; for their fondness for metaphysical sentiments leads them

to insert in the most impassioned scenes abstract ideas and reasonings, so that all the characters talk like German philosophers. Yet on the other hand, their genius frequently inspires them with the most simple expressions for the noblest passions.

Again, many of the German writers have been reproached for their want of grace and sprightliness. This they try to remedy by the imitation of French models. But the grace and "esprit" of the French pre-revolutionary writers were dependent on the social and political conditions of their time and can never be reproduced anywhere, unless it be at Paris. The native Germanic stock has energetic and striking beauties of its own, and these fully atone for the lack of grace and "esprit."

In France the power of ridicule brings man back to simplicity, but in Germany where the tribunal of society has so little weight, writers ought to follow the guidance of nature and of reason in the delineation of the universal principles of higher literature. Pleasantry is not consistent with abstract philosophical reasoning, and such a combination of the serious and of the frivolous does not accord with that natural good taste which depends on involuntary emotion. Often this incongruity arises from a mistaken notion of pleasing the fair sex, but women have sufficient sense and understanding to judge taste and genius, and the German writers should not refuse to them this tribute of respect.

The great province of German literature, she says, is serious reason and eloquent sensibility. No nation is more peculiarly adapted for investigation in history, philosophy and the sciences. "How much honor do the Germans reflect upon their nation by their persevering researches in metaphysics and in all other sciences! They have not a political country; but they have made it a literary and philosophical country, for the glory of which they are animated with the most noble enthusiasm."

Nevertheless a voluntary subjection prevents Germany from attaining the full enlightenment of which it is capable. This is due in part to a spirit of sect which often is as bitter as that of party. "But all truths are susceptible of evidence, and evidence makes no sect."

The educated men of Germany are inspired by the love of virtue and of the beautiful in all things. In places of religious superstition, austere morality and natural reason form the foundation of their philosophical creeds; and this fact alone proves their fitness for freedom. In France the empire of opinion has been overthrown, but in its place has been substituted no regenerating process. And of what utility is knowledge, if it serves only as an annihilating force and does not furnish any constructive energy?

Then with the eye of a seer Mme. de Staël beholds, as in a vision, the future mission of Germany—the regeneration of her country and of the world, and in glowing and eloquent words of wisdom she utters this prophecy and exhortation. “If by any invincible misfortunes France should some day be destined to lose forever all hope of liberty, then Germany would become the central seat of learning; and in its bosom would be established at some future epoch the principles of political philosophy. . . .

“Ye enlightened people! ye inhabitants of Germany, who perhaps will one day be, like us, enthusiasts in every republican idea, be invariably faithful to one principle alone, which in itself is a sufficient protection from all irreparable errors. Never indulge in any action of which morality can disapprove; pay no attention to whatever those wretched reasoners may tell you in regard to the difference that ought to be established between the morality of public and of private characters. This distinction proceeds from a perverted understanding and a narrow mind; and if we should perish, it will be because we have adopted it.”

Now what are the essential ideas of German culture as revealed in “*De l’Allemagne*,” ideas of culture which Walzel would have us believe she carried off from “the camp of the German romanticists?”

In the introduction, “*Observations Générales*,” Mme. de Staël states that France does not know Germany. “Intellectual Germany is hardly known to France;—very few men of letters among us have troubled themselves about her.”<sup>32</sup> Inasmuch as

<sup>32</sup> 1:5, 6, 7.

the Teutonic character has produced beyond the barrier of the Rhine a civilization, the religion, philosophy and literature of which are in total opposition to those of the French nation, she considers it advantageous to her fatherland to become acquainted with the "*patria de la pensée.*"<sup>33</sup> In her words, "We need not, I imagine, wish to encircle the frontiers of literary France with the great wall of China, to prevent all exterior ideas from penetrating within."<sup>33</sup> Besides, she declares further: "It is possible for a literature not to conform to our laws of good taste and yet to contain new ideas, which, modified after our manner, would tend to enrich us. It is thus that we are indebted to the Greeks for Racine and to Shakespeare for many of the tragedies of Voltaire. The sterility with which our literature is threatened may lead us to infer that the French spirit itself has need of being renewed by a more vigorous sap; and as the elegance of society will always preserve us from certain faults, it is of the utmost importance to us to find again this source of superior beauties."<sup>33</sup>

Likewise, in philosophy as in literature, conceptions of life should not be regulated by a certain standard, such as that of reason, but should be subject to study and examination, for these alone can give "that liberality of judgment, without which it is impossible to acquire new light or to preserve that which we have."

Again, Mme. de Staël shows with that fine intellectual penetration so peculiar to her that one of the most prominent characteristics of German literature is that of liberty—the inner freedom of the mind, which in her opinion is born of solitary meditation. As Germany was only an aristocratic federation of states, with no common center of knowledge and public spirit, each individual had the opportunity of self-development, of maintaining his own anarchy of literature and of political opinion. At the same time she does not close her eyes to the dangers of exaggerated individualism in regard to the political development of the nation. The Germans, she says, have too much con-

<sup>33</sup> 1:5, 6, 7.



sideration for foreigners and too little national prejudice. Self-denial and unselfishness are good for the individual, "but the patriotism of nations ought to be selfish." The pride of the English, French and Spanish has contributed to their political ascendancy, but the Germans have not felt the essential Germanic character as their basis, but have let it be divided among many masters, as the Saxon, Prussian, Bavarian and Austrian. Hence while each state is independent, and each science better cultivated, the whole nation is so subdivided that it can hardly be accorded that name.

This individualism has prevented the development of the love of national liberty, for the Germans know its value neither through enjoyment of political liberty nor through its privation. They have independence, therefore they are indifferent to liberty. The feudal code which still governed them, though unequal in principle, was equal in practice, and justice, slow but sure, was meted out in the courts. But "independence is only a possession, whereas liberty is its surety," and the Germans should not neglect "that great national power which it was so important to found among the colossal states of Europe."<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless she predicts that "the independence of the soul will found that of states," verifying Schiller's prophetic words: "It is the spirit which builds a body for itself," words that were fulfilled by the establishment of the German empire in 1871.

The enlightened Germans, freed from all sorts of public cares and business, have formed a republic of letters that is animated and independent. For the interest of events they have substituted that of ideas. They need no center, because all have the same end in view and their imagination multiplies the beauties afforded them by art and by nature. Here in solitude, like miners in the midst of buried treasures, "they silently dig out the intellectual riches of the human race."<sup>35</sup> No more beautiful interpretation could have been given to the "tatenreiche Stille," as Schiller in his poem *Die Künstler*, called the atmosphere in which the new culture of Germany developed.

<sup>34</sup> 1:31-2, part I, chap. 2.

<sup>35</sup> 1:126, part I, chap. 13.

Although "it is in their hearts alone that the Germans must find the source of poetry truly patriotic,"<sup>36</sup> yet Germany deserves great credit for having perfected the individual Teutonic character, and that in the midst of difficulties.

Searching for the fountain of youth that might rejuvenate the senile civilization of France, Mme. de Staël discovers it in *the enthusiasm of the German soul*. "The truly distinctive trait of the German nation," she says, is enthusiasm.<sup>37</sup> As it gives life to what is of no immediate value, it is the sentiment best adapted for abstract reasoning. To arrive at truth one needs elevation of soul, the impulse of ardor to direct the attention. But enthusiasm must not be confounded with fanaticism. The former is tolerant but not indifferent, while the latter is intolerant but energetic. This toleration is the result of a just appreciation of the beauty of all things in the universe.

"Society develops wit, but it is contemplation alone that forms genius,"<sup>38</sup> or in Goethe's beautiful words: "Es bildet ein Talent sich in der Stille." Where the social spirit prevails, as it did in France, self-love is uppermost. This leads to critical pleasantry, the arch enemy of enthusiasm. Of all forms of irony and ridicule that which is attached to ideas and sentiments is the most fatal. Man rules his brother man, and the worst evil he can do is to mock a generous emotion and the action it would inspire. Love, distress, talent and genius are too often the butt of irony and the sport of wit; and if the heart be not defended by enthusiasm, it becomes the prey of insolent derision. With an indignation born from his deep ethical convictions, Schiller had struck at this same trait of frivolous superficiality in the French character in his famous lines directed against Voltaire's shameless burlesque on Joan of Arc, "La Pucelle."

"Krieg führt der Witz auf ewig mit dem Schönen,  
Er glaubt nicht an den Engel und den Gott;  
Dem Herzen will er seine Schätze rauben,  
Den Wahn bekriegt er und verletzt den Glauben."<sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup> 1:311. part II, chap. 12.

<sup>37</sup> 3:394, part IV, chap. 11.

<sup>38</sup> 3:396, part IV, chap. 11.

<sup>39</sup> *Das Mädchen von Orleans*.

Such indeed was the case in France, the land that Herder as early as 1771 had called "das trugverarmte Gallia."<sup>40</sup> After the overthrow of feudal government by Cardinal Richelieu until the time of the Revolution that country had been destitute of enthusiasm. "The spirit of fatuity," according to Lacretelle, held sway, and "the empire of society in the great world made almost all of the virtues of chivalry disappear."<sup>41</sup> Inasmuch as in a nation enthusiasm is necessary to prevent its dissolution and disintegration, it was this national need which turned men's minds toward that love of liberty, which resulted in the French Revolution. But now that this movement had failed, France was "a land of iron, everything there seemed to be immobile."<sup>42</sup> Again the "spirit of fatuity," showed its power. As Mme. de Staël said: "That which is wanting in France in every way is the feeling and habit of veneration, and the transition is there very quick from the examination that may enlighten to the irony that reduces everything to dust."<sup>43</sup>

France was thus held in thralldom by an artificial public opinion. The triumphs of pleasantry found constant renewal. The spirit of sociability made man a machine; he re-echoed mechanically the sentiments of others, and affected indifference and even disdain to conceal whatever humanity he might possess. "Nobody will at any price expose himself to censure or to ridicule; for in a country where conversation has so much influence, the noise of words often drowns the voice of conscience."<sup>44</sup> Hence it happened that this terror of ridicule which manifested itself as vanity in the upper classes, was transformed into ferocity in the lower. In Germany irony would never become such a dangerous factor, for the German has too much regard for truth and too great a desire to know the secret of things.

<sup>40</sup> Auf eine Sammlung Klopstockscher Oden. (trugverarmt here means illusionslos).

<sup>41</sup> 1:45, part I, chap. 4.

<sup>42</sup> Lettres Inédites de Mme. de Staël à Henri Meister, edited by Eugene Ritter and Paul Usteri: Paris 1903. Letter to Meister, dated Coppet, Aug. 1803. p. 180.

<sup>43</sup> 3:37, part III, chap. 3.

<sup>44</sup> 1:108, part I, chap. 11.

"Even when he adopts reprehensible opinions, a secret repentance slackens his pace in spite of himself." <sup>45</sup>

This fear of ridicule has influenced French literary production. In Germany, where there is no fixed taste, all is independent and individual. The reader judges of a production by the impression it makes and never by rules. Each author can thus create a new sphere of thought and activity for himself. In France the majority of readers do not wish to be moved, "nor even amused, at the expense of their literary conscience." <sup>46</sup> It is here that Mme. de Staël recognizes the great educational influence of German authors on their nation. A German writer, she says, can thus form his public, whereas in France the author is at the mercy of the public. "From self-love the French think and live in the opinions of others; and we perceive in the greater part of their works that their principal end is not the subject they treat, but the effect they wish to produce." <sup>47</sup> In France one reads a work only for conversational purposes; in Germany one reads in solitary retreat, and has need of the inner emotion, because the exterior movement, the echo of society, is fortunately lacking. Hence, while the French are ruled by the spirit of society, the Germans have not this necessity of struggling against the enemies of enthusiasm. Wit in conversation may be sharpened by antagonism, but genius has need of encouragement. "We must believe in glory, admiration, immortality in order to experience the inspiration of genius; and what makes the distinction between different ages is not nature, which is always lavish of the same gifts, but the opinion which prevails at the epoch in which we live; if the tendency of that opinion is toward enthusiasm, great men spring up on all sides; if discouragement is proclaimed in one country, when in others noble efforts would be excited, nothing remains in literature but judges of the time past." <sup>48</sup>

<sup>45</sup> 1:224, part II, chap. 4.

<sup>46</sup> 1:201, part II, chap. 1.

<sup>47</sup> 1:202, part II, chap. 1.

<sup>48</sup> 3:399, part IV, chap. 11.



Moreover, of all the feelings of the human heart, enthusiasm confers the greatest happiness, in that it enables us to bear whatever lot destiny bequeaths to us, by uniting all the forces of the soul in the same direction for the same end. Although enthusiasm has been accused of promoting a distaste for ordinary life, on the contrary, it raises man up from a mere animal and material existence, and ennobles the common, everyday events of reality. Poetry and the fine arts arouse in him the remembrance of his illustrious origin and cheer the oppressed heart. In place of the restless satiety of life, they afford a constant feeling of divine harmony in which nature claims a part with man. Enthusiasm is thus the love for the beautiful, that elevation of soul which unites human existence to eternity. It is to conscience what honor is to duty. It counteracts selfishness, exalts sincerity of mind, and triumphs over cold calculation. "Enthusiasm concentrates different sentiments in the same forces; it is the incense offered by earth to heaven, uniting one to the other."<sup>49</sup> No more eloquent defense and praise of the sublime force of idealism as revealed in German literature can be imagined. Knowing its power as well as the corrupting influence of mere self-interest, Mme. de Staël implores her nation, like the prophet of old: "O France! land of glory and of love! if the day should ever come when enthusiasm shall be extinct upon thy soil, when all shall be governed and disposed by calculation, and even the contempt of danger shall be founded upon the conclusions of reason, in that day what will avail thee the loveliness of thy climate, the splendor of thy intellect, the general fertility of thy nature? Their intelligent activity, and an impetuosity directed by prudence and knowledge, may indeed give thy children the empire of the world; but the only traces thou wilt leave on the face of that world will be like those of the sandy whirlpool, terrible as the waves, and sterile as the desert!"<sup>50</sup>

With deep psychological insight Mme. de Staël recognizes the ultimate connection of German enthusiasm with the imagination, "the dominating quality of artistic and literary Ger-

<sup>49</sup> 1:276, part II, chap. 10.

<sup>50</sup> 3:415-6, part IV, chap. 12.

many.”<sup>51</sup> With this however is united reflection, and together they form a most rare combination of character, one that makes the German nation peculiarly adapted for the creation of lyric poetry. This quality of imagination, the “priestess of nature,”<sup>52</sup> enables man in the midst of sordid cares to catch a glimpse of eternity. “In the world we have a feeling of being oppressed beneath our own faculties, and we often suffer from the notion that we are alone with our peculiar disposition among so many beings who exist with so little exertion; but the creative talent, for some moments at least, satisfies all our desires; it has wealth and treasures, it offers to our vision the pure and luminous image of an ideal world, and so mighty is its power sometimes, that we even hear in our hearts the voice and accents of one dearly beloved.”<sup>53</sup>

The basis of enthusiasm and imagination is necessarily the soul (*l'ame*), the word with which Mme. de Staël translates the German “*Gemüt*.” In Germany “we easily perceive that inner life, that poetry of soul which characterizes” the people.<sup>54</sup> Merely beautiful verses do not constitute true lyricism; inspiration is also necessary. “In order to conceive the true grandeur of lyric poetry, we must wander in revery into the ethereal regions, forget the tumult of earth in listening to celestial harmony, and consider the whole universe as a symbol of the emotions of the soul.”<sup>55</sup> Many persons have contended that sensibility is a disease, but it is rather the most energetic of all the moral faculties, for it arouses the desire of self-sacrifice and gives one strength to fulfill that desire. This inner disposition of soul is akin to poetic genius. “To compose a beautiful ode is to dream of heroism.”<sup>56</sup> Both are expositions of the love for the ideal, which is resident in the soul of man.

Then too, whatever is serious in life dwells in the human heart. Superficiality comes from without, from the circum-

<sup>51</sup> 3:159, part III, chap. 10.

<sup>52</sup> 3:159, part III, chap. 10.

<sup>53</sup> 3:408, part IV, chap. 12.

<sup>54</sup> 1:21, part I, chap. 2.

<sup>55</sup> 1:279, part II, chap. 10.

<sup>56</sup> 2:278, part II, chap. 10.

stances of society, from a false philosophy of life, which considers the worship of the beautiful as fit only for dupes and which gives to careless levity the appearance of reflective reasoning. "In all things whatever is good and sublime is revealed to us only by the divinity of our own heart."<sup>57</sup> Thus "the soul is a fire that darts its rays through all the senses; it is in this fire that existence consists; all the observations and all the efforts of philosophers ought to turn towards this *me*, the center and the motive force of our ideas and sentiments. Without doubt, the imperfection of language compels us to use erroneous expressions; we are obliged to repeat according to custom, 'Such a person has reason, or imagination, or sensibility, etc.;' but if we wish to be understood in a single word, we need simply to say, '*He has soul, he has much soul.*' It is this divine force that makes the whole man."<sup>58</sup>

Mme. de Staël says that the superiority of the Germans "consists in independence of spirit, love of retirement and individual originality."<sup>59</sup> This is the natural consequence of their life of solitude and of freedom from conventional rules and opinions; for only in solitary contemplation, away from the self-interest of society can one preserve the ideals of one's spiritual life. The German genius is thus born of the inner life, of the soul. "The peculiar character of German literature is to refer everything to an interior existence; and as that is the mystery of mysteries, it awakens boundless curiosity."<sup>60</sup> Genius makes the limits of existence disappear and transforms into brilliant images the vague hopes of man. Like love, it is felt by the strong emotion which penetrates the one endowed with it. Hence to poets, whose only guide should be nature, one should speak as to citizens and to heroes: "Be virtuous, be trustful, be free, respect what you love, seek immortality in affection and the Divine in nature; in short, sanctify your soul as a temple, and the angel of noble thoughts will not disdain to appear therein."<sup>61</sup>

<sup>57</sup> 3:218, part III, chap. 16.

<sup>58</sup> 3:16, part III, chap. 2.

<sup>59</sup> 1:109, part I, chap. 11.

<sup>60</sup> 2:363, part II, chap. 31.

<sup>61</sup> 1:283, part II, chap. 10.

The new ideal of man revealed in German literature finds its most perfect expression in the conception of the genius, whose chief characteristics, Mme. de Staël, like Schiller in his "Naïve und sentimentalische Dichtung," sees in his simplicity and naturalness. Connected by secret ties to this grace of nature is the Germanic universality of spirit in literature and in philosophy. Both of these traits distinguish the genius, who is free from egoism and vanity, and filled with "true simplicity, that of the soul; that which is equally suitable to the monarch and his people, to the poor and the rich, in short to all the creatures of God."<sup>62</sup> In her characterization of Schiller, Mme de Staël shows how she was won over by the simplicity of the inner man. Moreover, simplicity of life and of character is an indirect result of the Protestant religion. Although exterior magnificence and ceremony have been lauded as effective forces in kindling the imagination, yet when Christianity revealed itself in its pure simplicity, it awakened a poetry of the soul that possessed a potency mighty enough to arouse the deepest convictions of man. But this simplicity and sincerity is not only characteristic of the genius; it is also peculiar to the whole German people. To them deceit is almost unknown and their simple word has the value of law. They are, moreover, so kind-hearted and benevolent that they prefer to expose themselves to the sport of foreigners rather than to silence ridicule by haughty disdain. In fact, "they are, perhaps the only people, to whom one might recommend pride as a means of improvement."<sup>63</sup>

Because genius is a manifestation of nature, or, speaking with Schiller, of the Deity, Mme. de Staël finds a deep religious element in the writings of the Germans and in their new culture. She discovers what Schiller, in the sketch of a poem, intended to celebrate the beginning of the Nineteenth Century, expressed thus: *Der Deutsche verkehrt mit dem Weltgeist*. For just as simplicity is in harmony with genius, so also it is associated with religion. "There is religion in all the works of genius;

<sup>62</sup> 1:319, part II, chap. 12.

<sup>63</sup> 3:252, part III, chap. 20.



there is genius in all religious thoughts.”<sup>64</sup> The inexhaustible source of all talents and virtues is the sentiment of the Infinite, which manifests itself in every generous action and in every profound thought. As the Germans are characterized by feeling, genius and independence of thought, so also their religion is essentially one of heart and of inner conviction. In Mme. de Staël’s words: “Religion, in Germany, exists at the very bottom of the heart; but it possesses there a character of meditation and independence, which does not inspire that energy necessary for exclusive sentiments.”<sup>65</sup> Religion is like life. We feel life, but cannot explain it; so also, we feel conscience and Divinity, though we cannot explain them; yet we should believe in them, just as we believe in life. This conception of faith is intimately interwoven with all that is beautiful in nature and in man. It invites in us the hope of a sublime existence in eternity.

Moreover, religion is but a desire and yearning for the truth, and therefore only its handmaid. Truth alone can make man free, and can serve as a bond of union between all thinkers. To quote Mme. de Staël: “It is not this religion, that opinion, or such a kind of study; it is the veneration of truth that unites them. Sometimes like miners, they dig into the bowels of the earth to penetrate the mysteries of a darksome world in the bosom of eternal night; sometimes they mount to the summit of Chimborazo to discover at the loftiest point of the globe some hitherto unknown phenomenon; sometimes they study the languages of the Orient to find therein the primitive history of man; sometimes they journey to Jerusalem to call forth from the holy ruins a spark which reanimates religion and poetry; in short, they are in truth *the people of God*, these men who do not yet despair of the human race, and who wish to preserve to man the empire of thought.”<sup>66</sup>

It is in connection with these highest ideals concerning man that Mme. de Staël recognizes the important role which philos-

<sup>64</sup> 3:274, part IV, chap. 1.

<sup>65</sup> 1:29, part I, chap. 2.

<sup>66</sup> 3:261-2, part III, chap. 21.

ophy played in the creation of the new German culture. She says: "That which constitutes the glory and interest of the country is its literary and philosophical spirit."<sup>67</sup> The German philosophers deserve the credit of having been the first in the eighteenth century who have "ranged free-thinking on the side of faith, genius on the side of morality and character on the side of duty."<sup>68</sup> They have also freed sentiment and enthusiasm from the scorn of tyrannical reason, which seeks to make man and nature fit its Procrustean bed.<sup>69</sup> Inasmuch as the feeling of the Infinite is the noblest aspiration of the inner man, so, "philosophy consists in the rational interpretation of divine truths."<sup>70</sup> This religious emotion or exaltation, as we have

<sup>70</sup> 3:31, part III, chap 3.

seen before, is rooted in the love of ideal beauty, of celestial divinity. Hence it follows that "idealistic metaphysics originate *with the Germans as formerly with the Greeks* in the adoration of supreme beauty, which our souls alone can conceive and acknowledge; this supreme ideal is a reminiscence of heaven, our original home."<sup>71</sup>

The taste that the Germans show for the "naïve" seems in direct contradiction to their abstract metaphysical philosophy, but it is in reality due to it. There is philosophy in everything, even in the imagination. Inasmuch as a chief characteristic of the simplicity of genius is the expression of immediate thought and feeling without reflecting on the result, a distinguishing trait of popular poetry (Volkspoesie), as Herder had pointed out in 1775,<sup>72</sup> so Mme. de Staël maintains that in all arts the judgment of the public ought to be consulted, "for popular impressions are more philosophical than philosophy itself."<sup>73</sup> Hence the new philosophy of the Germans is in harmony with their literary theory—naïveté in feeling and expression. But,

<sup>67</sup> 1:125, part I, chap. 13.

<sup>68</sup> 3:253, part III, chap. 20.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. 1:214, part II, chap. 2, and 3:209, part III, chap. 14.

<sup>71</sup> 1:248, part II, chap. 6.

<sup>72</sup> Auszug aus einem Briefwechsel über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker.

<sup>73</sup> 3:140, part III, chap. 9.

as she says of Goethe, "this is not the naïveté of innocence, it is that of force;"<sup>74</sup> the naïveté born of profound erudition, deep meditation and strong feeling. In Mme. de Staël's apt words: "It may be that the best time for poetry was during the age of ignorance, and that the youth of the human race has passed away forever; *but in the writings of the Germans we seem to feel a new youth, born from the noble choice which may be made by those to whom everything is known.* The age of light has its innocence as well as the golden age, and if man, during his infancy, believes only in his soul, he returns when he has learnt every thing, to confide in nothing else."<sup>75</sup> A new youth for humanity, resulting from the poetry and all-comprehending scientific efforts of the Germans; that is the final message which German literature and German culture have revealed to Mme. de Staël, a message which she in turn has delivered to the world.

From this summary of the underlying forces of German culture as stated in both books, is it not apparent that the same fundamental ideas pervade both volumes and that "De la Littérature" is, as it were, but the forerunner of "De l'Allemagne?"

Likewise in her novel "Delphine" (1802), written also before her acquaintance with the Schlegels, Mme. de Staël glorifies the power of imagination and sensibility, and maintains that innate morality and religion of heart are the only true guides for man's conduct. She honors the original truth and deep feeling of the German writers, bewails the sterility of French literature, laments the prevalence of the philosophy of self-interest, and advises the study of German literature as beneficial in opening up new routes of thought and of literary activity.

Dr. Walzel by his constant quotation of Heine's malicious criticism of "De l'Allemagne" creates the impression of sharing and approving his views. He forgets that Heine's excessive admiration for Napoleon and his strong hatred of the Schlegels would naturally lead him to disparage the work of Napoleon's great political antagonist. Then, too, one must remember that Heine, who by the way, did not disdain to borrow the title of

<sup>74</sup> 1:328, part II, chap. 13.

<sup>75</sup> 3:142, part III, chap. 9.

"De l'Allemagne" for the French version of his "Romantische Schule" and "Geständnisse," belonged to a later period of literary activity, when social and political conditions were vastly different. Mme. de Staël was delighted with the little provincial city of Weimar, and to a certain extent bases her conception of German life and character on the ideals displayed in the intellectual culture there. Thus when critics declare that Mme. de Staël's picture of German life is ideal and not true to actual conditions, one must grant the justice of the remark, but one can also maintain that inasmuch as her ideals were those of Goethe and of Schiller, who are considered the truest representatives of the German type of character, so her portrayal of German life and culture is in accordance with the true Germanic genius.<sup>76</sup>

I acknowledge that Mme. de Staël did see the better side of German civilization, but it was due to her optimistic temperament, rather than to the influence of the Schlegels. Henry Crabb Robinson, who first "advised her to cultivate the acquaintance of A. W. Schlegel,"<sup>77</sup> testifies to her "laudable anxiety" to obtain a knowledge of the best German authors,<sup>78</sup> and declared later that "all that is best in her work, the section on life and manners in Germany, came from herself alone."<sup>79</sup>

When Niebuhr first read the book, he said: "The chapters on Goethe, North Germany, Vienna are especially excellent, and even the great mistakes and errors in a great number of instances prove that the book bearing her name cannot possibly be the intellectual property of Schlegel. He cannot even have read it over before its publication. Of Goethe she speaks with much respect and with most acute discrimination, a fact that does admirable honor to her capacity."<sup>80</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Mme. de Staël's letter to the Duchess Louise of Saxe-Weimar Mar. 13, 1804, in Coppet et Weimar Lenormant, Paris, 1862.

<sup>77</sup> Diary, Reminiscences and Correspondence, edited by Thos. Sadler, Ed. 2, 3 vols. London, 1869. vol. 1:182-3.

<sup>78</sup> Diary 1:173.

<sup>79</sup> 1:182-3.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Lady Blennerhassett 3:388.



Likewise both Schiller and Goethe bear witness to her honest desire to examine candidly and conscientiously the people from all sides, and then to give forth to the world the true spirit of this nation, as it had been revealed to her by study and observation. Schiller said: "She has a veritable hunger for ideas."<sup>81</sup> Goethe wrote in the "Annalen:" "With determined effort she pursued her intention to become acquainted with our conditions of life, to classify them under and to subordinate them to her own conceptions, to inform herself as far as possible in regard to details, as a woman of the world to get a clear insight into our social relations, and in her ingenious femininity to penetrate and to comprehend the more general modes of thought, and that which is called philosophy."<sup>82</sup>

Before the work was published in 1813 Goethe had read a portion of the manuscript which had been loaned to him by C. F. von Reinhard, who had probably received it from Villers or Constant. In a letter to Reinhard the poet acknowledges the favor and then adds: "As I believe that I know myself tolerably well, I find some fitting observations in it, and I can profit by it all the more, as she told me all this to my very face, and even more bluntly and emphatically. Her views in regard to my lesser works I knew in part, and what she says on this occasion is very nice and meritorious, although in this way no really exhaustive criticism can be expected."<sup>83</sup> And after the appearance of the entire work he writes to Heinrich Meyer Mar. 7, 1814: "The whole work is like the parts which we knew in manuscript. It forces one by its concise contents ever to keep on thinking. She has taken incredible pains to conceive a clear notion of us Germans, and hence she deserves all the more praise, as it is easily seen, that she has discussed the material of her conversation with competent men, but that, on the other hand, *she owes to herself alone her particular view and valuation.*"<sup>84</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Karoline von Wolzogen, Schiller's Leben, Cotta Ed. p. 258. Cf. Schiller's letter to Goethe, Dec. 21, 1803.

<sup>82</sup> Werke, Cotta Ed. 7:656.

<sup>83</sup> Briefe 22:268, No. 6256, Feb. 13, 1812.

<sup>84</sup> Goethe Jahrbuch 4:163, 1883.

Such testimony should have weight, for if Mme. de Staël incorporated in her book views she had expressed before she ever met Schlegel, and which he probably would not have ratified, it does not look as though she were a blind reflector or imitator of any person's opinions or sentiments.

Of course, for specific facts of information, for the knowledge of peculiar and uncommon data and for her appreciation of plastic art, as evinced in "*Corinne*," Mme. de Staël was indebted to Schlegel's great erudition. For instance, when the Baroness von Krudener, a Russian pietist, the authoress of "*Valerie*," and the friend of Czar Alexander I., began to preach her doctrine of mysticism in Germany, she found a willing convert in Schlegel and an eager listener in her hostess at Coppet. After her departure, Schlegel as a good disciple, would naturally continue the work of the prophetess. And Mme. de Staël, distracted by her worries and exile, really took up for a time the study of its principles earnestly, just as we do our fads of the present day. Bonstetten and Sismondi to whom "Schlegel was an antipathy"<sup>85</sup> and many other Genevans, who despised him, laid the blame for her interest on his shoulders. In 1808 Bonstetten wrote to Sismondi: "Nothing is more changed than our Coppet world. You will see all these people will become Catholics, Boehmists, Martinists, above all Germans, thanks to Schlegel. When Mme. de Staël is alone in her carriage, she reads mystical books. If Geneva turns mystical, I am off to Paris or to Sicily."<sup>86</sup> To show that Schlegel was not wholly responsible for this great religious activity, I quote from another Genevan writer, Petit-Sinn. He says that the Coppet circle "presented the aspect of a synod of quite novel character. The different systems of religion were strongly contrasted. Catholicism was represented by Mathieu de Montmorency, Quietism by M. de Laugallerie, Illuminism by M. de Divonne, Rationalism by Baron Voght, Calvinism by the Pastor Maulinie. Even Benjamin Constant, then occupied with his work on Religions, brought his

<sup>85</sup> Sainte-Beuve *Nouveaux Lundis*, 13 vols. v. 6:45.

<sup>86</sup> *Lond. Quar. Review*, 159:410, Apr., 1885. *Modern Geneva*. Cf. *Lettres Inédites* p. 210. Letter of Hess to his uncle Henri Meister, dated Geneva, May 30, 1810.

tribute to the theological conferences, conferences which borrowed no austerity from the accidents of the time or of the place. The conversations at dinner and in the evening were chiefly on religious aspects of the most mystic nature, and were seldom changed even for the news of the day or for brief musical entertainments.”<sup>87</sup>

The testimony of an eye witness should have value. Adam Oehlenschläger, the Danish dramatist who wrote his tragedy of “Correggio” under Mme. de Staël’s roof, recounts his visit to Coppet as follows: “Mme. de Staël received me very kindly and asked me to remain several weeks at Coppet, all the while gracefully jesting with me about my faulty French. I started then to speak German to her; she understood that language very well, and her two children also understood and spoke it very well. At her home I found Benjamin Constant, August Schlegel, the elderly Baron Voght of Altona, Bonstetten of Geneva, the celebrated Sismondi de Sismondi and the Comte de Sabran, the only one of all this company who did not know German. . . . At that time she was writing her book on Germany, and every day she read a portion of it to us. She has been accused of not having studied herself the books of which she has spoken in this work and of having submitted completely to the judgment of Schlegel. It is false. She read German with the greatest facility. Schlegel probably did have some influence over her, but very often she differed from him in opinion, and she reproved his partiality. . . . Schlegel, for whose erudition and for whose intellect I have much respect, was in fact very partial. He ranked Calderon higher than Shakespeare; he censured severely Luther and Herder. He was, like his brother, bewitched by aristocracy.”<sup>88</sup>

This testimony by Oehlenschläger is also corroborated by the critic in the “North American Review” of July, 1820. He writes:

<sup>87</sup> Meth. Quar. Review, 38:111, Oct., 1878.

<sup>88</sup> Larousse—Grand Dictionnaire Universel 14:1047. Cf. Abel Stevens, *Madame de Staël; A study of her Life and Times, the First Revolution and the First Empire*, 2 vols. N. Y., 1881. v. 2:40-1. Cf. Oehlenschläger’s letter to Goethe, dated Paris, May, 1807. Goethe *Jahrbuch* 8:12.



"We happen to know that Frederick Schlegel who taught her German in Paris before she went to Germany, has declared that he read with her most of the books of which she has spoken in her *"De l'Allemagne"* and that she was sufficiently acquainted with German literature to have written the work without assistance from any one; and that August William Schlegel equally disclaims all participation in its opinions or its composition. Moreover, it was not for a mind like Mme. de Staël's to borrow tamely from anyone."<sup>89</sup>

Finally the opinion of so excellent a literary critic as Wieland is of importance: "Her protege, A. W. Schlegel, seems to have had little or no influence upon her valuation of German literature and of the men who for fifty years have attained the most distinction in that line. On the contrary, it is said that the force of her genius has had greater effect upon his development, and his influence leads us to expect much from both brothers, which may cover up and cast into oblivion the critical aberrations and wantonness of their earlier years."<sup>90</sup>

Lady Blennerhassett, who likewise considers this question, says: "A connoisseur such as Schlegel enabled her to dispense with the unwieldy compendiums, the Küttners and the Kochs, which had to take the place of histories of literature, and in which Mme. de Staël would probably never have found her way."<sup>91</sup> To this view I fully accede. Schlegel's extensive learning enabled Mme. de Staël to gain in a short time knowledge that might have required many years of deep research with the proper library facilities. According to Robinson, Schlegel also directed her reading to a certain extent. He writes in his "Diary:" "She confessed that in her selection of books she was guided by A. W. Schlegel; otherwise she added, a whole life would not have been sufficient to collect such information."<sup>92</sup> In this way Schlegel opened up new lines of thought for her

<sup>89</sup> 11:138-9.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Lady Blennerhassett 3:213. Letter to J. F. Freiherr von Retzer, Weimar, June 20, 1808.

<sup>91</sup> 3:386, chap. 6.

<sup>92</sup> 1:22, f 1:182-3.



fertile mind to consider. He polished the glass of her vision and enabled her to define in more distinct outlines those general notions which she had perceived but dimly before. This accords with her own statement. In "De l'Allemagne" she writes: "When I began the study of German literature, it seemed as if I was entering into a new sphere, where the most striking light was thrown on all that I had before perceived only in a confused manner."<sup>93</sup> Hence Schlegel was but the perfecter, not the originator of her ideas. Nevertheless for his work he deserves great credit, and Mme. de Staël was not ungrateful for the assistance, as her "De l'Allemagne" proves.<sup>94</sup>

Joseph Texte in his studies of German influence in France<sup>95</sup> declares that the description of Germany is somewhat ideal and nebulous, not like the practical, matter-of-fact land of the present day, an assertion to which I agree. But this romantic tinge is, in my opinion, the result of her own temperament, education and early associations. Mme. de Staël was in reality more Teutonic than French in spirit. This was also the opinion of the Germans. Jean Paul said in 1814: "That which makes her a judge of our art as well as a poetess, is her emotional temperament; her heart is German and poetic, although her taste is sufficiently French."<sup>96</sup> As early as Oct. 10, 1800, Humboldt wrote to Goethe from Paris: "It is a strange phenomenon, to find in the midst of a nation sometimes a human being, who bears a foreign spirit in the bonds of nationality, and I would not like to decide, whether there is not here a strife between the German peculiarities that have been inherited by Mme. de Staël and those that have been obtained by education."<sup>97</sup>

Mme. de Staël recognized this characteristic herself. In her early work in 1800 she declared: "All my impressions, all my

<sup>93</sup> 2:363, part II, chap. 31.

<sup>94</sup> V. 2, part II, chap. 31.

<sup>95</sup> *Les Origines de l'Influence allemande dans la Littérature française du XIXe siècle; l'Influence allemande dans la Romantisme française; J. J. Rousseau et les Origines de cosmopolitisme littéraire.*

<sup>96</sup> Werke 19:166.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Lady Blennerhassett 3:9.

ideas lead me to give a preference to the literature of the North."<sup>98</sup> Later, in a letter to the German authoress, Friederike Brun, July 15, 1806, she confessed: "I know, although your kindness overvalues me, that under more fortunate circumstances I might have accomplished more than I have done. But to be born a Frenchwoman with a character that is not French, born with the taste and habits of French life but with the ideas and the emotional tendencies of the North, that is an antithesis which undermines life."<sup>99</sup> After her flight from Coppet she wrote to Schlegel from Stockholm May 14, 1814: "I am much disturbed about Germany; it has become for me, through you and through the enthusiasm that the people manifest, a kind of fatherland."<sup>100</sup> And four months later she declares her willingness to make that country her home, if it were free.<sup>101</sup>

This peculiarity of character was also apparent to the Frenchmen of a later generation. Faguet says that she has "a European spirit in a French soul."<sup>102</sup> Paul Gautier discusses this question at length in his book "*Madame de Staël et Napoléon*," and affirms that "one side of her nature is profoundly Germanic. She is more at her ease with the German feeling (*Gemüt*) than with the French irony."<sup>103</sup> Many of the other modern critics of Mme. de Staël refer to her cosmopolitan character, but all do not appreciate the fact that the ideals and principles which she found established in Germany at the time of her first visit in 1803-4 perfectly coincided with her own views and sentiments, and served but to broaden and strengthen them. To her Germany was not an alien land, but a "*patria*" in thought, and the German people not strangers, but kinsmen in feeling and ideals.

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<sup>98</sup> De la Littérature, part I, chap. 11, p. 253.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. *Lady Blennerhasset* 3:171.

<sup>100</sup> *Lettres Inédites* p. 255.

<sup>101</sup> *Lettres Inédites* p. 263. Letter to Schlegel from London, Sept. 26, 1813.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. *Texte J. J. Rousseau*, p. 433.

<sup>103</sup> Paris, 1903, drap. 18, p. 277.

## GOETHE IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA.\*

In 1899 Dr. Oswald brought out as No. 8 of the Publications of the English Goethe Society his bibliography on Goethe in England and America. The second edition is No. 11 of the Society's series. The bibliography attempts to give a complete list of the English books and articles on Goethe. The list includes, therefore, English books that have appeared on the continent, in England, Scotland, Ireland, Canada, and the United States, but it excludes all German articles and German books that deal with Goethe's influence in English-speaking countries.

That the task undertaken by Dr. Oswald is no easy one, all will admit. It is to be expected, therefore, that there are errors and omissions. To show how rapidly the number of English treatments of Goethe is increasing, it is only necessary to compare the 1899 and 1909 editions. The number of titles in 1909 is larger by one sixth than the number in 1899; most of this increase is due to American publications. The number of books and articles published in England has increased but slightly.

Dr. Oswald's method of arrangement is as follows. In a table of contents he indicates the "Order of Subjects," a list of forty-two headings, three-quarters of which deal, in each case, with one of Goethe's works—translations, editions, commentaries, etc. Nine headings deal with more general topics. These general headings are the cause of unnecessary confusion. Five of the divisions might better be grouped under one heading—1. Works and Life, 2. General Appreciation, 6. Biographical Episodes, 40. Goethe and Weimar, 41. Miscellaneous. The line of cleavage is not clear as the headings are at present arranged; repetitions are inevitable, and no advantage is gained by the arrangement. Under "Works and Life" are found editions of Goethe's prose, articles on his death and on the 150th anniversary of his birth, and Bowring's sketch of his life; under "General Apprecia-

\*Bibliography by Eugene Oswald. Second edition, revised and enlarged by L. and E. Oswald. London. 1909. pp. vi—75.

tion" are found most of the biographies, most of the works on Goethe's religion and philosophy, and works as different in content as Oswald's first edition of the Goethe bibliography and Calvin Thomas's History of German Literature. How a sharp line can be drawn, moreover, between "Biographical Episodes" and "Goethe and Weimar" is difficult to see. The articles by Charles Harris and by Emma H. Nason on Goethe's love affairs are classed under the former heading, Professor Muensterberg's address on the 100th anniversary of Schiller's death under the latter. Finally, under "Miscellaneous" we get titles which might have been classed under any of the headings under discussion. Thus Mazzini's essay is put under "General Appreciation" as well as under "Miscellaneous;" most literary histories of Germany are put under "Miscellaneous" whereas Thomas's is under "General Appreciation;" Professor Francke's article on Cogswell's relations with Goethe is classed under "Miscellaneous" rather than under "Goethe and Weimar." In short, the five groups overlap so much that it is hardly worth while to try to keep them apart.

The one thing, however, needed more than anything else in Oswald's bibliography is a general index of authors, editors, reviewers, general topics, along with copious cross references. If, for instance, one now wishes to find the English translation of Helmholtz's *Ueber Goethe's Naturwissenschaften Arbeiten* one is practically obliged to look through seven lists—"Works and Life," "General Appreciation," "Biographical Episodes," "Theory of Colors," "Goethe as a Naturalist," "Goethe and Weimar," "Miscellaneous." As a matter of fact one finds the title listed under "Goethe as a Naturalist" and under "Miscellaneous." A single glance at a general index would save the reader endless trouble.

The usefulness of the bibliography might be increased in another respect. Henri Stein, in his thorough-going *Manuel de Bibliographie Generale*, Paris, 1897, puts down as the very first division of his book a table entitled "Bibliographies universelles," in other words, a bibliography of bibliographies. Such a list would be invaluable in a book like Oswald's. In short, the reader



would be interested to know what extended bibliographies of Goethe have already been published, and what general bibliographies and reference books were used in working up the new Goethe bibliography. In the list given below of titles of books omitted by Dr. Oswald I have tried to give first of all a list of bibliographies and reference books which were not mentioned by Dr. Oswald.

The lists of books published in England are fairly complete; it is in the American field that Oswald's lists show the most gaps. Periodical literature, in particular, has been treated superficially. Poole's Index cites between four and five hundred articles on Goethe appearing up to 1910; many of these titles, especially American titles, have not been included by Oswald. A better idea of the many omissions in the field of American periodical literature on Goethe may be gained from the following rough estimates. S. H. Goodnight (see title in the table below) cites about 225 articles appearing in American periodicals between 1801 and 1846; M. M. Haertel cites more than 300 articles appearing between 1846 and 1880. We are safe in assuming that many more articles appeared on Goethe between 1880 and 1910 than between 1846 and 1880. In other words the total number of American articles between 1801 and 1901 would be considerably more than a thousand—about three times the number of American articles cited by Oswald.

As a result of Oswald's incomplete treatment of periodical literature the titles are missing of many articles that first helped to make Goethe known to the American public—those by Edward Everett and George Bancroft in the early numbers of the *North American Review*, by C. C. Felton and F. H. Hedge in the *Christian Examiner*, by Margaret Fuller in the *Dial*, by G. H. Calvert in *Putnam's*, and scores of others.

A few criticisms of a more special nature may not be out of place. Under practically every heading we find a reference to H. H. Boyesen's edition of Goethe's works published in five volumes by Barrie in Philadelphia in 1885. As a matter of fact, Boyesen is responsible only for the biographical introduction. The translations of the various works are not by Boyesen; from

Oswald's lists, however, the reader gets the impression that Boyesen translated most of Goethe's works into English. Even in the list on *Faust* we find a reference to Boyesen. Thus Boyesen is cited at least twenty times instead of once.

On p. 11 is mentioned F. B. Sanborn's *The Life and Genius of Goethe*. Sanborn was the editor of a collection of Essays under the above title—not the author of the book. The titles of the various essays should be distributed under the respective headings. The same may be said of Mrs. S. Austin's *Characteristics of Goethe* (p. 4)—a collection of opinions by various authors—and of Marion V. Dudley's *Poetry and Philosophy of Goethe* (p. 8).

On p. 21 under the heading "Poems" we find a reference to Edward Macdowell's *Six Idylls after Goethe*, a series of piano solos with the corresponding poems printed in verses. Is there any reason for including in the bibliographical list Macdowell's musical treatments of some of Goethe's poems and excluding all other musical treatments by English or American composers and, in fact, musical settings by any composer to English translations of Goethe's poems? Citations of all musical compositions might better be left to a separate bibliography of music.<sup>1</sup> It

<sup>1</sup> A few facts may suffice to show how vast is the field of the musical treatments of the works of Goethe. John P. Anderson's bibliography (see below) gives the titles of 59 collections of musical settings to Goethe's works, besides about 275 compositions of various poems of Goethe. A more comprehensive view is given in a note by Professor Max Friedlaender in Bielschowsky's *Goethe: sein Leben und seine Werke*, vol. II, Munich, 1904, pp. 697 ff. "Ausser Shakespeare," says Professor Friedlaender, "hat kein Dichter irgend eines Kulturvolkes die Komponisten so stark und tief angeregt wie Goethe." Schubert, for instance, composed 80 pieces based on Goethe, Hugo Wolf 53, Loewe 43, Schumann 26, Mendelssohn 14, Brahms 14, Spohr 11, Liszt 9, Franz 7, etc. Fifty-eight of Goethe's poems have been set to music nine times or more—the two Wanderers' Nachtlieder more than a hundred times each. The total number of musical compositions based on these poems is approximately two thousand. If we should add the musical settings to poems which have had less than nine compositions each, also the musical treatments of Goethe's dramas, Singspiele, scenes from various plays, the number would be vastly increased. An English bibliography of Goethe in music would naturally include compositions by British or American composers and also compositions by German or other foreign composers that have been published with English translations of Goethe's poems.

would be more consistent, perhaps, to exclude Macdowell's compositions, just as all German books and articles on Goethe's influence in England and America have been excluded. The line must be drawn somewhere.

Misprints are inevitable in a bibliography covering seventy-five pages, and no attempt will be made here to correct them all. It is unfortunate, however, that so many proper names are inaccurate or incomplete, especially since many of the inaccuracies occurred in the first edition of 1899 and were not corrected in the second edition in 1909. Thus we continually find H. Boyesen or Hjalmar B. instead of H.H.B., Taft Hatfield, (p. 3) for James Taft H., Albert Selss (p. 22) and Albert Seiss (p. 41) for Albert M.S., Frl. Wenckebach for Carla W., Cutting (p. 44) for S. W. Cutting, Kender (pp. 54, 55) for Render, Farrer (p. 55) for Farrel, A. Charles Eggert (p. 60) for Charles A.E., S. S. Goodnight (p. 70) for S.H.G., Harvey (p. 70) for Haney, Renny (p. 73) for Remy. A number of names are cited differently in different parts of the book; books are cited in varying ways—sometimes with the title first, sometimes with the author first, sometimes with the editor first. All these faults, however, could easily be corrected in a new edition.

In the following list of titles omitted by Oswald only books have been cited. The omitted articles could easily be supplied by going over the references to Goethe in the various entries in the bibliographical list which is given first. For the sake of completeness a few titles are given of books that have appeared since the publication of Oswald's lists. The headings are numbered as in Oswald's book (with the exception of "General Bibliography" and "Literary Treatments," both of which are new).

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- Frederick H. Wilkens, *Early Influence of German Literature in America* (with an appendix of translations printed in the U. S. before 1826), N. Y., 1899. Reprint from the *Americana Germanica*, III, v.
- Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum. (Some of the volumes contain an excellent bibliographical "Verzeichnis" with American titles supplied by H. S. White with occasional assistance by E. H. Woodruff.)
- To this list might be added a number of books quoted by Oswald in various places, notably the works by Breul (p. 67),



Haney (p. 56), Heinemann (p. 46), and the first edition of Oswald's bibliography.

### 1. WORKS AND LIFE.

- (Works). People's edition. Edited and revised by F. H. Hedge and L. Noa. Boston, S. E., Casino, 1882.  
 (Works). Edition de luxe. London. The Amaranth Society. (1901).

### 2. GENERAL APPRECIATION.

- Francis Jeffrey, *Contributions to the Edinburgh Review*. 4 vols. London, Longmans, 1844. (Goethe treated in vol. 1). Another edition, 4 volumes in one, N. Y., Appleton, 1873.  
 F. W. Rudloff, *Shakespeare, Schiller, and Goethe relatively considered*. An essay. Brighton, 1848.  
 H. I. Schmidt, *Joh. Wolf, v. Goethe*. Inaugural discourse in the chapel of Columbia College, Mar. 7, 1848. N. Y., 1848.  
 S. H. Goodrich, *Famous men of modern times*. By Peter Parley (pseud.). One of the ten biographies is that of Goethe. Boston, n. d.  
 F. H. Hedge, *Prose writers of Germany*. 2nd ed., Phila., 1852. One of the 28 writers is Goethe.  
 George Bancroft, *Literary and historical miscellanies*, N. Y., Harper, 1855. 'The age of Schiller and Goethe,' pp. 167-205; 'Translations' (including a number of Goethe's poems), pp. 206-246.  
 Rev. Robert Alfred Vaughan, *Essays and remains of the Rev. R. A. Vaughan*, London, 1858. (Lewes's Life and Works of Goethe, vol. II, pp. 114-163).  
 Parke Godwin, *Out of the Past*, N. Y., 1870. Goethe, p. 341, etc.  
 G. H. Calvert, *Goethe, his life and works; an essay*. Boston, Lea & Shepard, 1872.  
 Almira L. Phelps, *Reviews and Essays*, Phila., 1873. Goethe, p. 180, etc.  
 Thomas Carlyle, *Goethe*, Boston, 1877. Reprinted from the "Critical and Miscellaneous Essays."

- Alexander Hay Japp, *German life and literature, in a series of biographical studies*, London, (1880). Goethe, pp. 269-379.
- Thomas Carlyle, *Essays on Goethe*, N. Y., (1881). Reprinted from "Critical and Miscellaneous Essays."
- Joseph Gostwick, *German Culture and Christianity*, London, 1882. Goethe, pp. 267-317.
- H. Duentzer, *Life of Goethe*, translated by Thomas W. Lyster, London, Macmillan, 1883; N. Y., 1884.
- May Sinclair, *Essays in Verse*, London, 1891. Contains "Two studies from the life of Goethe."
- Rudolf Eucken, *Goethe and the great thinkers*. (In U. S. Bureau of Education Report of the Commissioner for 1900-01, vol. i, pp. 110-115). Washington, 1902.
- The Library of Literary Criticism of English and American Authors. 8 vols. Ed. by C. W. Moulton and others. The Moulton Publ. Co., Buffalo, N. Y., 1901-05. (Contains 18 translations of short comments by Goethe on various English authors).
- J. G. Robertson, *Goethe (Encyclopaedia Britannica.)* 11th ed., vol. XII.

### 3. WAHRHEIT UND DICHTUNG AND ANNALEN.

- (Anon.) *Memoirs of Goethe*. Written by himself. (Oswald cites the London ed. of 1824. An American ed. appeared the same year in N. Y., Collins & Hannay and Collins & Co., 360 pp.)
- Parke Godwin, *Truth and poetry from my own life; or the autobiography of Goethe*. Edited by Parke Godwin, N. Y. (Copyright 1845). Wiley & Putnam, 1846 and later editions. (Part 3 translated by C. A. Dana, part 4 by J. S. Dwight).
- Wilhelm Wagner, *Goethe's Knabenjahre (1749-59). Goethe's boyhood*. Being the first three books of his autobiography. Arranged and annotated. Cambridge, Cambridge Press, 1876.
- C. A. Buchheim, *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (first four books). Edited with notes. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1894.—Same, Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1896.

H. C. G. von Jagemann, *Goethe's Dichtung und Wahrheit*. Selections from Books I-XI. Ed. with a brief introd. and explanatory notes. New York, Henry Holt & Co. (1896).

Charles Nisbet, *Annals; or the Day and Year papers*. With a preface by the translator. Revised ed., N. Y., Colonial Press. (1901).

H. O. Huss, *Sesenheim*. From Goethe's *D. und W.* Ed. with introd., notes, and vocab. Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1907.

A. B. Nichols, *The Vicar of Sesenheim*. Extracts from books IX-XII of Goethe's *D. und W.* N. Y., H. Holt & Co., 1908.

#### 4. ITALIENISCHE REISE.

George S. Hillard, *Six months in Italy*. 2 vols. London, 1853. (Goethe, vol. II, pp. 302-310.)

H. S. Beresford-Webb, *Goethe's Italienische Reise*. Selected letters with introd. and notes. N. Y., Maynard, Merrill & Co., 1894.

A. B. Nichols, *Goethe in Italy*. Extracts from Goethe's *Ital. Reise*. With notes and introd. N. Y., Henry Holt & Co., 1909.

#### 5. ECKERMANN.

*Conversations with Eckermann*—with special introduction by Wallace Wood—with an index. Washington and London, M. W. Dunne. (1901). Universal Classics Library.

#### 6. BIOGRAPHICAL EPISODES.

Laura C. Holloway, *The mothers of great men and women*, N. Y., 1884. (The mother of Goethe, pp. 266-283.)

#### 7. CORRESPONDENCE.

B. Arnim, *Goethe's Correspondence with a Child*. (An American edition was published by Ticknor & Fields, Boston, 1859.)

#### 8. POEMS.

M. G. Lewis, *Ambrósio, or the Monk*, London, 1795. (Contains a variant version of the Erl-King. Reprinted by Davis.)

- M. G. Lewis, *Tales of Wonder*, London, 1800. N. Y. edition, printed by L. Nichols & Co., 1801. (Contains *Erl-King*, *Fisherman's Daughter*, and poems by other German writers.) *Specimens of the German Lyric Poets*; consisting of translations in verse from the works of Buerger, Goethe, etc. Second ed. London, 1823.
- Employment*. (Poems translated from the German of Schiller and Goethe). Bath, 1828.
- Designs and Border Illustrations to Poems of Goethe, Schiller, Uhland, etc.* With translations. London, 1841.
- German Ballads, Songs, etc.* Comprising translations from Schiller, Uhland, Buerger, Goethe, etc. London (1845).
- W. E. Aytown & Sir Theodore Martin, *Poems and Ballads of Goethe*. (The American editions should be cited—N. Y., Delisses & Procter, 1859; N. Y., Holt & Williams, 1871; Boston, Osgood & Co., 1877.)
- H. W. Longfellow, *The Belfry of Bruges and other poems*, Cambridge, 1845.—*Seaside and Fireside*, Boston, 1849, etc.—containing translations from Goethe.
- H. W. Longfellow, *The Poets and Poetry of Europe*. With introd. and biographical notices. (Preface dated May, 1845).—A new edition, revised and enlarged, Phila., 1871.
- Rev. Edward Monro, *Parochial Lectures on English Poetry*, London, 1856. (Dante, Goethe, and Shakespeare, pp. 142-173.)
- F. H. Hedge, *Translations of the Erl-King, Singer, Spirit greeting, Story of the Angels*. (In Schiller's *Song of the Bell*. Translated by W. H. Furness. With poems and ballads from Goethe, Schiller and others by F. H. Hedge. New and revised ed., Phila., 1860.)
- Mrs. Janna A. Morgan, *The Erl-King*. From the German. Racine, 1860.
- Justin McCarthy, *Con Amore or Critical Chapters*, London, 1868. (Goethe's poems and ballads, pp. 35-76.)
- Edward Chawner, *Gleanings from German and French Poets*, London, 1879. (Of the 226 poems, 86 are by Goethe).
- Charles Gildehaus, *In Rhyme and Time: Shakespeare's birthday; Poems; Translations from Goethe*. St. Louis, 1895.



Martha Ridgway Bannan, *The fisher maiden, a vaudeville, and The Lover's Caprice, a pastoral play*. Translated for the first time and in the original metres. With introd. by W. Clarke Robinson. Phila., The John C. Yorston Pub. Co.

Camillo von Klenze, *Deutsche Gedichte*. Selected with notes and an introduction. N. Y., H. Holt & Co. (1895). (Thirty-five poems are by Goethe.)

The Library of the World's Best Literature. Edited by Charles Dudley Warner. 30 vols., N. Y. (1896-98). Vol. XI, pp. 6385-6454 reprints of translations of a number of Goethe's poems.

J. T. Hatfield, *German Lyrics and Ballads*. Ed. with notes and introd. Boston, D. C. Heath & Co. (1900).

J. H. Dillard, *Aus dem deutschen Dichterwald*, N. Y., Amer. Book Co. (1903). Eighteen of the poems are by Goethe.

Edw. Wilberforce, *Dante's Inferno and other translations*, London, 1903. (Pages 182-218 are devoted to poems of Goethe).

Hermann Mueller, *Deutsche Gedichte*. Selected and arranged. Boston, Ginn & Co.

*German poems for memorizing*, N. Y., H. Holt & Co., 1907.

Oscar Burkhard, *German poems for memorizing*. Vocabulary. N. Y., H. Holt & Co., 1910. (Twelve of the poems are Goethe's.)

It may also be noted that the edition of Goethe's poems by M. D. Learned (cited by Oswald on p. 21), although announced in the lists of the Macmillans, was never published.

### 13. HERMANN UND DOROTHEA.

Thomas Holcroft, *Hermann and Dorothea*. A poem from the German of Goethe. (American edition printed at the Enquirer Press, Richmond, 1805.)

W. Whewell, *Hermann and Dorothea*. (An American edition published and edited by S. E. Brownell, N. Y., 1849. The translation appeared for the first time in America in the U. S. Magazine and Democratic Review for 1848).

(Charles Thomlinson), *Hermann and Dorothea*. Translated into English hexameters, from the German hexameters of

- Goethe. With an introductory essay. London, 1849.—New ed., revised, London, 1887.
- Charles Follen, *A German Reader*. A new edition with additions by G. A. Schmitt, Boston & Cambridge, James Munroe & Co., 1858. (Contains four cantos of *H.u.D.*)
- E. C. F. Krauss, *Hermann und Dorothea*. With English notes. Boston, Urbino, 1866.
- E. A. Bowring's translation appeared also in N. Y., in the "Handy literal translations" of Hinds & Noble, and in the "Elzevir Library," N. Y., 1884.
- J. M. Hart, *Hermann und Dorothea*. Edited with notes. N. Y., Putnam, 1875.
- W. A. Hervey, *Hermann und Dorothea*. With introduction, footnotes, and vocabulary. N. Y., Hinds & Noble, 1899.
- Charles J. Kullmer, *Poessneck: The Scene of Hermann und Dorothea*, Baltimore, J. H. Furst & Co., 1907.
- W. T. Hewett, *Goethe's Hermann und Dorothea*. Edited for the use of students with notes and vocabulary. N. Y., American Book Co., 1908.
- R. A. von Minckwitz, *Goethe's Hermann und Dorothea*, edited, N. Y., C. E. Merrill & Co., (1908).
- Ellen Frothingham's translation appeared also in the Harvard Classics, N. Y., 1909.

## 15. REINEKE FUCHS.

- L. A. Holman, *Goethe's Reineke Fuchs*. The first five cantos, N. Y., Holt, 1901.

## 18. GOETZ VON BERLICHINGEN.

- Walter Scott, *Goetz von Berlichingen with the Iron Hand*. (An American reprint of the 1799 London edition, N. Y., A. H. Inskip, 1814). Another reprint of Scott's translation appeared in Paris in 1826.
- J. A. C. Hildner, *Goethe's Goetz von Berlichingen*. With introduction, notes, and appendix. Boston, Ginn & Co., 1910.

## 19. EGMONT.

*German Dramas from Schiller and Goethe*; for the use of persons learning the German language. Boston, Hilliard, Gray, & Co., Cambridge, Brown, Shattuck & Co., 1833. (The dramas are Maria Stuart, Tasso, and Egmont. An English preface states that the dramas are selected for the use of students at Harvard. The editor was undoubtedly Karl Follen who taught German at Harvard from 1825 to 1835.)

William Steffen, *Egmont, a tragedy*. With notes. N. Y., Holt & Williams; Boston, DeVries & Co., (1866).

F. Boott, *Egmont, a tragedy in five acts*. Translated from the German of Goethe. Boston & Cambridge, Sever, Francis & Co., 1871.

Anna Swanwick's translation appeared in the Harvard Classics, N. Y. (1910).

## 23. &amp; 24. FAUST.

(Dr. Oswald arranged the titles on Faust under two headings, the first comprising "analysis, translation, editions, illustrations," the second "appreciation, criticism, illustration, imitation, caricature." The very fact that the term "illustration" is used under both headings shows how difficult it is to draw a sharp line between the two classes. I have therefore arranged my titles under one heading.)

*Soane's translation*, now first published, from the unique advance sheets sent to Goethe in 1822. (The translation covers the first 576 lines of Faust. The editor is L. L. Mackall. Braunschweig, 1904. Sonderabdruck from the *Archiv. f. d. Stud. d. n. Spr. u. Lit.*, CXII, Heft ¾.)

*Faust: a tragedy by Goethe*; German text with English notes. London, 1836.

(John Macdonald Bell), *Faust: A Tragedy. Part II, as completed in 1831*, translated into English verse. Dumfries, 1838.

A. Haywood, *Faust, translated into English prose*. (First American edition Lowell, Bixby, 1840.—New ed., Boston, Ticknor, Reed & Fields, 1851.)

- A. H. Everett, *Poems*, 1845. (Scenes from Goethe's Faust.)
- L. E. Peithmann, *Goethe's Faust: the first part*, with an analytical translation (or rather vocabulary) and etymological and grammatical notes. Second edition. London, 1856.
- J. Cartwright, *Goethe's Faust*, translated into English verse. London, 1862.
- Carl Alex. von Reichlin-Meldegg. *Faust: an exposition of Goethe's Faust* from the German (translated) by R. H. Chitenden. Boston (1864).
- Faust, Eine Tragoedie von Goethe: Erster Theil*. With English notes. Boston, S. R. Urbino, 1864.
- George H. Calvert, *Brief Essays and Brevities*, Boston, 1874. (Goethe's *Faust*, pp. 123-128.)
- William Cook, *Goethe's Faust: Erster Theil*. With an introduction and notes. N. Y., Holt, 1878.
- L. Pagel, *Doctor Faustus of the popular legend*, Marlowe, the Puppet-Play, Goethe, and Lenau, treated historically and critically. A parallel between Goethe and Schiller, etc., 2 pts. (Liverpool, 1883).
- Songs and scenes from Goethe's Faust*. Illustrated from designs by A. Liezen Mayer and Ad. Lalanze. Engraved by George T. Andrews and others. Boston, Estes & Lauriat, 1884.
- Frank Claudy, *Faust, a tragedy*. The first part translated in the original metres, Washington, 1886. Wm. H. Morrison (publisher).
- E. H. Griggs, *Syllabus of a course of twelve lectures on the first part of Goethe's Faust*. Phila., Amer. Soc. for the Extension of University Teaching, 1900.
- Thomas Davidson, *The philosophy of Goethe's Faust*; edited by Chas. M. Bakewell. Boston, Ginn & Co. (1906).
- Julius Goebel, *Goethe's Faust, Erster Teil*. Edited with introduction and commentary. N. Y., H. Holt & Co., 1907.
- Marcus Hitch, *Goethe's Faust, a fragment of socialist criticism*, Chicago, 1908.
- Juliana Haskell, *Bayard Taylor's translation of Goethe's Faust*, N. Y., 1908.



William Frederic Hauhart, *The reception of Goethe's Faust in England in the first half of the nineteenth century*, N. Y., 1909.

Anna Swanwick's translation appeared also in the Harvard Classics, N. Y., 1909.

George Santayana, *Three philosophical poets—Lucretius, Dante, and Goethe*. (Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, vol. I), Cambridge, 1910.

#### 25. IPHIGENIE AUF TAURIS.

E. C. F. Krauss, *Iphigenie auf Tauris*. With English notes. Boston, Urbino, 1865.

E. A. Oppen, *Iphigenie*. Annotated. London, Longmanns, Greene & Co., 1868.

C. A. Buchheim, *Iphigenie auf Tauris*. Edited. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1880.

Frederick Butler, *Iphigenie auf Tauris*. Translated from the German. Reading, Pa., 1898.

Chas. A. Eggert, *Iphigenie auf Tauris*. With introd. and notes. N. Y., Macmillan & Co., 1898.

L. A. Rhoades, *Iphigenie*. Edited with introduction and notes. Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1896.

Arthur S. Mann, *Thoas*. An epilogue to Goethe's *Iphigenie auf Tauris*. New Haven, Morehouse & Taylor, 1899. (Yale Prize Poems, 1899.)

*Iphigenie auf Tauris*. The Weimar text with the English translation by Anna Swanwick. Given in Sanders Theatre, Cambridge, Mar. 22, 1900, by the Irving Place Theatre Co., of N. Y. Introduction by Kuno Francke. (Cambridge, Mass., Wheeler, 1900.)

#### 26. TASSO.

*German Dramas from Schiller and Goethe*. (Cf. the first heading under 19. Egmont.)

M. A. H., *Torquato Tasso*, from the German of Goethe and other poems, translated and original. London, 1856.

(J. Cartwright), *Goethe's Torquato Tasso*. Translated into English verse. London, 1861.

## 29. WERTHER.

*Sorrows and sympathetic attachments of Werther*: a German story, in a series of letters. By Mr. Goethe, Doctor of the Civil Law. In two vols. Philadelphia, Robert Bell, 1784. (Probably a reprint of the London translation of 1779. Cf. Wilkens, p. 65.)

*The Sorrows of Werther*. A German story. Taedet coeli convexa tueri. To each his sufferings. Gray (Ode to Adversity). Vol. I. Litchfield (Conn.). Printed by Thomas Collier, 1789. (Reprint of the 1779 London trans.).

*The Sorrows of Werther, an affecting story*. Translated from the original German. N. Y., Wayland & Davis, 1795.

*Werther and Charlotte. The Sorrows of Werther*. A German story. To which is annexed, the Letters of Charlotte to a female Friend, during her Connection with Werther. Boston, Thomas & Andrews. October. 1798.

*The Sorrows of Werther*. From the German of Baron Goethe. A new translation, revised and compared with all the former editions. By Dr. Pratt. N. Y., published by Richard Scott, 1807.

*The Sorrows of Werther*. Translated from the German of Baron Goethe. By William Render, D.D. Boston, Andrews & Cummings, 1807. The Letters of Charlotte, etc., pp. 187-319.

In general, Oswald's list on Werther is fairly complete, except so far as the American reprints and editions are concerned. A careful comparison of Oswald's list with the titles given, for instance, by Wilkens and by Anderson, would straighten out a number of inconsistencies.

## 31. WAHLVERWANDSCHAFTEN.

Victoria C. Woodhull, *Elective Affinities*, with an introduction. Boston, D. W. Niles, 1872.

## 37. ART.

R. M. Eyton, *Essays*, London, Griffith & Farran, 1884. (Contains one chapter on "Rubens and Goethe").

- W. M. Bryant, *Goethe as a representative of the modern art spirit*, St. Louis, 1889.
- William Guild Howard, *Laokoon: Lessing, Herder, Goethe*. Selections edited with an introduction and a commentary. N. Y., H. Holt & Co., 1910.
- (F. W. C. Lieder), *Introduction to the Propylaen of Goethe*. Translated in the Harvard Classics, vol. entitled "Famous Prefaces," pp. 264-280, N. Y., 1910.

## 39. GOETHE AS A NATURALIST.

- Wm. Darlington, M. D. *An essay and modifications of the external organs of plants*. Compiled chiefly from the writings of J. Wolfgang von Goethe for the public lecture of the class of the Chester County Cabinet of Natural Science. Westchester, 1839.
- E. M. Cox, *Goethe's essay on the metamorphosis of plants*, translated. With explanatory notes by M. T. Masters. (London), 1863. Reprinted from the "Journal of Botany," vol. I.
- E. Haeckel, *The History of Creation*; or the development of the earth and its inhabitants by the action of natural causes. The translation revised by E. R. Lankester, London, 1876. (The original German book has the sub-title "Vortraege ueber die Entwicklungslehre im Allgemeinen und diejenige von Darwin, Goethe, und Lamarck.")
- H. Helmholtz, *Ueber Goethe's Naturwissenschaftliche Arbeiten*. With notes for American students by Oswald Seidensticker. N. Y., H. Holt & Co., 1889.

## 40. GOETHE AND WEIMAR.

- George H. Calvert, *First years in Europe*, Boston, Spenser, 1866. (Ch. VIII is entitled "Weimar," and gives an account of Calvert's memorable interview with Goethe).
- George H. Calvert, *Charlotte von Stein: a memorial*. Boston, Lee & Shepard, 1877.
- George Eliot, *Essays and leaves from a note book*, Edinburgh, 1884. ("Three months in Weimar," pp. 290-321).
- H. W. Mabie, *Backgrounds of literature*, N. Y., The Outlook Co., 1903. (Contains a chapter on "Weimar and Goethe").

## 41. MISCELLANEOUS.

- The Young Rifleman's Comrade: a narrative, etc.* Translated from the German. (The original edition contains the statement "Eingefuehrt durch J. W. von Goethe.") London, 1826.
- Hermann Ulrici, *Shakespeare's dramatic art and his relation to Calderon and Goethe*. Translated from the German. London, 1846. ("Goethe in relation to Shakespeare," pp. 512-554.)
- J. M. Hart, *Goethe: Ausgewaehlte Prosa*. Edited with notes. N. Y., Putnam, 1876.
- George Ticknor. *Life, Letters, and Journal of George Ticknor*. London, 1876. (Numerous references to Goethe).
- A. Stevens, *Madame de Staël; a study of her life and times*. London, 1881. (Numerous references to Goethe).
- E. D. A. Morshead, *Shakespeare and Goethe*. (Pp. 95-106 of *Noctes Shakesperianae*, ed. by C. N. Hawkins, London, 1887).
- K. Biedermann, *Deutsche Bildungszustaende im 18ten Jahrhundert*. Edited by John A. Walz. N. Y., H. Holt & Co., 1904. (Numerous references to Goethe).
- A. B. Nichols, *Modern German Prose*. A reader for advanced classes. Compiled and annotated. N. Y., H. Holt, 1908. (A number of the essays deal with Goethe).
- Calvin Thomas, *An Anthology of German Literature*, Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1909. (Goethe, pp. 360-371.)
- Frederick A. Braun, *Margaret Fuller and Goethe*, N. Y., H. Holt & Co., 1910.
- W. A. Phillips, *Goethe's Descendants*. (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., vol. XII).
- Ludwig Lewisohn, *German Style*. An introduction to the study of German prose. N. Y., H. Holt & Co., 1911. (Goethe, pp. 83-119).

Under the heading "Miscellaneous" Oswald included a number of histories of German literature. The list is by no means complete. The works of H. S. Conant, Gostwick and Harrison, F. H. Hedge, J. K. Hosmer, Frederick Metcalfe (based on Vilmar), R. W. Moore, M. E. Phillips, W. Scherer (translated by Mrs. F. C. Conybeare, edited by Max Mueller), Bayard Taylor,



B. W. Wells should be added. The most serious omission is Wolfgang Menzel's work which appeared in an English translation by Thomas Gordon in Oxford and London in 1840 and in another translation by the Harvard professor and president C. C. Felton in Boston in 1840. It was Felton's translation of Menzel's history, including its scathing attack on Goethe, that gave New Englanders one of the first impressions of Goethe's work. It was against Menzel's attack that Margaret Fuller defended Goethe so valiantly in some of her books and articles, and Margaret Fuller was one of the most important interpreters of Goethe in America (cf. Braun's book cited above).

Finally, no list of treatments of Goethe would be complete unless the studies on the relation between Goethe and Schiller were included. Oswald should have cited, therefore, the English and American biographies of Schiller—Carlyle, Follen, Bulwer-Lytton, Sime, Nevinson, and Calvin Thomas.—also P. E. Pinkerton's translation of Düntzer's life and Lady Wallace's translation of Palleske's. To this list might be added also Nevinson's Herder and Sime's Lessing, both of which contain important allusions and references to Goethe.

#### LITERARY TREATMENTS.

Henry W. Longfellow, *Hyperion: a Romance*, Cambridge, 1846. (Chapter VIII is entitled "Goethe").

H. N. Humphreys, *Goethe in Strasbourg: A dramatic novelette*. London, 1860.

L. Muelbach (pseud. for Clara Mueller Mundt), *Old Fritz and the New Era*. Translated by Peter Langley. N. Y., Appleton, 1868. (Goethe is one of the main characters).

L. Muelbach, *Goethe and Schiller. An historical romance*. Translated by Chapman Coleman. N. Y., Appleton, 1870.

Emma Lazarus, *Alide: an episode of Goethe's life*. Philadelphia, 1874.

It would be difficult to draw from a bibliography like Oswald's a general conclusion regarding Goethe's influence on English and American literature. So far as mere statistics go the English-speaking world is rapidly adding to the number of

books, articles, and reviews on Goethe. Roughly estimated, the number of entries in the 1899 edition is eighteen hundred, in that of 1909 twenty-one hundred. This number, as has been indicated above, is far too low. Probably three thousand would be a fairer estimate of the number of English treatments of Goethe up to 1910.

That Goethe has been widely read, studied, translated, and discussed by English-speaking students can readily be shown. That his influence on English literature might be called great, is to be doubted. Certainly a greater influence has been exerted on English writers by a number of foreign authors other than Goethe. We know that Goethe's works interested many English writers, but the extent of his influence is a matter of conjecture. Whether Goethe was in any considerable degree a stimulus for Byron's *Manfred*, *Childe Harold*, and *Kane*, Coleridge's *Christabel* (as to metre), Browning's *Paracelsus*, is a matter of doubt. We know that Coleridge was no admirer of Goethe, and that Byron denied following the latter in his *Manfred*. We know that Scott translated *Goetz* (very poorly to be sure), that Shelley translated the "Walpurgisnacht" scene from *Faust*, and that one stanza in Tennyson's *In Memoriam* refers to Goethe. On the other hand, Lamb, Southey, Macaulay, Thackeray, and Pater, who knew something of Goethe's work, maintained an indifferent attitude toward him. Wordsworth and De Quincey openly expressed an antipathy for him. Two prominent English writers were great admirers of Goethe—Carlyle and Matthew Arnold—and of these two the greater admirer was Carlyle. Yet Goethe's greatest influence on Carlyle was exerted in the latter's youthful period. Carlyle translated *Wilhelm Meister* and the *Helena*, and wrote numerous articles on Goethe. Traces of Goethe's influence have been pointed out in two of Carlyle's original works—*Wotton Rein-fred* and *Sartor Resartus*. It is significant to note that this influence of the German poet on his greatest English admirer was exerted before Goethe's death and at a time when the English-speaking world knew almost nothing about Goethe. Later, in his *Lectures on Heroes*, Carlyle made the sweeping statement:

"I consider that, for the last hundred years, by far the notablest of all Literary Men is Goethe."

The problem with reference to American literature has its interesting phases. Of the total number of entries in the 1899 edition of Oswald's bibliography, about one-fifth are American and four-fifths British; of the total number in 1909 about one-third are American and two-thirds British. Since American periodical literature was inadequately treated by Oswald (at least six or seven hundred American articles are omitted) we may assume that at the present time at least half of the total number of books, articles, etc. in English are by Americans. It would be unwise, however, to assume that Goethe's influence has been greater in America than in England. Interesting in this connection, is a letter by Dr. Perry Worden dated Weimar, June 19, and printed in the *Nation*, July 21, 1910. He describes the Goethe-Fest on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Goethe Gesellschaft. Commenting on the large festival banquet, Worden says: "Almost thirty Englishmen and women were grouped together. The American representation, on the other hand, was disappointingly inadequate, especially considering the far greater advance in America in scholarship relating to Goethe and German literature generally, and the number of American professors known to be in Europe this very day." Another sentence reads: "Goethe will some day come to his own in British lands." Still another: "In England Goethe's influence lies in the future."

If Oswald's bibliography shows anything, it shows that the study of Goethe has not been neglected in England. Goethe's influence on English literature may be regarded as not particularly great, but it is, at all events, as great as his influence on American literature. Emerson, Margaret Fuller, and Bayard Taylor were deeply interested in Goethe; Everett, Bancroft, Felton, Calvert, Hedge, and others wrote about him. The original work of none of these writers, with the possible exception of Margaret Fuller, was affected as much by Goethe as was the early works of Carlyle. Goethe's influence in England, may, as Worden says, lie in the future, but not any more so than his in-

fluence in America. It is probable that Goethe at the present time is being studied more widely and thoroughly in America than in England; but his influence on literature in English was most deeply felt in the work of Carlyle more than eighty years ago.

A complete bibliography of Goethe in England and America would be of invaluable aid to the Goethe student. Whoever undertakes the task may admit that Oswald has done not a little of the drudgery.

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## 'FORSONINGEN' IN TEGNER'S FRITHIOFSSAGA.

In this canto of the *Frithiofssaga* Tegnér gives poetic expression to the most vital doctrine of his religious philosophy of life. Much has been written about Tegnér's religious views and their relation to the *Frithiofssaga* but no attempt has yet been made to connect the religious significance of this poem with that of the author's previous poetic productions. An appreciative interpretation is always incomplete and unsatisfactory if a literary work be isolated from the emotions and convictions to which the author has given expression in various productions other than the poem in question. Such is the case with the canto, *Försoningen*, in the *Frithiofssaga*. It is the purpose of this article to point out the connection in thought and language between this canto (1822) and four of Tegnér's previous poems: namely, *Fridsörter* (1808), *Träden* (1813), *Nattvardsbarnen* (1820) and *Epilog vid magisterpromotionen i Lund* (1820).

In all Scandinavian literature there is no poet who has given such beautiful expression to religion as Esaias Tegnér. The vital essence of all his poetry is religion. Like a golden thread he weaves his religious thought through the woof of his work, thus lending to his poetry a religious coloring which constitutes the character of the whole. For Tegnér poetry is the greatest and truest expression of religion. Poetry is with him the expression of God in man and this is Tegnér's whole religion. In the *Epilog vid magisterpromotionen i Lund*, in an address to the students of Lund university, Tegnér lays especial stress upon poetry as the direct vehicle of the soul's thought. Strength and clarity (*kraft och klarhet*) are the essential characteristics of poetry. Poetic thought he compares to the clear light of the sun, the same symbol of art that the ancient Greeks chose in the God, Phœbus Apollo. 'In poetry, as in the realm of Phœbus, all things must be clear. All poetry is transparent; its structure is of crystal and the light is reflected through its mirror-walls in a thousand refracted rays.'

I Febi värld, i vetande som dikt,  
 är allting klart: klart strålar Febi sol,  
 klar var hans källa, den kastaliska,  
 hvad du ej klart kan säga, vet du ej.

I diktens riken är det som i tankens.  
 All dikt är genomskinlig. Af kristall  
 dess stad är byggd, och ljuset tusendubblat  
 tillbakastrålar från dess spegelmurar.

The religion for which Tegnér seeks expression in poetry is extremely simple in character. In *Nattvardsbarnen* (1820), which is essentially a homily in verse, Tegnér says that all that is really great is simple both in doctrine and in song; so simple that even a child can grasp its meaning. 'The meaning of religion,' he says, 'is love.' Thus, religion is defined in a single word, viz, 'love.' By love he means love of God, which is love of all mankind.

Vänlig läraren stod som en ljusets ängel ibland dem,  
 tydde för barnen det heliga ut, det högsta i få ord,  
 grundligt, men enkelt och klart, ty allt det höga är enkelt  
 båda i lära och sång, ett barn kan fatta dess mening.

Älskar du Gud som du bör, då älskar du bröderna äfven.

Here the simplicity of Tegnér's conception of religion is expressed in direct contrast to the complex theology and theorizing of the State Church during his time. In *Fridsröster* Tegnér glorifies the freedom of religious thought, indirectly referring to the compulsory religion in Sweden before the time of 'The Proclamation of Religious Freedom' by Gustav III in 1781. In his *Reformationsjubelfesten* (1817) Tegnér again refers to liberty of thought as absolutely necessary for true religion and deplores the restrictions which the Lutheran church has laid upon it. The question of religious liberty was of vital importance to the poet. It was this question which involved him in the great struggle of his life and finally resulted in the derangement of his mind and the paralysis of all poetic effort. In 1824 he was elected Bishop of the Church of Sweden at Växjö. This was a

crisis in the poet's life and proved to be a great misfortune, for it was entirely impossible for him to reconcile his own personal religion with that of the church. 'Theology is religion's worst enemy,' he says (1821). 'Orthodoxy is bankrupt not only in reason but also in Christianity. The orthodox conception of the Trinity is an impossibility (*quadratura circuli*—a squared circle), the Divinity of Christ irrational and Vicarious Atonement a butcher's idea which is heathen both in sight of God and reason.' This relation to theology, in the position in which he was, deeply affected an honest and sensitive soul as Tegnér was. His correspondence at this time all shows a great discontentment and dejection of mind. He felt, as he says, 'like a church police-master rather than like a church bishop.' In deep despair he cries out (1826), 'the foundation of my reason is in fragments (*min resonnansbotten är sprucken*), but I try to piece it together again, now with friendships and now with poetry.' This deep dejection of mind is given artistic expression in his poem, *Mjältsjukan* (1825). Tegnér thought that the duties of his new office would not be so strenuous as to deprive him of the time for continuing his poetic efforts but he found that he not only was deceived in this regard but on account of the intense spiritual struggle through which he was passing that all his poetic talent had become paralyzed. Gerda, which promised to be one of his master-pieces, remained a fragment, as well as an epic poem upon Charles XII and another upon Napoleon. It is no wonder that he cries out: 'Sweden is a land of genius in science and in literature, but our genius is frost-bitten just like our crops.'

The canto *Försoningen* (Reconciliation) in the Frithiofssaga was written in 1822, while the whole poem was not completed until 1825. The old Norse saga of 'Frithiof the Bold', *Friðþjófs-saga ens froekna* furnished Tegnér the structure for his poem but there is much in Tegnér's work which is the poet's own, irrespective of the original. The most vital and important element original with Tegnér is the religious. In 'The Reconciliation' the key-note is sounded to the poetic symphony of Frithiof. Tegnér's Frithiof, though clad in the garb of an Old Norse vi-

king, is nevertheless a Christian character, a poetic production of Tegnér's own religious thought. Of all the cantos in the poem 'The Reconciliation' contains the most complete embodiment of Tegnér's doctrine of life and reveals the poet as the spokesman of Christianity in direct contrast to the heathen religion of the Old Norse viking. The canto (*Försoningen*) has, therefore, no counterpart in the original but is added by Tegnér to complete the Christian character of his Frithiof and to give his whole poem a deeply religious significance.

Frithiof, in burning the temple of Balder, has committed a crime which not only makes him an outlaw in the community but also renders him liable to the penalty of death. In the canto '*Försoningen*,' Frithiof appears before the priest of Balder to do penance for his crime. This he thinks he will accomplish by rebuilding the temple which he has burned. Here in this final canto Tegnér seizes the opportunity to restore Frithiof into favor with the outraged god by means of a spiritual reconciliation which far transcends the mere rebuilding of the temple. Balder's priest, like the Christian priest in *Nattvardsbarnen*, is here Tegnér himself giving utterance to his own religious views. The structure of the new temple becomes the symbol of the Christian doctrine of reconciliation with God. Reconciliation with God means salvation and is possible only through the love of God, which is the love of all mankind. The whole question of reconciliation is based upon love. If the soul is not purged of all hatred towards our fellow-men love for God and, therefore, reconciliation with God is impossible. This whole doctrine is based upon Matthew V, 23, 24, ff., 'first be reconciled with thy brother and then come and offer thy gift,' as Balder's priest tells Frithiof:

Försonas med din fiende och med dig själf,  
så är du ock försonad med ljuslockig gud.

When Frithiof stands before the new temple the glory of its beauty overpowers him. Twelve virgins, clad in silver corslets and radiant with the fresh fervor of youth, emerge from its portals and around the altar of the God sing a holy song of consecration. A great change suddenly comes over Frithiof's



soul. The memories of his youth when all was happiness and innocence appear before his inner vision. Like Faust on Easter morn when the song of The Resurrection greets his ears, so Frithiof's soul is softened and purified. His wild viking life, with all its bloody deeds and adventures, sinks like a shadow into the past. His soul is suddenly transported from the sordid life on earth into the higher realms of Valaskjalf, the Viking heaven. Revenge and hatred melt from his soul like the snow upon the mountain when the spring sun shines. In this new transport of joy he feels himself at one with God and all mankind; for love, like a sudden flash of light, has entered his soul, and though he be not conscious of it, his true reconciliation has begun. It seems to him 'as if he could feel the heart of nature beating against his own, as if he could fain press the whole world (Heimskringla) to his breast in brotherly love and *make peace with every created being in the sight of God.*'

Det var, som kände han naturens hjerta slå  
emot sitt hjerta, som ville han trycka rörd  
Heimskringla i sitt broderfamn och *stifta frid*  
*med hvarje skapadt väsen inför gudens syn.*

This feeling of oneness with God in all created things Tegnér has most beautifully expressed in his poem upon 'The Trees', *Träden* (1813). In fact he uses almost identically the same words which he makes Fritiof use in the passage quoted above. In this poem Tegnér gives expression to his pantheistic doctrine of the immanent God in nature. 'In olden days the oak-trees of Dodona uttered from out their shadows the oracle of God. So to-day their voice whispers the same oracle of God into the ear of the wise (i. e. the spiritual) man, for it is through nature that the Divine Spirit manifests itself. The stately oak with its crown of glory, the fair birch and the royal fir are all manifestations of His spirit.' Nature is God and God is nature; one being merely the manifestation of the other. 'Therefore,' the poet continues, 'worship the trees as the ancients did but not as *a mere created thing* but as a *living spirit.*'

Fall ned och tillbed, icke ett skapat ting,  
men håg som lever!

In this feeling of the identity of God with nature the poet cries out: 'O, let me press all created things to my breast in love,'—'O, låt mig trycka vart väsen kärligt bröst!'—just as Frithiof says that he feels 'as if he could fain press the whole world to his breast in brotherly love and make peace with every created being in the sight of God.' Frithiof is at this moment at one with the Infinite, just as the poet Tegnér in contemplation of God's spirit manifested in nature.

In the priest's discourse to Frithiof upon reconciliation Tegnér emphasizes the divine character of man. In describing the history of the gods, the priest has given a larger picture of the history of man. 'Once peace dwelt not only in the halls of the gods but also upon earth, for that which has taken place here below has also occurred in heaven above, only in a larger measure. Humanity is but a diminutive picture of Valhalla; it is the light of heaven which is reflected in Saga's rune-written shield.'

Ty hvad som sker har nere, det har redan skett  
i större mått der uppe: menskligheten är  
en ringa bild af Valhall; det är himmlens ljus,  
som speglar sig i Sagas runbeskrifna sköld.

In *Fridsröster* the poet likewise emphasizes the divine character of man. The divine attributes inherent in man's nature are peace and love. It is only by fostering these impulses that the riddle of life can be solved. Therefore, the poet admonishes man to guard carefully this precious flame that has been sent to him from heaven.

Menska, någon himmelsk flamma  
lefver i dig, vårda den!

In *Nattvardsbarnen* the priest speaks of this divine spark in the human heart *den himmelska lågan* and warns the children not to allow it to become extinguished. Love for God is identical with the love for all mankind, for man *is* divine. 'If thou lovest God as thou shouldst, then doest thou also love thy brother, for every human being bears the divine stamp upon his brow. Canst thou not read thine origin in every one of his (man's) features? Why shouldst thou hate thy brother?'

Älskar du Gud som du bör, då älskar du bröderna äfven :  
 Bär ej hvar mensklig gestalt det gudomligas tecken på pannan?  
 Läser du ej i hans drag ditt ursprung?—  
 —Hvi skulle du hata din broder?

When Frithiof offers the new temple of Balder as a reconciliation for the crime he has committed against the god, the priest carefully distinguishes the difference between the symbol and the reality, between the mere rite and the spirit which that rite represents. It is not the symbol but the spirit which absolves. Reconciliation is a spiritual process which takes place within the soul itself. Salvation is attained only through character, for the wrong which one has done cannot be made right except through the efforts of the individual himself. "The sacrifice dearest to the gods is not the incense from the sacrificial altar but the renunciation of the heart's wild hatred and evil impulse for revenge." If Frithiof cannot purge his soul of these wicked thoughts, 'what does he seek in the temple of Balder?' The symbol without the spirit is of no avail and the new temple has lost its significance.

*Men tecknet ar ej saken, det försonar ej:*  
 hvad sjelf du brutit gäldar ingen ann för dig.  
 de döda sona vid Allfaders gudabarm,  
 den lefvandes försoning är i eget bröst.  
 Ett offer vet jag, som är gudarna mera kärt  
 än rök af offerbollar, det är offret af  
 ditt eget hjertas vilda hat, din egen hämnd.  
 Kan du ej döfva deras klingor, kan du ej  
 förlåta, yngling, hvad vill du i Balders hus?  
 Hvad mente du med templet, som du reste här?

In this passage Tegnér invalidates the orthodox conception of Vicarious Atonement. He says: 'whatever wrong thou thyself hast done, no one else but thyself can atone for'—"hvad sjelf du brutit gälder ingen ann för dig"—. The orthodox conception of Christ's suffering as the atonement for the sins of all mankind seemed to Tegnér irrational and irreligious. By such an act the essential worth of character is destroyed which is the basis of all true religion. The atonement for sin is an en-

tirely subjective process which only the character of the soul makes possible. Therefore, Christ's passion is only a symbol of the suffering through which every human soul must pass in order to be absolved and thus to inherit the kingdom of God. In a letter to Geijer in 1821, Tegnér writes with intense indignation: "the orthodox conception of Vicarious Atonement is a butcher's idea which is heathen both in sight of God and reason."<sup>1</sup>

In "Nattvardsbarnen" the children are assembled to receive the blessings of their spiritual father and to be consecrated for their life's work. The priest dwells at length upon love as the essential element of religion and upon reconciliation as possible only through love. On this day the ceremony is performed which is symbolic of these religious truths. Therefore, the priest warns the children not to confuse the symbol of the truth with the truth itself, "for the symbol is dead, if the thing itself has not life." "The eternal light does not shine for the blind, it is real only to the eye which can see. Forgiveness consists neither in bread nor in wine but in the purified heart."<sup>2</sup>

Again in the Epilog of 1820, Tegnér takes care to distinguish between the thing itself and its outward manifestation. On the day of this ceremony the students of Lund university are to crown the efforts of their academic career. The laurel wreath (the Master's Degree) with which they are to be crowned by their Alma Mater is merely a symbol of the ideal of truth which they are to pursue in after life. "The truth can never be wholly attained, it flees before us like the fair form of Daphne before Apollo." Then follows a description of the famous myth of

<sup>1</sup> *"en slaktareidé som vore hädisk mot både Gud och förnuft?"*

<sup>2</sup> *Tecknet är dödt, om ej saken har lif. Det eviga ljuset är för de blinde ej till, men föds af det seende ögat.*

*Icke i bröd och ej heller i vin, i det renade hjertat ligger förlåtelsen gömd.—*

So with Frithiof "the symbol is not the thing, the symbol (in itself) will not bring reconciliation,"—"men tecknet är ej saken, det försonar ej."



Apollo in pursuit of Daphne, the god's ideal of beauty. Daphne is transformed into a tree but Phoebus Apollo, breaking off a branch, twines it among his locks in token of his love. So the sons of Phoebus, in passionate pursuit of their ideal of truth, fail to outstrip her and find only an altered and poorer form; for the truth itself is perfect, and possible only with God. "Therefore," the poet says, "treasure this wreath which you receive today for it symbolizes your purpose in life. *But the symbol is not the thing itself*, the road you travel is not yet identical with the end which you seek; that is still far away."<sup>3</sup>

If the symbol were confused with the thing itself, the pursuit of truth would be at an end and the purpose of the life intellectual would be frustrated. So too in religion, the symbol must not be confused with the spirit which it represents, else the purpose of religion is invalidated. Vicarious Atonement is, therefore, a mere symbol which, if considered identical with the thing itself, negates the very character of religion. The Atonement consists not in Christ's suffering itself but in purifying the soul, as Christ did, through suffering, which entails the active renunciation of evil impulses and the cultivation of the divine which are inherited of God. In both the life religious and the life intellectual the symbol is not the thing itself,—*"tecknet är ej saken"*—, for the thing itself is the eternal truth of which men, like the god Apollo, is in constant pursuit. In the Frithiofssaga Tegnér has merely translated into spiritual terms the conception of a truth which he had in the Epilog previously applied to the intellectual ideal of man.

Profesor Warburg in his "History of Swedish Literature,"<sup>4</sup> naively remarks concerning Tegnér's view of Vicarious Atonement that "it is hardly orthodox from the view point of either the Old Norse or the Christian religion." Tegnér's religion far transcended in spiritual import the orthodox religion of his day. His religion is based upon love and the worship of God in spirit

<sup>3</sup> *Men tecknet är ej saken, väkgen är*

*ännu ej målet: det står fjärren borta.*

<sup>4</sup> *Illustrerad Svensk Litteraturhistoria* af Henrik Schück och Karl Warburg, Stockholm.

and in truth. Thus the priest tells Fritiof that the only sacrifice which will bring him reconciliation with the god Balder is the renunciation of "his heart's wild hatred and evil impulse for revenge." In almost the same identical terms in *Fridsröster* (the original title of which was "Reconciliation"—*Försonligheten*," 1806) the poet symbolizes Reconciliation sitting (like Christ) at the right hand of God, where the flame of every hateful and bitter thought is extinguished. The orthodox conception of Christ's sitting at the right hand of God interceding for humanity is here applied to a subjective state of the soul, which is realized only when hatred and all evil passions are burned away.

Om du lider, om du faller  
misskänd, utan tröst och hopp,  
genom lifvets fångselgaller  
se i öppna himlen opp,  
der hvar hatfull själ, hvar bitter  
svartnar som en slocknad brand,  
och försonligheten sitter  
på den Högstes högra hand.

In *Fridsröster* also Tegnér says that the riddle of life is solved only through love. To love and forgive the sons of the same father is to redeem the world. Love, therefore, is the essential character of reconciliation with God and with man, and only through love and reconciliation is the salvation of the soul made possible.

Frid och kärlek måste stamma  
från den faderliga vän.  
Vet du på din lefvnadsgåta  
något tröstligare svar  
än att älska och förlåta  
sönnerna af samma far?

In *Nattvardsbarnen* the poet likewise refers to reconciliation as the key to the riddle of life. "When, on the last day, the dead rise out of the grave they will whisper to each other with whitened lips the word (only dimly sensed before) which will solve the riddle of the universe; 'reconciliation.' Reconciliation is love

and love is reconciliation.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, thou child of man, love the allmerciful father and if thou lovest God as thou shouldst, then doest thou also love thy brother." .

This is exactly the same doctrine of atonement that the poet utters through the priest of Balder's temple when Frithiof seeks reconciliation for his crime. Frithiof must, in other words, "love his enemies and do good to them that hate him" before he can gain God's love and reconciliation with God, and no one else can do this for him. Thus Tegnér gives poetic expression to the Christian religion in its truly spiritual and transcendental significance, in direct opposition to the irrational conception of Vicarious Atonement held by the Orthodox Church in that the latter confused the symbol with the thing.

This larger, transcendental religion the poet repeatedly emphasizes. God is one, the father of us all. His nature is love and through love we worship Him in all things spiritual and material. In the Frithiofssaga the priest refers to the new religion of Christ. The essence of this new religion is (as in *Fridsröster*) peace and love, which has bestowed upon the world that reconciliation which Frithiof seeks. Yet the god of this new religion is the same spirit which the vikings worshipped, though perhaps in a different form. "One is Allfather, though many be his messengers,"— *en är Allfader, fastän fler hans sändebud* — So too in *Fridsröster* the priest speaks of all mankind as "the sons of the same father,"— *sönnerna af samma far*.

The oneness of God Tegnér expresses most beautifully in his poem upon "The Trees" (*Träden*. cf. p. — of this article). In "The Trees" God is expressed in the outward manifestation of nature. The whole material universe breathes His spirit. So too in the unseen world the spirit of God is one, inherent in the soul of man. God expresses himself both objectively and subjectively, for He is the essence of the universe. In *Fridsröster* the poet emphasizes religion as a natural instinct whereby the soul senses the spirit of God. The soul of man reaches God in this manner,

<sup>5</sup> — och de döda stiga ur grafven,  
hviskande sakta hvarann i örat med bleknade läppar  
ordet, blott anadt förut, till skapelsens gata: försoning!  
Kärlekens djup är försoningens djup, försoning är kärlek.

just as the poet, Tegnér, did through the contemplation of the outward manifestation of God's spirit in the trees. Thus the poet says in *Fridsröster*: "what difference does it make what we call this father of ours? Whatever is accidental must perish but that which is essential will live. Can the wise man with his learning (however profoundly and skilfully he may reason) come nearer to God's world than the primitive man in his innocence?"

Ack, hvad gör det hur vi kalla  
denne far, som dock är vår?  
Hvad till fälligt är må falla,  
det väsentliga består.  
Männ'den vise med sin lära,  
än så djup, så konstigt byggd,  
kommer verldens Gud mer nära,  
än den vilde med sin dygd.

God as the spirit of the universe both spiritual and material Tegnér expresses in a single line in "*Nattvardsbarnen*." In his sermon to the children the priest sums up his doctrine of religion by the single word, "love." Love for God, as in *Fridsröster*, means love for all God's creatures. This love is one, just as God's nature is one. "The sun in heaven is one and one is also love,"—"solen på himlen är en, och en är kärleken också." The outward and the inner world are thus both united through love which is the spirit of God.

When Balder's priest in the Frithiofssaga refers to the new religion of Christ, which he has heard rumored in the distant South, he says: "I do not understand it fully but in my better moments I have, nevertheless, vaguely *sensed* its meaning."<sup>6</sup> This is important as emphasizing Tegnér's belief in the intuitive side of religion, the same doctrine which he expresses in *Fridsröster* where he draws the distinction between the reflective and intuitive man. The hours when such intuitive feeling fills the soul are the hours of divine inspiration. They come at the time when the soul is most receptive and bring us into direct commu-

<sup>6</sup> "Jag känner ej den läran rätt, men dunkelt dock i mina bättre stunder har jag *anat* den."



nication with God and true religion. It is then that idealism, the poet's inspiration, is born and it is then that the seeds for great deeds are sown, as Tegnér says later in *Efter talets slut vid Gustav Adolfsfesten i Växjö domkyrka* (1832). In this poem Tegnér gives us a glimpse of his own inner life and the source of his inspiration as a poet. Religious and poetic thought are here woven into a single fabric in which one cannot be distinguished from the other. He says: "there are times in this earthly life, most of all after the day with its strife is done and its joy and pain are lulled to sleep, when man rests in the bosom of night and nobler thoughts with purer feelings find their way into his heart. If at such an hour your heart feels a heavenly power which spreads its wings and carries you with it in its heavenly flight away from all the small cares and the deceit of the day, if ye then feel (*anar*) that ye ought to have a higher goal in life, that ye should live for something better, for some cause more noble than just your own small share in the day's spoils, for the cause of humanity, its light, its honor, and for your country; if such an hour lifts you, O Swedish men, above the ground of earth, do not say it is a dream. Ye forget that your fathers dreamed just this dream and that there never has been a great man who has not lived and died for it."

The simplicity of Tegnér's religious thought together with his broad humanitarian view of life marks him as the greatest of all religious poets in the history of Scandinavian literature. There is in Tegnér's poetry something of Lessing's noble sentiment, as portrayed in his religious drama of *Nathan the Wise*, united with the lofty idealism of the poet, Schiller. Lessing continually aimed to break down the narrow, conventional standards of religion. His whole philosophy and its expression in poetry sought to establish the vital truths of religion in distinction to the empty formulas and irrational doctrines of the Orthodox Church. Tegnér, like Lessing, carefully distinguished between the letter and the spirit of religion. DER BUCHSTABE TÖTET, DER GEIST MACHT LEBENDIG, which is the spirit of Lessing's *Nathan the Wise*, is exactly Tegnér's, *tecknet är dödt, om ej*

*saken har lif.* Tegnér's symbol of the pursuit of truth which ever evades the efforts of man to attain it (*Epilog.* 1820) is the poetic expression of the same philosophic concept which Lessing emphasizes in his celebrated passage upon God and the possession of truth (EINE DUPLIK). In Tegnér is united this broad religious philosophy characteristic of Lessing with the refined poetic feeling of Schiller. Schiller's humanity, toleration and lofty idealism were all akin to the spirit of Tegnér and exerted a powerful influence upon him, as he himself acknowledges. *Nyårsklagen* (1808) is a direct reflection of Schiller's, ANTRITT DES NEUEN JAHRHUNDERTS and *Det Ewiga* (1810) of DIE WORTE DES GLAUBENS. The whole spirit of *Fridsröster* is marked by the same lofty and idealistic tone that characterizes Schiller's doctrine of DIE SCHÖNE SEELE and all his poetry.

Tegnér was, first of all, a priest in the Christian church, whose duty it was to elevate humanity, but this divine mission was frustrated by the unhappy conditions in which he was placed. In the function of a priest in the Orthodox Church his genius found no room for expression. It was imprisoned within the walls of a false religion and finally perished in the struggle for the light of liberty. But if he was prevented, in the function of a priest, from carrying out his exalted mission in life he, nevertheless, found a larger and more effective sphere of religious activity in the function of a poet. With Tegnér poetry was life, and to poetry he devoted his whole life. "I really lived only when I sang," he says in his touching poem, "Farewell to my Lyre" (1840). Religion was his mission in life and this he nobly performed through poetry, for he has given to the whole world the essential truths of the Christian religion in the imperishable form of his poetic art. Thus Tegnér justifies his own theory that poetry is the greatest and truest expression of religion.

What Tegnér said of Schiller, "that he discloses all his rich personality in every one of his poems, however insignificant, may well be said of Tegnér himself. This rich personality, this

lofty idealism and wonderful religious insight is all the more deeply appreciated if we can bind the threads together which run through the fabric of his work. This the writer has attempted to do in connecting with Tegnér's earlier works the religious thought expressed in the canto, "Försoningen" of his Frithiofssaga.

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## THE COUPLETS AND QUATRAINS IN THE TOWNELEY MYSTERY PLAYS.

It is customary to divide the plays composing the Towneley Mystery Cycle into three groups according to the order in which the various additions to the cycle are supposed to have been made. This division<sup>1</sup> is the one proposed by Mr. Pollard in his Introduction to the E.E.T.S. edition of the plays. There may be some question concerning the absolute bounds of each of these groups; but Mr. Pollard finds in the cycle certain well defined plays typical of each. His first, or earliest group consists of a number of plays of a simple religious tone and written in a simple meter, which from their form seem to be the most archaic portion of the cycle.<sup>2</sup> The second of Mr. Pollard's groups can conveniently be called the York group, because it has for its nucleus several plays and portions of plays borrowed directly from the York cycle.<sup>3</sup> It is supposed to have been the second group added to Towneley. The third,<sup>4</sup> or final,<sup>5</sup> group consists of a number of plays in a peculiar meter and of a markedly humorous cast and highly developed dramatic form, which register the high-water mark of dramatic talent within the mysteries. It is their exceptional qualities of style which have led scholars to give these plays the last place in the development of the cycle. Within these plays are found all the local references which have led to the connection of the cycle with Wakefield. For this reason the last group may well be called the Wakefield Group and their editor the Wakefield editor.

I have been thus explicit in defining these three groups, because I believe there are certain facts which will warrant us in reversing this order as far as the last two groups are concerned.

<sup>1</sup> *The Towneley Plays*, E. E. T. S. pp. xxvii ff.

<sup>2</sup> Such are plays 1, 5, 6, 7, 19.

<sup>3</sup> Hohlfeld, Anglia, vol. xi, 219 ff. *Die Altenglischen Kollektivmysterien*.

<sup>4</sup> Towneley Plays. pp. xx, xxii.

<sup>5</sup> Anglia, xi, 307 ff. etc.



I believe the York to be the final group. The reasons for this belief can be briefly tabulated.

But first attention must be called to another theory of the growth of Towneley. Prof. Charles Davidson<sup>6</sup> has noted the fact that certain couplets and quatrains in Towneley seem to be the work of an editor, and on the strength of this, without elaborating his proofs that these stanzas are editorial work, has suggested that the cycle is the compilation of an editor writing sometimes in couplets and sometimes in quatrains. He goes so far in proof of his theory as to offer instances of quatrains and couplets which he thinks are the work of this editor. Some of these will be noted later. This theory differs so completely from the usual three group one that it seemed worth investigating. Out of this investigation developed the following facts:—

1. That Professor Davidson was correct in calling these couplets and quatrains editorial.

2. That the couplets are used in editing every group except the plays borrowed directly from York.

3. That the quatrains alone are used in editing the plays borrowed directly from York.

4. That quatrains are also used with the other groups.

From these four facts two conclusions are obvious:—

1. That at least two editors have been at work upon the cycle.

2. That the York group of direct borrowings must have been the latest addition to the cycle, for that group alone contains no couplets.

This conclusion is so different from that usually accepted that the steps leading to it must be further explained. For convenience the couplets and quatrains will be considered separately. In order to show how they are the work of an editor, examples will be taken from each group in which they occur.

The most obvious example of the use of couplets in editing the plays, is found in play 2, a play generally assigned to the last or Wakefield group.<sup>7</sup> There is enough of the original stanza

<sup>6</sup> *Studies in the English Mystery Plays*, Charles Davidson (*Yale Thesis*, 1892), p. 129.

<sup>7</sup> E. E. T. S. edition of the plays, p. xxii.

left to illustrate the method of the editor. This original stanza ran *aaabcccbdbd*. There are besides two stanzas at the end in the meter characteristic of the final group. Signs of editing commence with stanza 4. This and 5 and 6 were originally but two; the first ending with the second line of 5 and perfect except for a defective rhyme in line 44 (*boy*); the second ending with the close of 6. The second shows the development of couplets. The first *aaa* is normal, but *b* becomes confused with the following *c* rhymes; so that the next four lines rhyme *bbbb* and the regular cauda follows, *bdbd*. St. 7 is in the original meter. St. 8 is an enlargement of the usual pedes to five couplets. The usual cauda with one *b* rhyme from the pedes, *bdbd*, follows in st. 9. Other instances of such a breaking up of the regular stanza occur in other plays. (Play 31, st. 3.) In st. 10 and 11 we have the reverse of this: 10, the pedes, remains, while 11, the cauda, is made into three couplets. St. 12 and 13 are in the original meter. The rhymes run, (12) *carpyng*, *lifyng*, *farthyng*, *hend*, *kend*, *hend*, *brend* (13), *hand*, *offryd*, *walkand*, *profyrd*. The *b* rhyme was originally in *-and*, which has been preserved in the cauda, but in the fourth line of the pedes has been attracted into *hend*, the *c* rhyme. Line 8 of the pedes seems to be omitted. St. 14 commences *aaa*, but then runs into couplets, which continue for 113 lines to the end of st. 15. St. 16 and 17, evidently originally formed one, of which 16, the pedes, is corrupt. Stanza 18 is 63 lines of couplets. In st. 19 we have another pedes, whose cauda is either omitted or incorporated into st. 20, twenty-four lines of couplets. St. 21 and 22 have the appearance of a normal stanza, from which rhymes *bccc* have been lost. St. 23 is forty-eight lines of couplets and twelve additional lines, which are a corruption of the normal stanza. These twelve lines begin with line 384. St. 24 and 25 are twelve lines in all. 24 begins in threes but the last four lines are *abaa*. 25 is the *bdbd* portion of the original stanza. From st. 26 to 32, the stanzas are in couplets and threes and fours. These latter may, perhaps, be remnants of the original stanza. 33 runs *bdbd*, the original cauda, with the last line of a pedes. 34 is *aabccb*, probably a normal pedes (for the number of *a* and *c* rhymes

varies even in the original stanzas which are still left), and not the usual *aabccb* stanza found in other plays of the cycle, of which it would be an isolated example in this play. St. 35 and 36 are in the peculiar meter characteristic of the final or Wakefield group. From this examination it is evident that the play has been worked over by an editor who wrote in couplets.

Play 1 is assigned by Pollard<sup>8</sup> to the earliest group. Here the work of editing with couplets is also obvious, though it cannot be traced in such detail as in play 2. There is evidence of editing at three points.

1. All the account of Lucifer seems to be an insertion. The usual position for the scene of Lucifer's Fall, the position it occupies in the other cycles, is before the account of the Creation and not, as here, in the midst of that account after the fifth day.<sup>9</sup>

2. There is a bad attempt at condensing in st. 16, line 131. Beginning with line 129, Lucifer says:

129. Now, thereof a leke what rekys vs?

130. Syn I my self am so bright

131. therefor will I take a flyght.

Lines 132-3 read:

*primus demon.* Alas, alas, and wele-wo!

lucifer, whi fell thou so?

A foot-note concerning this passage in the E.E.T.S. edition of the Towneley plays (p. 5), reads: "A scribe has mistaken Lucifer's boastful flight for his fall. One or more stanzas containing either a speech of Deus (cp. *Chester* and *Coventry Plays*), or the exclamations of the Devils as they fall (cp. *York*

<sup>8</sup> The Towneley Plays, Introduction, p. xxiii. Hereafter referred to as Intro.

<sup>9</sup> Besides, there are indications in other parts of the play that it originally contained no fall of Lucifer. Every cycle opens with the sentence, "Ego sum alpha et O," followed by a translation, or explanation in English. In the Towneley cycle this is prefixed directly to the Creation in such a way that no scene could ever have intervened between the two. Again st. 11, in couplets, seems to be a rough attempt by an editor to connect the fifth day of Creation and the Lucifer scene. Finally, at the very end of the play as it now stands, just before the break in the ms., Lucifer, in Hell, recounts briefly, as though it had not been given elsewhere, the event of the Fall. This may have been the only reference to the Fall in the original play.

*Plays*), must have been omitted." Granting the omission, can it not be taken as a deliberately attempted condensation by an editor, who is re-writing in the same manner as in pl. 2, rather than as the unintentional error of a scribe; especially when it occurs in the midst of a long series of couplets, and must have been a rather extensive omission?

3. The third point at which there is evidence of editing is in the probable insertion of three couplets at the beginning of st. 23. In st. 22 God bids an angel lead Adam and Eve into Paradise.

Ryse vp, myn angell cherubyn,  
Take and leyd theym both in,  
And leyf them there in peasse.

St. 23 follows,

Heris thou adam, and eue thi wife,  
I forbede you the tre of life,  
And I commaund, that it be gat,  
Take which ye will, bot negh not that.  
Adam, if thou breke my rede,  
thou shall dye a duffull dede.

It is these three couplets which I believe to be an insertion. They are immediately followed by the cherub's reply to st. 22:

*Cherubyn.* Oure lord, oure god, thi will be done;  
I shall go with theym full sone, etc.

This, a few lines down, runs into a repetition of the command to Adam given at greater length. There is evidence in other places (Pl. 4, st. 7, etc.) that the couplet editor has tried his hand at enlargement. These three couplets, which are a break in the thought and are unnecessary, seem to form a similar attempt.

For these reasons; the fact that the Lucifer scene is out of place, the apparent omission at line 131 in the midst of couplets, and the apparent enlargement at line 197, it seems to be fairly well established that the long sections of couplets in play 1 are an editor's work.

I have said that there are no couplets in connection with the direct borrowings from York. An apparent exception to this



is found in stanza 49 of play 20. There is little doubt that this stanza is the work of an editor. Play 20 deals with the events in Christ's life just prior to and including his betrayal. St. 49 is in couplets and tells the story of the Last Supper. It follows the chronology of St. John's gospel, except that it places the washing of the disciples' feet last, where John gives it first. The story in St. John ends with the familiar sentence, "Arise, let us go hence" (John xiv, 31). There is some reason for thinking that the foot-washing scene originally occupied its correct chronological position in Towneley. After the table is laid John says:

346. Sir, youre mett is redy bowne,

347. will ye wesh and syt downe?

To this Jesus replies:

348. yei, gyf vs water tyll oure hande,

349. take we the grace that god has send;

350. Commys furth, both oone and othere;

351. If I be master I will be brothere.

Then follows, immediately, the scene with Judas and the Sop, the prophecy of Peter's denial, and a paraphrase of John xiv, 31.

382. *Ihesus*. Take vp this clothe and let vs go,

383. ffor we haue othere thyngys at do.

This would naturally be the close of the scene and the action would be transferred to the Garden of Gethsemane; but line 384 reads,

384. Sitt all downe, and here and sees,

385. ffor I shall wesh youre feet on knees,

and the foot-washing scene follows.

That this is an editorial distortion of the story seems probable for line 384 ought to follow 351. In this connection the corresponding scene from York is of interest. It occurs in play 27. Christ, in the upper room, has been talking to his disciples and, turning to one, asks water. The disciple replies:

Y Pl. 27, line 41. *Marc*. Maistir, it is all redy here,

42. And here a towell clene to taste.

43. *Jesus*. Commes forthe with me, all in feere,

44. My wordis schall nocht be wroght in waste.

45. Settis youre feete fourth, late see,

46. They schall be wasschen sone.

The relation between lines 350 and 384 in Towneley is as close as that between 43 and 45 in York. We can safely conclude that an editor has been at work.

Now, this couplet section is directly preceded by a number of stanzas which are admitted to have been borrowed directly from a version of York not now extant.<sup>10</sup> But there is no sign that these borrowed stanzas have been edited at all; they are apparently lifted without change from York. And there is no indication that the couplets are a re-writing of that borrowing. Indeed, the first few lines of couplets, which tell of the preparations for the passover, have nothing at all to correspond with them in the extant York cycle where play 26 stops with the scene of the conspiracy between the Jews and Judas, and play 27 opens abruptly with the scene of the Last Supper. The preparations for the Supper are not related. When we remember that nowhere else are editorial couplets found in connection with York borrowings, we are further strengthened in our opinion that these couplets have no connection with York.

Other long sections of couplets found in the plays are plays 5 and 6; play 10, st. 1; play 31, st. 1. But a study of these will only emphasize our contention, for plays 5, 6, and 10 belong to the first group<sup>11</sup> and of 31 Pollard says (Intro., p. xxvii, mentioning the play by its name Lazarus; in connection with two others): "There has been so much editing and interpolating, and the consequent mixture of metres is so great, that it is difficult to arrive at any clear conclusion about them."

Besides these long sections there are occasional short stanzas. These are found in play 1, st. 11; play 4, st. 7; pl. 23, st. 46 and 94; pl. 31, st. 3. Concerning the first two a few sentences from Davidson are sufficient. He says on page 129 of his thesis:—"The Woodkirk (Towneley), cycle is a collection of plays drawn from various sources. The compiler was a man of small

<sup>10</sup> Davidson, pp. 137-157.

<sup>11</sup> Intro. pp. xxiii.

poetical ability. His original verse was confined to couplets with an occasional attempt at quatrains. He did not hesitate to appropriate good work wherever he found it, or to do violence to rime or measure, if he considered the thought unclear or contrary to accepted traditions. As illustrations of his method we cite:—

1. For transition between selected parts of plays, the sixteen verses by cherubim between the first speech of Deus and that of Lucifer in Creation (pl. 1). These couplets seem to be a condensation of some unknown play.<sup>12</sup>

2. For Introduction, the four couplets introducing the call of Deus, 'Abraham, Abraham,' in the play of Abraham, (pl. 4)."

It might be thought confusing that play 4, written in quatrains, should be edited in couplets, but play 4 is part of the earliest group<sup>13</sup> as usually considered and, furthermore, a careful distinction must be made between those quatrains, which can be proved to be the work of an editor and others, such as those in this play, for which there is no proof that they are an editor's work.

It is not possible to state the exact nature of st. 46, pl. 23, though it appears to be an insertion; but st. 94 is evidently an enlargement of the usual *aabccb* stanza by the use of couplets.

Pl. 31, st. 3 has already been referred to in connection with st. 8 and st. 11 in pl. 2.<sup>14</sup> It is evidently a re-writing in couplets of the cauda of the normal stanza of the play. This stanza rhymes *ababababcccdcd*. It is sometimes written with internal *a* rhyme as in st. 7; sometimes with *a* as well as *b* as an end rhyme. In that case the cauda is printed as a separate stanza. Such are st. 5 and 6. It is evident that st. 2 corresponds metrically to stanza 5, as does st. 4. But st. 3, between them, is in couplets. It should correspond metrically to st. 6, the cauda.

<sup>12</sup> In this connection, it may be noted that these verses bear a certain resemblance to stanzas 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, of York play. It is evident however that the editor is re-writing simply the thought of these stanzas, because he makes out of alternate speeches by Good and Evil Angels, a speech by one Cherub.

<sup>13</sup> Intro. p. xxv.

<sup>14</sup> See above, p. 574.

Therefore, I conclude that it is a re-written cauda, as was st. 11 in pl. 2.

The discussion so far has gone to prove that couplets which are the work of an editor, are clearly found in connection with the first and the Wakefield groups, but not in connection with the York Group. With the quatrains, the situation is strikingly different.

The fact that many quatrains in the York borrowings are the work of an editor has been noted incidentally by Miss L. T. Smith in her edition of the York Plays; by Pollard; by Hohlfeld and others. Miss Smith prints, as foot-notes to her edition of the York Plays, those plays of Towneley, which she noted as borrowed from York. She failed to note T pl. 22, borrowed from Y pl. 34, though it has been referred to by Davidson and Hohlfeld.<sup>15</sup> As there has been no detailed comparison made elsewhere, this play will be taken as an example of the work of the quatrain editor.

T commences to borrow at Y st. 10, T st. 28, and continues the quotation through T 48, Y 29. Of these, stanzas 35-43 are a revision by the Towneley editor. St. 28 is Y st. 10: Y 11 is not in T: st. 29 is Y 12: Y 13 is not in T. Unluckily after 13 a leaf is lost in Y, so that the comparison breaks off. It seems reasonable to suppose, however, that st. 30-34 in T are a quotation from the part of Y which is missing.

St. 35 is the first in quatrains. It is missing in Y, but the T stanzas seems to be an enlargement of a Y original, since the first quatrain is metrically like the Y cauda and forms an extra four lines on an eight line stanza. The Y stanza in this play rhymes *aabaabcbcb*. This stanza in T is *ababababcedcd*. So *cdcd* and *cbcb* correspond metrically. St. 36 and 37 are double quatrains, the York equivalent of which is lacking. St. 38 and 39 may be a faint echo of Y 14 or 15, but if so they are much revised. St. 40 commences again to correspond with extant Y 16. The editing of T from Y is obvious. In the text T is written as four lines with internal rhyme.

<sup>15</sup> Anglia, xi, p. 298.



T 40. *Ihesus*. ye doghters of  
Jerusalem

I byd you wepe nothyng for me,  
Bot for youre self and youre  
barn-teme

behald I tell you securle,  
Sore paynes ar ordand for this  
reme

in dayes hereafter for to be;  
yours myrth to bayll it shall  
downe streme

in euery place of this cyte.

T 41. Childer, certys, thay  
shall blys

women baren that neuer child  
bare,

And pappes that neuer gaf  
sowke, I wys

thus shall thare hartys for  
sorow be sare;

The montayns hy and thise  
greatt hyllys

thay shall byd fall apon them  
thare,

Y 16. *Jesus*. Doughteres of  
Jerusalem cytte,

Sees, and mournes no more for  
me,

But thynkes vppon this thyng;  
For youre selfe mourne schall

ȝee

And for þe sonnes þat borne  
schal be

Of yowe, bothe olde and yonge;  
For such fare schall be-falle,

That ȝe schall giffe blissyng  
To barayne bodies all

That no barnes forthe may  
brynge.

Y 17. For certis ȝe schall see  
suche a day;

That with sore sighyng schall  
ȝe saye

Vnto þe hillis on highte,  
ffor my bloode that sakles is  
to shede and spyll thay will  
not spare.

'Falle on vs, mountaynes, and  
ȝe may,

And couere vs fro þat felle  
affraye,

That on vs sone schall light.'

Y 18. *iii Maria*.

Allas! þis is a cursed cas,

He þat alle hele in his hande  
has

Shall here be sakles slayne;

St. 42 is Y 19. To it are attached the caudas of Y 21 and 22. St. 43-48 are a direct quotation of Y 23-24, 26-29. St. 49 is in the meter of the Wakefield group. This comparison furnishes a clear illustration of the way in which the quatrain editor worked, when re-writing portions of the Y plays which he borrowed.

There are also a few examples of his work in plays not directly borrowed from Y, which he has revised in places. Such

are plays 23 and 28, assigned by Mr. Pollard to the first group.<sup>16</sup> Play 23 contains four such stanzas; st. 1, 49, 55, 86. Of st. 1, as well as st. 2 and 3, Hohlfeld<sup>17</sup> says, that he thinks they are a scribal error or a wholly unfounded later addition and that the play really began with st. 4. The play is upon the Crucifixion. These three stanzas are an introduction by Pilate and are certainly superfluous, for he takes no part in the first scene. In both T and Y that is an account of the nailing of Christ to the Cross, in which the dialogue is between the soldiers, or, as T has it, the torturers, who do the deed. This conversation begins Y and opens at the fourth stanza in T. For these reasons I am inclined to think the speech of Pilate an editorial addition. The other three quatrains also have the appearance of being revisions or insertions; though it is difficult to be certain about them, especially the first two. Both st. 49 and 55 occur in the midst of an elaborate dialogue between Mary, John, and Christ, in which there is considerable variety of meter. The whole forms a lament of Mary over Christ on the Cross. These laments were very common and often very elaborate, so that it is difficult to say whether these quatrains are part of the original, or an attempt to condense or enlarge by later authors. That the dialogue was thus enlarged is indicated by stanza 57, which is in the characteristic meter of the Wakefield group and was, therefore, probably added by its author. St. 86 may be a similar revision or insertion though there is nothing to indicate this except the fact that such is the nature of other quatrains in the plays.

Play 28, Doubting Thomas, assigned to the first group,<sup>18</sup> is largely in double quatrains. One stanza, 5, is doubtless an insertion by the quatrain editor, as there is strong reason for believing that all the stanzas from 11 to the end are his work.

Play 24, assigned to the Wakefield Group<sup>19</sup> is another illustration of the tendency of the editor to write in quatrains. The normal stanza of this play is *ababcbc*; but st. 38, for in-

<sup>16</sup> Intro. p. xxiv.

<sup>17</sup> Anglia xi, p. 298.

<sup>18</sup> Intro. pp. xxiv, xxv.

<sup>19</sup> Intro. p. xxii. Anglia. xi, p. 309.

stance, has become so corrupt that only verses 1 and 4 rhyme. It is followed by a quatrain in 39 and then 40 is in the usual stanza. St. 21-25 are all quatrains. 26 rhymes *abba*. Other stanzas, as 39, 47, 54 show considerable corruption of the stanzaic structure.

But a still better illustration of the editorial revision of stanzas of the Wakefield group by the quatrain editor is found in play 20, where in the midst of a series of quatrains there occur two typical Wakefield stanzas, 97 and 100, alternating with two (98, 99) and (101, 102), already commencing to break up into quatrains, and preceded and followed by other quatrains seemingly derived from a Wakefield original.

There are other quatrain stanzas in the plays, but enough have been discussed to make plain the present contention. It is evident from this analysis, that the quatrains are a distinct characteristic of the direct borrowings from York, but are also found in connection with the other two groups. When we connect with that the facts, that, with one exception, the plays which contain York borrowings, contain no couplets; that, in the single case in which a play contains both York borrowings and couplets, the couplets are not an integral part of the borrowing; and that the other two groups have couplets in connection with them; we are led to conclude that two editors have been at work, that the plays from York were added to the cycle after the couplet editor had completed his work, and further, that the York borrowings must have been the last addition to the cycle, since all the other groups, even the Wakefield, contain couplets.

Yet to thus shift the position of the York and Wakefield groups does not invalidate the evidence of style and meter, which led to the grouping explained in the beginning of this article. The fact that the York group must have been added to the Towneley cycle after the Wakefield group was written, does not hinder York from having been written as a part of the York cycle, before Wakefield was written as a part of the Towneley cycle. The question upon which style and meter can be taken as evidence is the question of the time of writing. The question of which this article is a discussion is not the question of the time

of writing, but the question of the order of insertion in the Towneley cycle.

The presence in Towneley of two such remarkable groups as the direct borrowings from York and the humorous and dramatic plays by the Wakefield author has inevitably led to considerable discussion of the relations between the two cycles. With the general statement that there must have been close connection between Wakefield and York, between the editors of the Towneley cycle and the editors of the York cycle, one cannot disagree, especially when it is so aptly and succinctly put as lately by Prof. Gayley.<sup>20</sup> But it is obvious that, if the present conclusions are correct, the details of such a statement must undergo considerable modification. This is especially true in a discussion of the parts played by the York and Wakefield groups in building up such a play as play 20 in Towneley, where Wakefield stanzas are found worked over by the quatrain editor, and at the same time prefixed to a long borrowing from York; in one case apparently in the play before York was added; in the other apparently prefixed after the York addition was made. But any such study would lead us far away from the scope of the present article to discussions, on the one hand, of the nature and extent of the work of the author of the Wakefield group, and on the other, of the relation of the whole Towneley cycle to the whole York cycle; the extent of the connection in time, and its varying nature from the beginning to the end of the period of connection between the two.

The liturgical connection between York and Towneley I have discussed elsewhere.<sup>21</sup> The nature and extent of the Wakefield group will be the subject of a subsequent article. For the present I have only desired to raise the question of the order of Pollard's three groups and to present my reasons for placing the York group last.

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<sup>20</sup> Gayley. *Representative English Comedies*, Introduction, pp. xxv-xxix.

<sup>21</sup> *The Liturgical Basis of the Towneley Mysteries*, Publications of the Modern Language Association of America xxiv 3, pp. 419-469.



CHARACTER IN THE "MATTER OF ENGLAND"  
ROMANCES

(Continued.)

*Minor characters.*

There are in the romances, as in all narratives, figures which flash for an instant before us, then pass away; perhaps to return, and appear and disappear as before; perhaps to be seen no more. Some of these we have already noted as stock figures. Others do not seem to be of that character. Whatever they are, it is interesting to know who they are, what value they have for the stories in which they are introduced, and what interest the author has succeeded in attaching to them. Most are beyond the pale of characterization. Some of them are merely speaking persons, who appear unexpectedly, tell their stories, and disappear. In *Horn* there are two of these—Apulf's father, who greets Horn and his companions when they land in Denmark, and tells them what has been going on in their absence (vv. 1301 ff.), and Arnoldin, who appears to tell Horn where Rymenhild has been taken by Fikenhild (vv. 1443 ff.). Again, there may be characters who are never named. Of this class are nine of the twelve companions of *Horn*—ornamental figures, who are dropped without remark. Other characters may be talked about and never actually get on the stage. Reynild is the sole member of this class in *Horn*. Others still may merely add a touch of pathos, as does Horn's mother. Lastly may be mentioned Harild and Berild who, after performing one or two insignificant acts, perish almost without rippling the surface of the narrative.

Thus *Horn*, considering the brevity of the story, has a fairly full background of *dramatis personæ*. If the English version represents the earlier form of the story, it is worth while to notice, in passing, how the minor characters appear in such a developed, sophisticated romance as *Horn et Rimel*. A number

of the parts so insignificant have become really important. Lemburc, who plays the part of Reynild, and her brothers, Egfer and Guffer, appear repeatedly in a series of highly elaborated incidents. The account of Horn's father, told in epic fashion by the son in the body of the romance, is fairly full. A considerable addition to the stock of characters is made to fill up the enlarged stage. Herselote has already been mentioned. A nurse is introduced by means of whom Rimel discovers that she is making love to another than Horn. Rimel has attendants, unnamed, ready to amuse the one who might disturb a tête-à-tête. In the Irish part of the story, Gudburc and Sudburc, mother and sister of Lemburc, and Eglaf, the chess-player and athlete, are additions. Even the Irish kings are named.<sup>33</sup> The divergence is extremely interesting, for this elaborate treatment of so many minor *dramatis personae* marks as well as anything else the long distance which must have been traveled by one or both of these romances from the source common to both.

In *Horn* the lesser characters seem to spring, for the most part, from a natural development of the plot. This, I think, is less true of *Havelok*, *Guy*, and *Bevis*. There may be, however, other sources of interest. In *Havelok* the two sisters of the hero are essentially pathetic characters. Grim's wife, after playing an important part in the realistic scene in Grim's "cleue," is never referred to again. Her brutality to the unknown boy, like that of Grim, leaves a blot on the family, if not on the story.

Vp she stirte, and nouht ne sat,  
 And caste þe knaue so harde adoune,  
 þat he crakede þer his croune  
 Ageyn a gret ston, þer it lay (vv. 566 ff.).

<sup>33</sup> However, the companions of Horn are not named. In HCh, where less is made of minor characters than in HR, the companions are named and carefully disposed of. The twelve companions may be faintly reminiscent of the twelve peers of Charlemagne, who, in turn, go back to the twelve apostles; cf. Gautier, *Les Épopées* (1st ed.), I, pp. 173 ff.

Grim's children and Ubbe play conventional parts. Bernard Brun is an innkeeper with a name. His chief part is a repetition of the story of the fight between Havelok and the sixty lads, which might very well have been dispensed with. The cook, Bertram, is merely a friendly helper. The Earl of Chester and the Earl of Lincoln furnish historical background, and the former, in addition, becomes husband of Gunnild, Grim's daughter. It is interesting to note that every one of these persons has a name, from Leue, the wife of Grim, to Bernard Brun, the innkeeper, and Bertram, the cook. Most of the minor characters, too, it will be noted, are of humble rank, and are an item in the popular character of the story. The prominence given to the family of Grim is probably due to the fact that the romance celebrates a particular place. If the minor *dramatis personae* of *Havelok* are less intimately connected with plot than those of *Horn*, they show greater realism and broader range.

In *Bevis* and *Guy* the greater part of the minor characters are principals in the incidents in which they appear. In these romances the story is a succession of adventures, each with its little plot. In *Bevis* these are usually brief and very slightly elaborated, three or four *dramatis personae* being sufficient for each incident. Many persons appear, only to be slain by the hero. Most of these are too colorless to be characterized. In general, it may be said that there is an absence of pathetic and ornamental figures. There is a fairly large number—including two messengers, two porters, two stewards, a palmer, and a giant—bearing no names. There is a concentration upon incidents. One figure, Ascopard, stands out somewhat, being intended, it seems, to produce a comic effect.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup> As comedy is rather rare in the romances, it seems worth while to enter into this feature in somewhat greater detail. Perhaps the chief comic scene in the romance is the one of the baptism of Ascopard.

For Ascopard was mad a koue;  
When þe beschop him scholde in schoue,  
A lep anon vpon þe benche  
And seide: "Prest, wiltow me drenche?"

Much of what was said about *Bevis* at the beginning of the preceding paragraph applies to *Guy* as well. The latter romance is much longer than the former; the incidents are told with greater detail; but there is the same succession of lifeless figures, among whom the hero displays his prowess. There is, moreover, no comic person to be placed beside Ascopard. The reference to the various ladies surrounding Felice is another element associating it with the courtly type of romance. There is, too, the account of the gathering of people at Warwick at Pentecost—

There were Erles, barons, and knyghtes,  
And many a man of grete myghtes;  
Ladies and maydens of grete renown,

The grettest desired ther to bee bown (C. vv. 189 ff.)—  
which furnishes a courtly setting. With the twelve companions of Horn may be compared the twenty sons of good barons

be deuil ȝeue me helle pine,

Icham to meche te be christine!" (vv. 2591 ff.).

The incident of the dragon fight has also its comic opportunity. Bevis and Ascopard arrive in the neighborhood of the dragon, when

Ascopard swore, be sein Ion

Â fote ne dorste he forther gon.

Beues answerde and seide þo:

"Ascopard, whi seistow so?

Whi schelt þow afered be

Of þing þat þow miȝt nouȝt sen?"

A swor, alse he moste þen,

He nolde him neiþer hire ne sen;

"Icham weri, ich mot haue reste;

Go now forþ and do be beste!" (vv. 2747 ff.).

The "Icham weri, ich mot haue reste", coming from the mouth of the giant who carried the horse Arondel in his arm (v. 2564), in itself no doubt amusing to the medieval audience, must surely have raised a laugh. Thus, slightly as the character of Ascopard is developed on the humorous side, and dangerous as he proved to be, here is a clear case of the introduction of a character with whom amusing incidents may naturally be connected.

Comic characters like Ascopard are found in a highly developed state in certain *chansons de geste*. Cf. W. W. Comfort, *op. cit.*, section entitled "Bourgeois and Vilain", pp. 279 ff. For other comic baptismal scenes see *Ferumbras*, vv. 5715 ff., and the *chanson de geste Aliscans*, vv. 7885 ff.



who were dubbed knights with Guy. The list of *dramatis personae* is very great. Limiting the number to those introduced as individuals, there are almost a hundred, of whom about seventy are named.<sup>35</sup> In *Bevis* there are forty, of whom about twenty-five are named. In *Havelok* there are twenty-two, all named; in *Horn* twenty, of whom fifteen are named.

### *Dialogue and Soliloquy.*

Dialogue plays an interesting and important part in displaying character, and the manner of the dialogue goes far toward being the manner of the romance.

In *Horn* the vigorous dialogue serves to advance the narrative rather than to portray character. It is significant, too, that real soliloquy, to reveal intention or mood, is absent. In *Havelok*, on the contrary, in which dramatic situation is not emphasized, dialogue is of comparatively slight importance, while numerous soliloquies reveal mood and purpose.<sup>36</sup> In *Bevis* there is gain in dialogue with the author's superior sense of situation. However, it is a matter of plot primarily, although, with its brevity and passion, it is valuable for character too.<sup>37</sup> The seven soliloquies are brief and of slight importance. Both dialogue and soliloquy are of great importance in *Guy*. Dialogue is sustained, and emotions are presented fully.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup> That the scribes did not keep the *dramatis personæ* clearly in mind is evidenced by curious blunders. Thus Clarice, the daughter of the Emperor of Constantinople, is called "Blaunche flour" in both the Auchinleck and Caius MSS. at one point (v. 4497). Again, in a battle with the Saracens, the King of Nubia, after being struck down by Guy, immediately afterward is summoned by the Sultan to attack the Christians (v. 3506 ff.). This is only in the Auchinleck MS.; in the Caius MS. it is the King of Armenia whom the Sultan sends against the Christians, which, no doubt, is the correct reading.

<sup>36</sup> There are 137 lines in the poem, including the prayer of Havelok at Grimsby (vv. 1359 ff.), which possess the nature of soliloquy. An excellent example is the soliloquy in which Havelok determines that he must "swinken" for his "mete" (vv. 790 ff.).

<sup>37</sup> Cf. vv. 73 ff., 283 ff., 394 ff., 421 ff., etc.

<sup>38</sup> The second interview of Guy and Felice fills one hundred lines, and there is real progression, giving a clear view of the characters of the principal actors.

The soliloquies are long and important. The one which shows Guy struck with remorse for his sins is both moving and true (sts. 21 f.). In dialogue and soliloquy *Guy* shows the characteristics of the chivalric romance.

*Interest in mental states.*

In reading this section much that has already been said should be kept in mind. The discussion of the individual characters, of dialogue, and of soliloquy includes much which might be treated here. But to avoid needless repetition, the attempt will be made to view the material already familiar from another angle, something being added to make the outlook sufficiently broad. The term "interest in mental states" is employed here loosely. The manner in which emotion is manifested by the *dramatis personae*, the degree to which the author delights in analyzing mental states, even the extent of the emotional appeal to the auditor, and the way in which it is produced, will come under review.

*King Horn*, which is the most ballad-like of all genuine English romances,<sup>39</sup> has, like the ballad, emotional value apart from any overt interest on the part of the author in character or mental states. The dialogue has frequently this emotional appeal. But of real interest in states of mind as such there is none. In the most dramatic scenes the auditor may be left without a hint of the emotions of the *dramatis personae* (e. g., the banishment of Horn, vv. 705 ff.).<sup>40</sup> In *Havelok* the situation is almost reversed. There is a certain amount of interest in mental states as such, but none of the ballad-like appeal to

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Hart, *Ballad and Epic*, p. 56.

<sup>40</sup> With *King Horn* should be compared *Horn et Rimel*, the author of which shows decided interest in mental states. As has been stated, Herselote's importance lies in her part as Rimel's confidante. Rodmund can hardly decide on the fate of Horn and his companions. Rimel's impatience and anxiety to obtain an interview with Horn appear when she sends for the seneschal.

Ele demanda souvent dan Herlant quant vendra (v. 529). She gazes in her mirror and inquires anxiously as to her appearance (vv. 526 ff.). Herlant's mental distress at Rimel's request to see Horn, his sleeplessness, his arguments with himself, are related in detail (vv.

feelings by poignant situations such as we found in *Horn*. The author takes pleasure in reminding the hearers that Godrich is deceived and plotting his own ruin when he plans to marry Goldborough and Havelok.

For he wende, þat Hauelok wore  
 Sum cherles sone, and no more;  
 Ne shulde he hauen of Engellond  
 Onlepi forw in his hond  
 With hire, þat was þer-of þe eyr,  
 þat boþe was god and swiþe fair.  
 He wende, þat Hauelok wer a þrai,  
 þer-þoru he wende hauen al

In Engellond, þat hire riht was (vv. 1091 ff.).

We are told in some detail how the characters thought over situations. Thus *Apelwold* considers at length what best to do to protect his daughter's interests after his death. *Havelok* considers carefully before returning to *Grimsby* with his bride. In fact there is a good deal of downright thinking going on. To *Bevis* what was said about *Horn* in large measure applies. The situations in themselves are often moving, but the author does not dwell on the emotions of his characters, nor does he seem to insist on the emotional appeal to the reader. He is in too much of a hurry to get on. However, the dialogue is often characteristic enough to reveal the feelings of the characters. But the reader is left in doubt as to *Bevis's* feelings for *Josian* up to the time when she became a Christian. In the love affair it is only the heroine's feelings which are revealed. Scarcely anything is made of the loss of wife and children, when *Ascopard* carries *Josian* away and the two boys are left in the care of strangers. Whatever emotional appeal there is springs entirely from the imaginative sympathy of the audience with the

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662 ff.). The scene in *Rimel's* chamber when *Haperof* is trying to convince *Rimel* that he is not *Horn* but is unable to do so, presents an interesting psychological situation. This interest in emotional states is prominent throughout the romance, and the length of this redaction is largely due to this characteristic.

situation. It need scarcely be said that there is far greater interest in emotional states of mind in *Guy*. So far as the hero's love and repentance are concerned, this was made clear in discussing the soliloquies. One may note, also, the accounts of the reunion of comrades after long separation (vv. 1749 ff.; sts. 142 ff.); the story of Guy's parting from father and mother (vv. 1217 ff.); the story of Oisel and Tirri; the story of Jonas. There is not so much analysis as in many French romances, but there is a decided interest in emotional states, a too-marked insistence on them often, which sets *Guy* far apart from *Horn*, *Havelok*, and *Bevis*.<sup>41</sup>

When one looks at the actual manner of manifesting emotion in the romances, he is at once in the midst of stock material. However, I believe that differences in the treatment of this stock material will appear. The expression of grief is most important. Wringing of the hands is, of course, a commonplace, and is not limited by age or sex.

þe children hi broȝte to stronde

Wringende here honde (*Horn*, vv. 111 ff.).

When Rymenhild found her messenger drowned,

Hire fingres he gan wringe (*ibid.*, v. 980).

Likewise of the child *Bevis*:

ȝeme a wep, is hondes wrong (*Bevis*, v. 298).

Swooning is even more common. Rymenhild falls (presumably in a faint) three times: on Horn's refusal of her love "adun he feol iswoȝe" (v. 428); at Horn's departure for Ireland she "feol to grunde" (v. 740); and again she "feol iswoȝe" when Horn approached Fikenhild's castle singing (v. 1479). Swooning does not occur in *Havelok*, and in *Bevis* occurs but twice—curiously enough a man being the victim in each case. Thus Terri, when he was told that Guy was dead,

fel þer down and swouȝ,

His her, his cloþes he al to-drouȝ (vv. 1309 f.).

<sup>41</sup> It may be noted that little is said about the heroine's feelings, as contrasted with *Horn et Rimel*, for instance, where there is a pretty thorough study made of the feelings of Rimel, much more subtle indeed than the study of the lover's feelings in *Guy*.



And Bevis, when he finds his two newborn children, but no mother,

fel þar doun and swouþ (v. 3717).

Lovers were of course expected to faint, and Guy is a perfect lover. At the end of a confession of love,

Adoune he felle swoune with that (v. 598).

Later in the story, what with bleeding wounds and sorrow for his slain friends, "adoun he fel aswon." Herhaud swoons from the shock of surprise and joy in meeting Guy (v. 1762), and again he "fel in swowe vpon his bedde" because of anxiety for Guy, who was absent on a dangerous mission (v. 3999). Oisel faints over her wounded lover (v. 4896), and again when she sees him in bonds (v. 5903). Both Guy and Felice swoon when he announces his intention to become a pilgrim (st. 32, v. 11). Tirri swoons when he learns that the unknown pilgrim who had slain his enemy Berard is in truth his old comrade Guy (st. 226, v. 3). Lastly, Felice swoons when she comes to the hermitage where her husband lies dead.

Weeping is too common an occurrence for anything like a full list here. While more often it is the manifestation of a woman's grief, it is not at all regarded as unworthy of heroes. In *Horn* there are the following examples:

Heo sat on þe sunne

Wiþ tires al birunne (vv. 653 ff.).

Alf weop wiþ iþe

& al þat him isiþe (vv. 755 ff.).

Horn iherd with his ires

A spak with bidere teres (vv. 887 ff.).

Ne miste heo adriþe

þat heo (Rymenhild) ne weop wiþ iþe (vv. 1035 f.).

þe bride wepeþ sore (v. 1049).

She was "sore wepinge & ȝerne" when Horn entered the hall where the wedding feast was being prepared; she wept "teres

<sup>42</sup> Caius MS. only, v. 4013.

of blode" when imprisoned by Fikenhild (v. 1406). Apulf, watching for Horn, says "for soreȝe nu y wepe" (v. 1104). In Havelok there are only two or three examples. The lords whom Apelwold summoned when he was at the point of death

Greten, and gouleden, and gouen hem ille (v. 164).

Havelok and his sisters, shut up in a castle, wept for hunger and cold (v. 416). Likewise, there is little weeping in *Bevis*. When the boy hero learned of his father's death, "ȝerne a wep" (v. 298). Josian weeps right sorely (vv. 1111, 1190) and Bevis hears her weeping and crying in the castle of Yvor (v. 2101). Guy, true lover that he is, weeps as well as faints from the violence of his passion (vv. 247, 261, 568). He weeps too over his fallen comrades (v. 1554). The kissing of men is associated with weeping sometimes, either for joy or for sorrow. Once when Herhaud and his fellows rescue Guy pursued by Saracens,

ȝe most hepe wepen for blis;

ȝai kisten Gij alle for blis (vv. 4072 f.).

When Guy and Tirri part,

To gider ȝai kisten ȝo,

At her departing ȝai wepen bo (vv. 7111 f.).

And at another parting they

kist hem wiȝ eiȝe wepeing (st. 232).

Weeping with both eyes seems intended to imply violent weeping (v. 4455, sts. 138, 226, 294).

The more violent tearing of hair and clothes is also a convention of romances. There are no cases in *Horn* or in *Havelok*. In *Bevis* there is the instance quoted above when Terri swooned and, apparently at the same time,

His her, his cloȝes he al todrouȝ (v. 1310).

In *Guy* the expression is common. Of Guy in love it is said

His clothes he rende, his heer he drough (v. 420).

The Sultan, enraged at his defeat, rends his clothes (Caius v. 3692). Earl Jonas, when Guy meets him, is rending his clothes and tearing his hair (st. 46).

Other ways of expressing grief may be mentioned. "Hise heorte began to childe" (*Horn*, v. 1148) has numerous parallels.<sup>43</sup> In *Bevis* there is

þe childes herte was wel colde (v. 511).

and

þe kinges herte wex wel cold (v. 553).

Less conventional is the account of Josian's woe when she thinks Bevis is leaving her:

Hire pouȝte, þe tour wolde on hir falle (v. 1140.).<sup>44</sup>

Guy complains that, because of love, he cannot sit nor stand, rest nor sleep, eat nor drink (vv. 315 ff.). There is also in *Guy* an abundance of making "mone" and sighing "sore."

The expression of joy is also unrestrained. Kissing is often a token of joy.

Hi custe hem mid ywisse

& makeden muchel blisse (*Horn*, vv. 1209 f.).

When Terri discovered his father Saber in the palmer, he took him in his armes

& gonne cleppen and to kisse

And made meche ioie & blisse (vv. 3944 f.).

Almost the identical lines occur at another place (vv. 3057 f.).

In *Guy* the meeting of old friends is accompanied by kissing.

To kissen Herhaud þai hem do,

Wel gret ioie þai maden þo (vv. 6655 f.).<sup>45</sup>

Swooning or falling down for joy is restricted to *Guy*. Herhaud's swooning (v. 1762) has been mentioned. When Oisel, forcibly held by Oτους, saw Guy unexpectedly,

For blisse sche fel aswon adoun (v. 6297).

She swoons again when she meets Tirri:

For ioie sche swoned omong hem (v. 6533).

Unrestrained expression of emotion on the part of *dramatis*

<sup>43</sup> See Hall's note to this line, Breul's note to *Gowther*, v. 546, and Schmirgel's list of stereotyped phrases in *Bevis* (in the Introduction to Kölbing's edition), p. XLVI.

<sup>44</sup> Kölbing says no parallels found.

<sup>45</sup> See Schmirgel for additional parallels, p. XLV.

/personæ is a characteristic pretty general in metrical romance.<sup>46</sup> In the group here studied, *Havelok*, which is the least romantic, is least emotional, and *Guy*, which is most romantic, is most emotional. The means of expressing feeling are thoroughly conventional, as the brief review here made clearly shows.<sup>47</sup> *Horn*, *Bevis*, and *Guy* represent types of literature which originally stood far apart. Yet we find them side by side on English soil, drawing from the same stock of literary material. The sentimentalism of *Guy* brings with it a freer use of the extreme forms of expressing emotion.<sup>48</sup> In *Bevis*, where sentiment plays a small part, we find these stock expressions here and there, almost unexpectedly. In *Horn*, which is more truly romantic, the expression of joy, less unrestrained than in *Guy*, is more appropriate than in *Bevis*. But the strong resemblance

<sup>46</sup> Sir Cleges (v. 90 of the romance so named) swoons from thinking of his misfortunes. In *William of Palerne* the Emperor swoons six times "for sorwe & for shame" when William elopes with Melior (v. 2098); in Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women* (v. 1342) Dido swoons twenty times (but this is hardly meant to be exact). Charlemagne and his hundred thousand followers faint for grief at the death of Roland (*Chanson de Roland*, v. 2916); in *Renaud de Montauban* the four sons of Aymon faint on seeing their paternal castle after an absence (Gautier, 1st ed., II, p. 192).

<sup>47</sup> Additional proof of conventionality of these and many other expressions may be obtained by consulting Schmigel's list of typical phrases in the introduction to Kölbing's *Bevis*, the introduction to Zielke's edition of *Sir Orfeo*, as well as the notes to Kölbing's *Bevis*, Zupitza's *Guy of Warwick*, Hall's *Horn*, etc.

<sup>48</sup> Fainting, weeping, and tearing of the hair apparently run through medieval narrative literature. In the *roman d'aventure* the most violent grief is for unsuccessful love, in the *chanson de geste* for loss of comrades, although exceptions to this rule may be found. Sickness resulting from love is of course a strictly romantic feature. With *Guy*'s illness may be compared the "fever" of Troilus in *Troilus and Criseyde*, v. 491. Fainting seems to have been almost a necessary part of romantic courtship. In the French *Amados & Ydoine* (cf. *Hist. Litt.*, XXII, p. 761) the scornful lady is won by the hero's fainting in her presence. In the *chanson* the fainting is more likely to be on the lady's side. In *Enfances Guillaume* when Orable, the Saracen maiden, is hearing from her brother an account of the beauty of Guillaume, whom she has never seen, she says she will faint if he says another word (Gautier, 2nd ed., IV, p. 297).



of these metrical stories is due, largely at least, to the recasting at the hands of Englishmen who did not distinguish types; who were familiar with stock romantic material, the well-known poses, rhyme phrases, etc., and in translating threw them in where convenient.<sup>49</sup>

In the English romances the expressions representing emotion are for the most part stock material, English material indeed, although no doubt French romance assisted in its creation. Perhaps there was a tendency in this respect to confuse types of narrative—that is, in the use of these stock emotional expressions—which brings the English romances nearer together than their sources.

*The human relations.*

It is perfectly clear, even to him who reads running, that the medieval romances by no means deal in anything like a complete way with the various relations which make up human life. The name romance perhaps cuts out a certain portion of these; but modern romance has looked upon and cultivated great areas of life which medieval romance never dreamed about. To determine a little more clearly what are the human limits of the metrical romances, particularly the four now under examination, is the purpose of this section.

Love, as in all romance, is, next to war, the greatest interest. This means, of course, the love of the sexes. Other forms of love—of parent and child, of brother and sister, of brother and brother—are almost crowded out. War, of course, means comradeship, and the love of comrades for each other—sometimes of follower for lord—plays its expected part. But affections other than the love of man and woman, of warrior and warrior, are of insignificant interest.

In these four romances there are two types of love represented, the passionate and the chivalrous. The latter is, of course, the type at once associated with medieval romance—

<sup>49</sup> A comparison of *Bevis* with the Old French *Boeve de Haumtone* (ed. by Stimming, Bib. Normannica, Halle, 1899), which represents pretty closely the version which the English translator had before him, shows very few cases of parallelism of emotional expression.

with Lancelot and with Tristram. In greater refinement it is represented by the love stories of Dante and Pertrach. It is the love of Arthur's court and of the court of love, of Chrétien at the beginning and Malory at the end of a literary period. This type of love is represented in *Guy*, imperfectly perhaps, yet not unattractively. The passionate type is represented in *Horn* and *Bevis*.

Curiously enough, in the passionate type it is the woman who woos. This is a situation appearing in *William of Palerne*, in *Amis and Amiloun*,<sup>50</sup> as well as in *Horn* and in *Bevis*. There seems to be a greater popularity in the kind of love here represented. It is attractive by its simplicity, its frankness, its faithfulness, its healthy, unspoiled, primitive human nature. Sometimes there seems to be a certain disregard of the legal bond of marriage. Apparently Rymenhild cared little for it (vv. 531 ff.); we are not sure that Josian did (vv. 1093 ff.). William of Palerne's love for Melior had, at first, no legal sanction. Yet there is always the faithfulness which we associate with the marriage tie. It is the unmoral attitude of the ballads.

This passionate type of love is characteristic of the *chanson de geste* (cf. Gautier, I, p. 207). It is the lady who makes the advances, sometimes in a disgustingly bold manner.<sup>51</sup> Frequently it is a Saracen girl who shows this frank, sometimes brutal passion, which may not scruple at parricide to attain its end.<sup>52</sup> However, the general traits of female character seem much the same in Christian as in Saracen.<sup>53</sup> Prejudice against Saracen women who become Christians is not a trait of the

<sup>50</sup> The love in *William of Palerne* is not quite of the *chanson de geste* type. But in *Amis and Amiloun* it very clearly is. Belisaunt threatens Amis with death if he does not accept her love (*Am. and Amiloun*, vv. 625 ff.). *Octavian* (S. Eng. version), vv. 1201 ff., tells of a Saracen maid loving a Christian knight, who makes advances to him and finally becomes a Christian.

<sup>51</sup> More than twenty girls go to the beds of knights in *chansons de geste*, according to Gautier, 1st ed., I, p. 478.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. the English *Sir Ferumbas*, vv. 5763 ff. In this case Floripas, who has been converted, seems fired with religious zeal.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. the conduct of Charlemagne's queen Galienne in *Garin de Monglane* (Gautier, 2nd ed., IV, pp. 138 ff.). Three maidens seek Garin's

*chansons de geste*.<sup>54</sup> Orable, the wife of *Guillaume de Orange*, is perhaps the most attractive of the heroines of the *chansons de geste*. This typical woman was never a person common in real life; but she probably does represent an earlier stage when women were of less importance socially, and when distinctively feminine traits were not held in the esteem which was felt by the society implied by the *roman d'aventure*.

In *Guy* it is the man who woos. The lady is unsusceptible, disdainful even. The hero must remain afar off, must wait for many years; and when he wins his love he is scarcely permitted to enjoy it. There is a strong undercurrent of asceticism. The love of woman leads to strife; many men have been and will be "to gronde y-brouzt" by women (vv. 1503 ff.); it is after renunciation that the noblest character is developed both in *Guy* and in *Felice* (st. 279). Even pure and chivalrous love is unworthy in the presence of religious asceticism.

It is well to bear in mind that there was an ideal of love in medieval literature, and life, too, perhaps, which insisted that the perfect relation was between a married woman and an unmarried man. At its best this ideal is beautiful, if impractical and ultimately immoral. It sprang from a desire to preserve the first bright glow of young love before desire had darkened it. To do this meant to love the unattainable and unapproachable—a married woman. This of course is the love of Dante for Beatrice. It is the love which dictated the rules of the court of love. But in many of the French romances, as well as in their English analogues, we see the ideal breaking

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love in *Enfances de Garin* (Gautier, IV, pp. 115 ff.). Even the *chanson de geste* hero wearies of the boldness of the women; cf. complaint of *Girars de Viane*, mentioned by Gautier, 1st ed., II, p. 90.

<sup>54</sup> Usually sexual relations with an unconverted Saracen woman were strongly condemned. Cf. *Merline* (Percy Folio, I, vv. 410 ff.):

King Anguis had verament  
a daughter that was faire & gent,  
that was heathen Saracen;  
& Vortiger for loue fine  
vndertooke her for his wiffe,  
& liued in cursing all his liffe.

down, and another taking its place. The beloved is still a married woman, but not quite unapproachable, not quite unattainable. Here of course stand Lancelot and Guinevere, Tristram and Iseult, human and attractive, but sinners who must suffer. Later still come the romances in which illicit love is represented not as sin, perhaps not involving evil consequences, or, if so, only accidentally as any pure love might. Under a slight varnish there is often all the grossness of *fabliau*. Yet the author will say that these were perfect lovers.<sup>55</sup> It is interesting to note that these grosser romances had no vogue in English. No doubt they were repugnant to medieval English moral standards, at least of the public which read the English romances, low as they often are. Contemporary with these immoral romances, with their ideal of courtly, illicit love, were romances in which love seems so primitive as in *Horn* and *Bevis*, and so pure as in *Guy*. The English were using the less fashionable of contemporary literary material.

More important is war—involving the emotions of hatred and envy, as well as hope of glory and joy of victory. Here we are concerned primarily with the human side—with the emotions concerned. These are implied rather than expressed. In *Horn* and in *Bevis* there is the opposition of Christian and Saracen; in *Havelok*, of the loyal and the traitorous; in *Guy of Warwick*, of national and foreign. In addition, we find in our romances hostility because of the appearance of an undesired suitor for the heroine's hand, or because some one has been dispossessed of his property, or because some one has been worsted in a tournament. On the whole it may be said that these hostile relations are dwelt upon only sufficiently to bring about the fascinating scenes when lances break and swords clash. To see more clearly how the human elements enter into war it will be sufficient to discuss vengeance, cruelty, and the emotions of the fight.

<sup>55</sup> Good summaries of several romances of this type may be found in Langlois, *Société Française au XIIIe Siècle D'après dix Romans d'Aventure* (Paris, 1904); cf. *Le Chatelaine de Couci*, for example.



The emotions of the fight are anger and fear. In *Horn* and *Havelok* these scarcely appear. In the fight with his father's slayer

Horn him gan agrise,  
& his blod arise (vv. 868 ff.).

And Godard when captured "rorede als a bole" (*Hav.* v. 2438). In *Bevis*, however, there are numerous expressions to indicate the state of mind of combatants, especially of the hero. These are chiefly about physical sufferings. He is injured

þat he miȝte sofre namore (*Bevis*, v. 630).

When he got to his chamber, he

leide him deueling on þe grounde

To kolen is hertte in þat stounde (vv. 649 f.).

He became weary in his fight with the boar (v. 799). In the fight with the dragon "him þouȝte his herte to-brast" (v. 1792), and in his fight with the London crowd he was "wo be-gon" because of his wounds. In *Guy* combatants suffer for water (sts. 113, 120). When wounded, Amoraunt's "hert was full of ire and care" (v. 8541). Colbrond, when wounded, "was sore aschame" (st. 262). Guy in the same fight was sore dismayed and sore aghast when his sword broke. These are but a few of the cases in *Bevis* and *Guy* in which something is said about the emotions and physical sufferings of combatants. The simpler romances of *Horn* and *Havelok* have less fighting and therefore less material of this kind. Perhaps the most striking feature to be observed is the absence of fear.

Vengeance has an important part to play in many romances—and in three of this group, *Horn*, *Havelok*, *Bevis*. But the feeling of bitterness from which deeds of vengeance spring is almost absent. It is true that vengeance is secured. The Saracen enemies of Horn are slain; Godard and Godrich pay for their treachery with their lives; and the mother and stepfather of Bevis likewise perish. But of real hatred there is none except in the case of Bevis. Even in his case there is nothing to compare with the vengeance of Elizabethan drama. It is in the background of the story.

Of cruelty there is probably no more than medieval life would justify. In *Horn* there is mutual slaughter of Saracens and Christians, non-combatants as well as combatants (vv. 63 ff., 1377 ff.). But mortal enmity between Christians and infidels is merely part of the setting of much of medieval literature.<sup>56</sup> Even the Saracens did not have the cruelty to slay Horn and his companions outright. Fikenhild, after his death at Horn's hands, was drawn,<sup>57</sup> but that was the customary fate of traitors. The same remark applies to the tortures undergone by Godrich and Godard. They are condemned by their peers, and no one might do Godrich shame before trial (*Havelok*, vv. 1762 ff.). But there is no shrinking from legal cruelty. When Godard had been sentenced and shriven,

Sket came a ladde with a knif,  
And bigan riht at þe to  
For to ritte, and for to flo  
So it were grim or gore (vv. 2493 ff.).

With like severity Godrich was bound to a stake and burned (vv. 2831 ff.). The cruelty of *Bevis* is of a much fiercer quality. When Bevis was told that his half-brother<sup>58</sup> had been unintentionally slain by his father he

louȝ and hadde gode game (v. 3116).

When his stepfather was captured, he had him put to death by being thrown into a kettle of lead, and when his mother, beholding her husband thus perish, falls from the castle and breaks her neck,

Also glad he was of hire,  
Of his damme, ase of is stepsire (vv. 3463 f.).

Such brutality as this is entirely absent from *Guy*. Here is another instance of the distance by which this romance is removed from the others, particularly from *Bevis*, which in structure it so much resembles.

<sup>56</sup> Even in war there was less consideration for Saracens than for Christian enemies; a twelfth century church council forbade the use of the crossbow against *Christian* enemies.

<sup>57</sup> Fikenhild hi dude todraȝe (*Horn*, v. 1492).

<sup>58</sup> Possibly stepbrother?

As has been said, not much is made of the family relations. The relation of husband and wife seems to be an exception, as it is a source of interest in *Havelok*, *Bevis*, and *Guy*. Yet not very much is made of it. In *Bevis* it is only the wife who seems much affected by the long separation. In *Guy* there is the tacit approval of the departure of the husband at a time when he is aware that he is to be a father. Scarcely anything is made of the relationship of mother and son. The meeting of Horn and Godhild, furnishing such a splendid chance for pathos, is barely mentioned (v. 1383).<sup>59</sup> In *Bevis* the mother's attitude is entirely unnatural. The mother of Havelok is not mentioned; and the mother of Guy is neglected after the beginning of the romance. The relation of father and son is of greater importance. It is necessary that the hero's father should be a man of rank and might as an assurance of the hero's qualifications. The death of the father may introduce the motive of quest for vengeance (*Horn*, *Bevis*); the hero may take pride in his father (*Bevis*, vv. 613 ff.). But scarcely anything is made of filial affection.<sup>60</sup> Much less is made of fraternal affection. As a rule the hero of romance is an only child, at least of both father and mother; so Guy, Horn, Bevis. The sisters of Havelok perish too early to play a significant part. It is true of romance literature in general that the fraternal relation is unimportant.<sup>61</sup> The relation of subject and lord is, as has already been indicated, one of importance. But when the most is made of all this, one need only think of Chaucer to realize that the appeal of these early metrical romances is to a limited range of emotion.

### Summary.

In order to see clearly what each of these romances has contributed to medieval character-writing, it is necessary to con-

<sup>59</sup> It is interesting to note that in *Ponthus and Sidone* the reunion of mother and son is elaborated and made the basis of pathetic appeal.

<sup>60</sup> The relation of father and son is more important in some romances; cf. *Generydes*, *Perceval*, *Libeaus Desconus*.

<sup>61</sup> Numerous references to the relationship are of course found; cf. Oliver and Aude, Percevale and his sister. But it is not made the basis of emotional appeal to any great extent.

sider them separately, summarizing, for the most part, the conclusions already stated.

*King Horn*.—In this romance the characterization seems to harmonize perfectly with the rough, uncouth background of life and nature. Horn is a fighter first and a lover second. Indeed, as a lover, while faithful, he is not ardent. His long sojourn in Ireland does not seem sufficiently motivated if he is greatly in love. He does not absolutely refuse the Irish princess. He hesitates to accept Rymenhild's love when offered. His caution and self-command are almost too great. He is more anxious to receive knighthood and to become a warrior than to be the accepted lover of the royal princess. Yet he is a simple, manly, engaging figure. Rymenhild is equally simple, but her simplicity is that of primitive passion. Passionate love and passionate anger seem to bound her emotional range. The minor characters are barely sketched. Perhaps there is a touch of character contrast in the presentation of Fikenhild and Apulf, both Horn's companions and subjects, both bound to him by ties of friendship, both receiving knighthood at his hands, but Fikenhild is throughout the type of the unfaithful as Apulf is the type of the faithful vassal. Other characters are merely conventional figures—the porter, the palmer, Arnoldin, King Modi.

In presenting character, emotion, states of mind, use has been made of dialogue and action. A little is said of personal appearance, there is a hint here and there as to the feelings of the *dramatis personæ*, but these are comparatively unimportant. The dialogue reveals the progress of the love affair. The abundant action, of course, often reveals mood and attitude. Elsewhere all is left to the imagination of reader or hearer—the intention, the state of mind, even the character. The simplicity of character and emotion is emphasized by the sketchy presentation.

Of the human relations involved, only one is treated elaborately—namely, love. This is a human, popular, primitive passion, careless of fashion, free from coquetry, faithful, but without adoration. The woman woos, the man somewhat passively



accepts the offered love. The love of comrades, manifested in Horn and Apulf, while not developed, furnishes an additional interest, opposing the "envy" of Fikenhild, that scarcely understood hatred of the hero which apparently arouses very little resentment on the part of the one who suffers from it. The Saracens, however, arouse fiercer passions, although these are barely suggested. The darker passions remain unelaborated.

*Havelok*.—In *Havelok* the atmosphere has changed. Not knights, but the folk fill the stage. Havelok is a good servant, can put the stone beyond the farthest, and can break heads with a door-tree. He is good-natured, cautious, simple. There is no hint of passionate love or keen thirst for glory. Grim is a sturdy, loyal fisherman. The more vivid minor characters are fishermen (Grim's children), a cook, an innkeeper. Goldborough is scarcely the sketch of a queenly figure. Apelwold, a character of some importance, is an ideal king from the point of view of the peaceful, law-abiding middle class. Godrich and Godard, almost indistinguishable, are typical traitors. There is greater interest in states of mind than in *Horn*. There is greater individuality of character. This seems to be due to a changed point of view, as if the writer were not a minstrel seeing life through the spectacles of a courtly nobility, or even a crude, rough nobility, but some one—a priest, perhaps—who sees life with the eyes of the laborers or tradespeople of provincial England.

Here the author has more to say about his characters—Apelwold, Havelok, Godard, and others. The soliloquies reveal both character and intention. With less dramatic situation, the dialogue is comparatively unimportant. Action, of course, is important for revealing character, especially as purpose and mood, out of which action arises, are made clear. On the other hand, there is far less passion than in *Horn*, since the situations are so much less vivid and emotionally significant. Character apparently is more consciously in the mind of the author, and is emphasized by the more obvious means—soliloquy, general narrative, and direct statement—but the emotions springing from dramatic situation are neglected.

The field of human relations is again comparatively narrow. Love is almost absent. The relation of subject and king is perhaps most important, exemplified by Grim, Ubbe, and Grim's children, and, negatively, by Godard and Godrich. There is a national outlook absent from *Horn*, not present to an equal degree in *Bevis* and *Guy*. The relation of parent and child is intimately connected with the deaths of Apelwold and Birkabein. There is a glimpse, too, of the relation of servant and master. However, there is not the dramatic tension of strong passions which makes human relations of great significance for the story. The interest centers largely in the interaction of the hero and his environment—his conduct when famine reduces Grim to poverty, his conduct as the cook's servant, his success in the game of putting the stone, or of breaking heads. The chief emotion of the poem is the sense of triumph felt by the audience as it sympathetically followed the progress of the hero.

*Bevis*.—In *Bevis*, as in *Horn*, character has little interest for the author. He does not stop to describe character, and seldom to indicate mental states. Yet the main *dramatis personæ* are not unimpressive. We seem somehow to be again in the presence of fierce, primitive people and emotions. *Bevis* is a fighter, who joys in battle more than in love. He is fierce and even cruel—a stern, irresistible, brutal warrior, whose claim to admiration is unmeasured valor. *Josian* loves as *Rymenhild* loved—violently. She does not shrink from inflicting death on a persecutor. Other characters have an equal fierceness, without the redeeming faithfulness. *Bevis's* mother, the Emperor of *Almaine*, *Ascopard*, and most of the *Saracens* are people to inspire terror. There is not much said of states of mind, but so far as they are not purely conventional romantic material, due to the translator, they have the same fierceness and primitive quality that mark the entire romance.

Character is presented by means of situation and dialogue. Not much is made of soliloquy. Scarcely anything is said in the way of direct characterization, and not much in regard to emotions. However, the dialogue is sharp and characteristic, and

the situations swiftly succeeding one another have a cumulative effect, especially in connection with the impression made by the hero. It may be noted that there is a slightly humorous character in *Ascopard*.

What was said about human relations in *Horn* may almost be repeated here. There is the unrestrained love of the heroine, faithful and heroic; and there is, too, the lukewarmness of the hero. There is the development of the friendship of fellows-in-arms. There is the same background of Saracens versus Christians, as a basis for hatred and war. There is, however, greater fierceness and cruelty than in *Horn*. We are moving in the atmosphere of unrefined knighthood, of untempered fanaticism, and unbridled brutality, relieved somewhat by faithful love in wife and comrade.

*Guy of Warwick*.—*Guy* is a long step from *Bevis*. Here chivalry has softened warrior and war. *Guy* is an irresistible warrior like *Bevis*, but he is an adoring lover, and becomes a devoted palmer, doing penance for his sins. His character is less simple; he feels the conflict of love and religion; he suffers as well as triumphs. *Felice* is no *Rymenhild*, who invites her favorite to her bower that she may throw herself into his arms; she is to be won only after years of ardent seeking and repeated rebuffs. The stage is full of *dramatis personæ*. There is the maiden who plays the foil to *Felice*. Father and mother of *Guy* appear, playing natural, human parts. In addition, there is almost a host of *dramatis personæ* who are the conventional knights and kings and giants of romance. A greater elaboration distinguishes the character-material of *Guy* from that of *Bevis*, *Horn*, and *Havelok*.

Likewise more care and more time are devoted to the exposition of character and mental states. There are long soliloquies. Dialogue is sustained. There are definite statements from the author in regard to states of mind. At least one character—the maiden of *Felice*—is introduced to make feeling and attitude vivid by contrast. The action is very often significant of character. In the attention to character this romance is allied to *Havelok*.

But *Guy* differs very widely from *Havelok* in the field of human life from which character and emotion spring. Love is again of great interest—the love of knight for lady—an adoring, chivalrous love. This love conflicts with the relation of man and the church, or of man and God, and succumbs to the exalted desire for penitential sacrifice. Thus there is an elevation above the normal emotions of *Horn*, *Bevis* and *Havelok*. There is here, again, the same or greater emphasis on love of comrades. There is a new touch of filial affection. There is a current of patriotism found in *Havelok*, but not in *Horn* and *Bevis*. Thus there is in *Guy* a broadening and heightening of character and feeling.

What remains to be said is merely this. In these four romances there are striking differences and striking resemblances in the treatment of character and emotion. The differences seem to indicate great variation of type. *Horn* is the representative of an undeveloped, unsophisticated, warlike society, and might well be at base a metrical version of a popular tale which had absorbed romantic motives. *Havelok* is written for and about provincial, lowly or middle class Englishmen. *Bevis* is essentially a *chanson de geste*. *Guy* is a *chanson de geste* made over into a romance of chivalry. Yet in the very structure of three of these metrical stories is the exile-and-return motive, with the *dramatis personæ* which it implies. Corresponding *dramatis personæ* appear in *Guy*, but belong less closely to the main structure of the romance. Nevertheless, this resemblance of the four romances in respect to *dramatis personæ* and the structure which they imply should not be made too much of in searching for the conditions from which the tales originally sprang. If they once were very similar, they became dissimilar. At least *Bevis* and *Guy* were worked over if not created by Frenchmen and developed into metrical tales of widely different type. But in the English dress in which we are examining them there is no evidence that the English redactors felt very keenly the distinction of types. Stock romantic material is found throughout, especially in *Horn*, in *Bevis*, and in *Guy*. There are the same stock *dramatis personæ*; there are the same stereotyped ways of



expressing emotion; there are the same stereotyped phrases in the mouths of *dramatis personæ*, and in the mouths of the authors talking about the *dramatis personæ*. At least the stereotyped phrases are in a large measure the property of English romance, and the freedom with which they are employed everywhere seems to indicate that they were regarded as appropriate for any kind of story, that there was no distinction made between romantic and epic tale. What in France was intended for diverse audiences came in England into the hands of one set of minstrels reciting to one popular and indiscriminating audience, which welcomed a hodge-podge of narrative material that must have been very foreign to their natural interests. I must modify this statement by saying that in *Havelok* we seem to have a truly popular hero, not entirely created in the image of crude or chivalrous knighthood. But he is the exception that proves the rule. It is certainly not in the *dramatis personæ* of English metrical romances that we are to look for a clear image of medieval English life.

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## DAS VERMÄCHTNIS EINES DEUTSCHEN PROFETEN\*

Ich habe diesen Titel nicht umsonst gewählt für die Anzeige dieses wunderbaren Buches, das mir heute, fast siebzehn Jahre nach seinem Tode, den einzigen Mann in all seiner schlichten Grösse, der Tiefe seines Geistes und Gemüts, der quellenden Fülle seines schöpferischen Innenlebens und in der friedenstrahlenden Ruhe seiner harmonischen Persönlichkeit lebendig vor die Seele führt. Denn als Profet, als Verkünder eines neuen kommenden Tages für das innerste Leben seines Volkes erschien er mir vom Augenblick an, wo ich ihn zuerst kennen lernte. Nie werde ich die Stunde vergessen, in der ich ihn als junger Student zum ersten Male hörte. Es war im Wintersemester 1879-80, jener Blütezeit des sterilen Criticismus, den Flegeljahren der anmassenden Naturwissenschaft, einer der traurigsten Perioden deutschen Geisteslebens, in der der grosse Moment der nationalen Erneuerung ein kleines, vom Pessimismus verseuchtes Geschlecht gefunden hatte. In der masslosen Überschätzung formalen Wissens, wie es damals in den Schulen herrschte, aufgewachsen, hatte ich mich mit wahren Heissunger in theologische, philosophische und philologische Studien gestürzt, und konnte doch in Stunden stiller Einkehr das peinigende Gefühl nicht los werden, das mir all das stolze Alexandrinertum im Grunde nur leere Hülsen biete. Da bat mich eines Tages ein gleichgesinnter Mitstudent, dem ich meine innere Not vertraut hatte, ihn in Hildebrands Vorlesungen über Literaturgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts zu begleiten. Noch sehe ich die kleine Gestalt mit dem prachtvollen Haupte, den gross und edel geschnittenen Zügen auf dem Katheder stehen, noch höre ich den tiefen Klang seiner wunderbar eindringenden melodischen Stimme. Er sprach über Klopstock und seine Dichtersprache und kam auf das Wort 'glühen.' So musste Klopstock, so musste später der junge Goethe im schöpferischen Augenblicke das Wort in seiner ganzen Fülle der Bedeutung gefühlt und gesprochen haben, wie es seelenvoll hier von Hildebrands Lippen klang, während ein Abglanz nachschaffender Begeisterung über sein Gesicht leuchtete und den Hörer sich mitteilte. Es war eine Erfahrung, wie ich sie vorher nie gemacht hatte. Ich hatte ein Stück dichterischer Sprachschöpfung miterlebt.

Das war nicht der kritisch arbeitende, unausstehlich altkluge Stimmtön, der damals, wie leider auch heute noch vielfach, als

\*Gedanken über Gott, die Welt und das Ich. Ein Vermächtnis von Rudolf Hildebrand. Verlegt bei Eugen Dietrichs in Jena 1910, Pp. 479. 10 M.

der allein glaubwürdige galt. Noch viel weniger war es das billige 'Pathos' seichter Aestheten und Literaturschwätzer, das heute so oft der Menschheit Schnitzel kräuselt. Man hatte vielmehr das Gefühl, dass hier der denkbar gründlichste Kenner aus seiner Person heraus ins Ganze, Grosse der dichterischen Verkündigung übergetreten war, in der er lebte und webte. Die Ahnung, die in dieser Stunde über mich kam: dies ist der Mann, der dich, ja dein Volk zu einem neuen, höheren Leben führen kann, sollte sich um so mehr bestätigen, je näher ich ihn in seinen Vorlesungen über Goethe, übers Volkslied, über die Gudrun, in seinem Buche über den Sprachunterricht, in Grimms Wörterbuch und dann in längerem persönlichen Umgang kennen und lieben lernte.

Solch neues, höheres, ja höchstes Leben, wie er es sich selbst in qualvollen inneren Kämpfen erobert hatte, in den jungen Geistern zu wecken und zu nähren, war ihm im letzten Grunde die grosse Aufgabe seines Lebens, der all sein Können wie sein Riesenwissen dienen musste. Wie eine gütige Fügung der Vorsehung empfand er es, dass seine Ernennung zum Professor im Jahre 1870 zusammenfiel mit den grossen nationalen Ereignissen. Noch fühlt man den Jubel nach, der durch die Einleitung zu seinen Vorlesungen über die Literaturgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts klingt, die er im Winter 1870-71 zum ersten Male hielt:

"Die Abhängigkeit von Frankreich im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert dringt sprachlich selbst in den Kern unseres Stolzes, die Wissenschaft vor-wir waren, hauptsächlich seit Ludwig XIV., von aussen und innen umspinnen von Frankreich, so dass der Einbruch Napoleons nur wie eine welthistorische, notwendige Vollendung des Vorhergehenden erschien, erscheinen konnte. *Jetzt* endlich ist der Augenblick des Losringens, der *Mündigsprechung* da, es heisst wie politisch so auch in Sitte und Denken abstreifen was schon erschüttert nur noch hängt, nicht es töricht versteckt oder naiv festhalten oder neu einführen. Die besten Geister in Italien, England (Carlyle), selbst Frankreich zum Teil (V. Hugo), sehen *uns* als *das* Volk der Zukunft an, das muss aber vor allem mündig sein und das wird man nur durch seinen *Willen* zuletzt. So hat sich das Verhältnis auf einmal umgekehrt, wie ein Wagebalken umkippt. Und diese Umkehr ist ohne bewusste Anstrengung unsererseits erfolgt, sie ist ein Naturereignis. Sie begann in der Wissenschaft, Gelehrsamkeit, in der Stube des einsamen Denkers—in der Philosophie, Philologie, Aesthetik, Geschichtschreibung, in denen zum Teil *wir* schon länger Muster unserer früheren Lehrer und Vorbilder sind, zum Teil es noch werden müssen. Und *nun* auch im Staatsleben. Noch 1848 zuckte

die Pariser Revolution bei uns nach, mit geschichtlicher Notwendigkeit, wir waren die Unmündigen (England, wie ruhig konnte es bleiben!) und wie anders 1870! Nur die heimatlosen egoistischen Socialdemokraten, die 'Internationalen' hängen noch mit dem alten Wahn an Frankreich, Paris als der Quelle alles Lebens.

“Ja, 1870 ist für Deutschland, was für den Wagebalken die Kippe ist, für dem Wanderer die sauer errungene Passhöhe eines länderscheidenden Gebirges - *ein neues Leben beginnt, eine grosse Ferne und Weite tut sich vor uns auf, in die wir neugeboren, neugekräftigt, wie jung geworden niedersteigen.*”

Diesem neuen Leben, der inneren nationalen Wiedergeburt zum Durchbruch zu helfen, d. h. in organisch geschichtlichem Geiste fortzusetzen was unsere grossen Dichter und Denker begonnen, erkennt er als heilige Pflicht. So leitet er seine berühmten Vorlesungen über Schiller und Goethe - damals sagte man noch nicht unrhythmisch Goethe und Schiller—im Winter 1871-72 mit diesen Worten ein:

“Nachdem wir äusserlich wieder hergestellt sind oder werden, dass die Kugel nun von selbst bergab rollt, ist es hoch vonnöten dass wir die *innere Herstellung* kräftiger wieder aufnehmen, wie sie angebahnt ist von unsern geistigen Grössen. Ganz Europa blickt jetzt auf uns, aber wir sollen und wollen nicht bloss im politischen Wesen dem Ton angeben, die Arbeit des 18. Jahrhunderts für die *Menschheit* ist es, die man von uns zu erwarten hat, nicht mehr in abstracto bloss, sondern nun in concreto gegen die Gefahren, die der Menschheit von den ‘Schwarzen’ von Rom und den ‘Roten’ von Paris drohen, von dem Materialismus der exacten Wissenschaft und von dem Pessimismus und dem Abstractivismus der Philosophie, von dem verkappten Römertum unserer rückschrittlichen Kirche und dem noch nicht ausgetriebenen Franzosentum unseres falschen Staatsbegriffs und unserer ‘Gebildeten’—ja nun auch—so fügt er 1887 hinzu—gegen die Uebertreibung des Nationalitätsprinzips.

“Der *Mensch* und das *Menschentum*, wie sie Gott gewollt hat, sind vollends wieder zu erobern und sicher zu stellen, d. h. wir müssen uns erziehen und erziehen lassen aus den Schäden der Ueberkultur heraus und des verwälschten Deutschtums.

“Ja *erziehen-Erziehung*, nach falschen oder richtigen Grundsätzen und Zielen, ist der Kern der Menschheitsgeschichte.

“Bekanntlich arbeiteten die besten Kräfte des vorigen Jahrhunderts an einer völligen Neugeburt des Menschen, nirgends glaub ich tiefer als bei uns, niemand tiefer greifend als Schiller und Goethe.



“Nur *eins* war dabei vergessen: die politische Form. Die Franzosen brachten *das* in Fluss theoretisch—praktisch für sich selbst sind sie nun weiter zurück als wir. *Nun* sind *wir* aber politisch im Reinen, und da muss man denn darauf zurückkommen, dass ja auch der Staat nur aus *Menschen* besteht—und die Kirche nicht anders!

“So ist eine Erkenntnis der beiden Dichter für uns im höchsten Sinn *praktisch*, nicht bloss von idealem oder wissenschaftlichem Werte.”

Aber noch weiter tragen die Begeisterung und der innere Jubel über die endliche Erfüllung der nationalen Sehnsucht unseren Profeten. Er, der so tief und innig im geistigen Erbe unserer grosser klassischen Zeit lebt und webt, ja dem die Botschaft unserer Dichter und Denker das nationale Evangelium bedeutet, nach dem sich unser Leben gestalten soll, er steckt nun aufs neue das letzte Ziel auf, wonach unsere innerste Kulturentwicklung zu streben habe. In jenen Tagen, wo das geistlose Specialistentum auch in den Geisteswissenschaften seine Orgien zu feiern beginnt, wo das akademische Banausen—und Kärnertum die Philosophie also abgelebte Vettel verhöhnen durfte, und die Dichtung sich begnügen konnte, den deutschen Bildungsphilister und den Berliner Gründer zu kitzeln, da hatte Hilbrand den Mut, seine Zuhörer an das Wort der Staël zu erinnern, dass die Begeisterung (*l'enthousiasme*) die wahrhaft unterscheidende Eigenschaft der deutschen Nation sei und vor ihren Augen das Bild der Vollendung deutscher Kulturentwicklung zu entrollen, wie es Goethe und Schiller ahnend geschaut hatten. So ruft er in der Einleitung zu seinen Vorlesungen über Schillers und Goethes philosophische Dichtung, die so recht ins innerste Heiligtum der modernen deutschen Geistes einführen, der akademischen Jugend im Jahre 1874 zu:

“*Jetzt*, da die politische Jugend angebrochen ist (sie findet nur noch nicht *Jünglinge* genug, begeisterte Jünglinge wie sie damals Frau von Staël in Deutschland fand)—jetzt müsste auch die neue Jugend von damals wieder aufblühen, also auch *die Wissenschaft und Kunst, die Philosophie und Poesie* sich wieder die Hände reichen, wie es Schiller und Goethe verlangt, geweißt haben.\* Die Philosophie ist ja die Wissenschaft der Wissenschaften, wie die Poesie die Kunst der Künste—*nicht* die Plastik, wie jetzt die Tagesmeinung ist—d.h. die

\*Schiller in den Schlussversen der ‘Künstler’, Goethe z. B. in folgender Stelle: Man bedachte nicht, dass nach einem Umschwung von Zeiten beide (Philosophie und Poesie) sich freundlich, zu beiderseitigem Vorteil, auf höherer Stelle gar wol wieder begegnen könnten.’ Man vergleiche auch Rückerts herrliches Wort: ‘Was wär ein rechter Mann? Der mit dem Kern sich nährte der ganzen Wissenschaft und den zu Kunst verklärte’

Poesie in der *Verjüngung* zu ihrem Ursprung zurück, wie sie Richard Wagner als leitendes Bild vorschwebt.

“Und ihre krönende Spitze hätten beide in der wiederbelebten *Religion* zu finden - darüber erschrecken aber zunächst noch viele, auch von den Besten - ohne Not: der Schreck muss und kann umschlagen in jubelnde Freude, die alle seligen Kinderahnungen wieder bringt, nur als erfasste Wahrheiten.

“Wir müssen also, wie auf Irrwege in der Tiefe geraten, wieder anknüpfen an jene grosse Zeit, wieder auf die Höhe treten, auf der jene Grossen - die Dichter und Philosophen - gemeinsam standen. Das tut man in der Philosophie schon mit Kant, Manche mit Hegel, Schelling, das gebildete Bewusstsein tuts mit Goethe (Manche, wie Müllenhoff in Vorwort zu seiner *Altertumskunde*, auch noch mit Schiller) und das ist so wenig ein Rückschritt wie das Zurückgehen der Musik auf Bach, Mozart, der Poesie im vorigen Jahrhundert auf Shakespeare, ja der neuen Zeit überhaupt seit dem Humanismus, auf des Altertum und nun unser eignes Zurückgehen auf *unser* Altertum.”

Nur ganz Wenige verstanden Hildebrand damals. Die grosse Masse berauschte sich an flachen Zeitphrasen wie sie aus Frankreich und Nordeuropa hereinzubrechen begannen und im Verein mit gewissen anderen Strömungen die Papierrevolution der sogenannten ‘Moderne’ heraufführen halfen. Erst heute, wo uns so Vieles in jener unglaublich verrohten Zeit als knabenhafte Verirrung vorkommt, wo es den Besten immer klarer wird, wie tief wir von der hohen Kultur unserer grossen Zeit abgefallen sind, während wir vergeblich versuchten unserer vermeintlich grösseren Tiefe und Intensität einen Ausdruck zu schaffen - erst heute mögen Hildebrands Profetenworte ganz zu ihrer Wirkung kommen. Denn immer mehr empfinden wir nun wie töricht es war, uns in einen eingebildeten Gegensatz zum 18. Jahrhundert zu gefallen, von dem wir doch in allen Fasern, unseres geistigen Daseins immer noch abhängen und noch lange abhängen werden.

Den reichen Inhalt des vorliegenden Buches, das uns in die heimlichsten Gründe eines ausserordentlichen Geistes blicken lässt und den letzten Aufschluss über sein ganzes Schaffen gibt, in einer kurzen Anzeige auch nur anzudeuten, ist unmöglich. In tagebuchartiger Form, einen Zeitraum von nahe zu sechszehn Jahren umspannend, hat Hildebrand hier sein Geheimstes und Tiefstes ausgesprochen. Wir sehen ihn mit den Auswüchsen des Zeitgeistes, dem Abstractivismus, dem Materialismus und dem Pessimismus bis aufs Blut ringen und geniessen mit ihm die Silberblicke des neuen höheren Lebens, das sein Profetenauge schaut. Denn wie in jeder Zeile des Buches die Liebe zu seinem deutschen Volke glüht, so steht hinter seinem Ahnen und Sehnen

die Forderung des 'ganzen, gesunden Menschen,' für dessen Wiederherstellung Herder, Goethe, Schiller, Klopstock, Hölderlin u. A. kämpften und rangen. Zu diesem ganzen und gesunden Menschen gehört aber als wesentlichster Teil, ja als die tiefste Lebensquelle des Ich die 'Empfindung' für deren Berechtigung, Ausbildung und Betätigung er in einer verstandesstolzen, seichten Zeit, wie jene Grossen, immer wieder kämpft. Wie jubelt er auf, als er in E. Machs *Beiträgen zur Analyse der Empfindungen* (1886) von naturwissenschaftlicher Seite her die Bestätigung seiner Ueberzeugung findet! Und so knüpft er an Richard Wagners Worte über K. M. von Weber: 'Nie hat ein deutscherer Musiker gelebt als du... ja diese Kindlichkeit war es, die deinen männlichen Geist wie sein guter Engel geleitete, ihn stets rein und keusch bewahrte, und in dieser Keuschheit lag deine Eigentümlichkeit. Wie du diese herrliche Tugend stets ungetrübt erhieltest, brauchtest du nichts zu erdenken, nichts zu erfinden - *du brauchtest nur zu empfinden, so hattest du schon das Ursprünglichste erfunden*'—die bezeichnende Bermerkung:

"Das trifft denn, auf dem Boden der Kunst, genau überein mit dem 'metaphysischen Empfinden' das ich zu zeichnen und zu begründen versuchte- mein tieferes oder höheres Denken ist von jeher kein anderes, ich habe mirs aber auch zugleich schwer genug erkämpfen müssen gegen immer wiederholte Stösse von aussen, alle Ruhe und Kraft kommt mir nun aus ihm, ich glaube es aber auch bei allen den Philosophen in Grunde ihres Denkens wiederzufinden, die der Wesenheit nachstrebten, nicht einer Theorie, einem System, d.h. Menschenmache."

Wie eng das neue höhere Menschentum, die Einheit von Denken, Empfinden und Anschauung, wozu Hildebrand sein Volk erziehen möchte, der Schiller- Goetheschen Auffassung des Genies, des kindlich naiven, verwandt ist, wird der Kenner leicht sehen. Und wer möchte den Gegensatz zu Nietzsches krankhaftem 'Uebermenschen' verkennen, dem trügerischen Irrlicht, das, sonderbar genug, fast zur selben Zeit zu erscheinen und die Jugend zu verwirren beginnt, als Hildebrand sein Vermächtnis niederschrieb.

Dass sich bei einem Manne, in dem sich schärfstes Denken mit tiefster Empfindung und klarer Anschauung zur Einheit verbanden, wie bei Hildebrand, ein ganz anderes d.h. ein viel direkteres und treueres Verhältnis zur Wahrheit ergibt, als bei den gewöhnlichen Fach- und Schuldenkern, versteht sich von selbst. Wie könnte es auch anders sein bei einem Manne, der von der letzten Einheit von Dichtung und Philosophie durchdrungen und dessen Geisteswelt, wie die Herders und Goethes, vom Begriffe oder besser gesagt von der Gegenwart des *Lebens*



beherrscht und bestimmt war. Daher sein Hass gegen alle Theorie und Systeme als blosser Menschenmache. Umsonst werden daher Solche, die in jedem philosophischen Buche nach dem 'System' des Verfassers spähen, den vorliegenden Band in die Hand nehmen. Wer aber durchdrungen ist von dem tiefen Goethewort: 'das Wahre war schon längst gefunden, hat edle Geisterschaft verbunden', wird dem Manne gern ins Haus der Wahrheit folgen, der mit den Wahrheitsuchern aller Zeiten verkehrt hat und frei von aller Einseitigkeit und falschen Geniesucht immer nur nach dem *einen* Wahren trachtete. "Will man mein Denken, so bekennt er, einmal irgendwo unterbringen im Fachwerk der Schule, so stecke man mich unter die Eklektiker. Denn es ist mein entschiedener Glaube, schon seit lange, dass die Wahrheit, soweit wir sie erreichen können, an sichersten zu erreichen ist in dem, was in der verschiedensten Weltanschauungen übereinstimmt, was die verschiedensten Standpunkte überein haben, was alle von den verschiedensten Seiten aus von der Welt gesehen haben, das also aus allen *issmussen* auszusuchen wäre."

Mit diesem Durst nach Wahrheit, die, über allen Richtungen schwebend, Allen gemeinsam ist, hängt denn aufs engste sein leidenschaftliches Bedürfnis zusammen, sich mit Vielen, womöglich mit Allen eins zu fühlen. Hier wurzelt seine heisse Vaterlandsliebe und sein Opfersinn, der ihn durchs ganze Leben begleitete, wie sein unversöhnlicher Hass gegen den Solipsismus, die schlimmste aller Zeitkrankheiten, "die Hauptquelle von sittlichem Verderb, Zerstörung und Wahnsinn." Unerbittlich, mit einer Schärfe und einem heiligen Zorn, die an dem friedsamem Manne überraschen, verfolgt er diesen 'Teufel oder Esel' wie er ihn nennt, in allen Erscheinungsarten: im Kriticismus, in den Knaupeleien der Erkenntnistheorie und in seiner gefährlichsten Form: "das man den Anderen ein Inneres nicht zutraut - nur sich allein." Wie tief hier Hildebrand in eines der Grundübel des modernen Geistes geblickt hat - schon Goethe und besonders Schiller erkannten es, das zeigt auch folgende Stelle: "Das Trachten nach sich durch Verneinung der anderen setzt sich übrigens lange fort: auch wenn das Ich erfährt, dass es mit andern Eine Weltgegend bewohnen muss, Einen Weg teilen, also wenn es willig zurückkehrt, sucht es doch lange, in verschiedenster Form die anderen Iche los zu werden: durch Aufsaugen oder durch Verkleinern oder Unterdrücken. Alles noch auf dem Wege zur Vernichtung, das heisst zum Alleinbleiben des Ichs in der Welt - im Nichts."

Wie der junge Schiller sein höchstes Ziel in der Verbrüderung der Geister findet, so entdeckt auch Hildebrand aus eigener Erfahrung die rettende Wahrheit: "nur an und in und



mit anderen Ichen gewinnt einer sein eignes Ich." So sagt er in der wunderbaren 'Neujahrsandacht' vom Jahre 1881 (S. 104 ff.): "Was jeder Einzelne in sich als Einzelter nicht hat, nicht kennt, nicht ahnt, das tritt auf, entsteht und wirkt durch das Zusammen oder Beisammen mehrerer, vieler Einzelner und kommt doch aus ihnen, den Einzelnen, aber nicht als Einzelnen, sondern als einander Angehörenden, einander Hingegebenen." Freilich, dies Zusammenleben mit dem Ganzen ist nur möglich wo die allgemeine Liebe eintritt und ohne sie ist auch der volle Fortschritt nicht möglich. "Nichts in der Welt, sagt Hildebrand an anderer Stelle (S. 284), geht mir so nahe und liegt mir so an, als der Gang, den das Ganze, *mein* Ganzes im Augenblick nimmt und sucht, nur in ihm ruht ja alles Vorwärtskommen, wie alle Aufgabe zum Tun und Eingreifen."

Ja Tun und Eingreifen oder, wie er mir einmal schrieb, 'fürs Gute wirken, das nicht Hände genug finden kann', das wollen, lange nachdem der Verfasser verstummt ist, auch noch diese Blätter seines Vermächtnisses. Manches darin mag uns von der Zeit überholt scheinen und Viele werden ihm vielleicht, wenn er allzu grüblerisch in die Tiefe gräbt, nicht folgen können. Aber die Ausbeute an bleibender Anregung, Erhebung und tiefen Einblicken wird für den Philosophen, den Historiker, den Sprach- und Literaturforscher wie für den Künstler, falls sie die ungetrübte Offenheit, die kindlich treue Stimmung der Wahrheit gegenüber sich gewahrt haben, gleich gross sein. Wer den Tiefsinn unserer deutschen Mystik kennt, der wird in diesem Buch einen Hauch ihres Geistes spüren. Vor allem aber wird der denkende Leser das Gefühl haben einem Profeten zu lauschen, der tief aus dem Jungbrunnen deutschen Geistes getrunken hat, der ihn auf die Höhen führt, wo die Grossen und Besten unseres Volkes gestanden haben und der ihm von dort das verheissene Land zukünftiger deutscher Kultur und deutschen Menschentums weist

Zum Schlusse sei dem Herausgeber des Buches, Professor Georg Berlit in Leipzig, der Dank der Verehrer Hildebrands ausgesprochen für die Treue und Sorgfalt mit der er das Werk ans Licht gefördert hat. Das warm empfundene und fein gezeichnete Characterbild Hildebrands in der Einleitung wird Vielen den grossen Mann und sein Werk näher bringen, das von dem feinsinnigen Verleger nach gewohnter Art schön und vernehm ausgestattet ist.

JULIUS GOEBEL.

HERMAN HIRT, ETYMOLOGIE DER NEUHOCH-  
DEUTSCHEN SPRACHE (im HANDBUCH DES  
DEUTSCHEN UNTERRICHTS AN HÖHEREN SCHU-  
LEN, ed, Adolph Matthias, iv, 2.) + München, 1909, pp. xv  
404.

In this book one of the leading scholars in Indo-Germanic philology reviews the German vocabulary in its historical development. The words of the language are here considered, not as in dictionaries, by themselves, but in their relation to each other. The history of language is viewed above all as a part, and a very important part, of *Kulturgeschichte*. The method as well as the point of view lend to the work an unusual interest not only for students of German, but for all who are interested in linguistic study.

The scope of the work, as outlined in the introductory chapter, is certainly comprehensive. A complete survey of the vocabulary presupposes a complete collection of the material, and that is possible only for the present and needs constant revision. For older periods it is of prime importance to record the first literary appearance of a word, which, of course, is not coincident with its origin. Then the vocabulary of the dialects, of different social classes and occupations is to be reviewed. Petrified words, long since obsolete and unintelligible, preserved only as parts of compounds or proper names, are to be considered, and, last but not least, semasiology is to receive careful attention.

In the historical sketch of the science of etymology the author's Indo-Germanic proclivities are given full rein. For a book concerned with German the presentation of the comparative material is exceedingly copious; in the tables of comparative sounds, Keltic, Armenian, and even Albanian correspondences are duly recorded. The material relating to the difficult question of long Idg. nasals and liquids is presented in accordance with the author's well-known theories as formulated in his treatises on "Ablaut" and Greek Grammar. It is safe to say that the average student of German etymology will be able to make little use of all this wealth, but, in view of the fact that in most books on German and English etymology and historic grammar the comparative side is but poorly represented, or even misrepresented, no fault need be found with the author for his liberality in this respect.

In the review of the German vocabulary a strictly chronological method is not followed. As a preliminary the Germanic loan-words in Greek, Latin, Finnic, Lithuanian, Slavic and Romance are examined. The list of such words in French

alone is instructive and impressive; among them we find such common words as *bannir*, *banc*, *bannière*, *blanc*, *danser*, *dérober*, *flot*, *frais*, *garder*, *glisser*, *guerre*, *regretter*, *riche*, *sale*, etc. (p. 49-52). Germanic loan-words are found also in Modern Greek and the languages of the Balkan region, and show that Germanic influence was more widespread than historical records show.

Of the ultimate origin of words in any language nothing is known for certain. Many words, after being traced back to Idg. permit of no further explanation. Yet new words have arisen at all times, even in prehistoric periods. For many of the imitative words we can assert such a later origin with assurance, especially for words signifying movement or noise. Many of these words are not attested for the earliest periods, though that does not preclude their Idg. origin. Then new words have come in thru the language of children, the secret dialects, especially the rogues' language, and others (§ 67). The bulk of the vocabulary, however, is not of such origin; it is either Idg. or has been borrowed from other languages in historic periods.

Now, on the basis of Kluge's etymological dictionary an attempt is made to classify the German vocabulary as to its provenience. The first question that presents itself is: "How is the Idg. origin of a word determined?" In this connection the author gives a highly instructive discussion of the significance of the so-called Partial Equations or Correspondences (*Partielle Gleichungen*). When a word can be traced in only two or three Idg. dialects the cause is either kinship or borrowing. But the latter is possible only for dialects at one time or another geographically contiguous; as, for instance, for Keltic-Slavic-Germanic. Hence Germanic-Aryan correspondences argue for the Idg. origin of the word in question, and the number of such correspondences is very considerable, nearly equal to those of Germanic to Keltic or Slavic.

Hirt gives lists of partial equations (§§ 82-85) which are remarkably equal in point of numbers and furnish no support to the long-cherished theory of the nearer kinship of Germanic with either Keltic or Slavic. Of course, the lists are not complete; they also contain some doubtful material. Thus under Germanic-Aryan I find Gothic *biniuhsian*=Skt. *nakṣati*, and under Germanic-Slavic the same word is quoted=Russian *njuchati*. Not one of these equations is certain. Feist in his "Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Gotischen Sprache" (p. 51) does not even mention the former; the latter he regards as doubtful. What Ablaut-relation is there between Skt. *nakṣati* and a root *\*neuks* which underlies the Gothic word? Again, the Old Norse *hrekja* is quoted under Germanic-Keltic as =



Old Irish *crecht* "wound," but also under Germanic-Aryan as = Skt. *karjati* "he torments."

Now, in view of what is known of the wealth of synonyms in a primitive language, and of the processes by which, as civilization advances, a selection is made from this embarrassing wealth, it is easy to understand how an Idg. word may have survived in only one Idg. language, or even in only one dialect of that language. Thus of all the Germanic dialects at present German alone has the word "Schwager," which is nevertheless Idg. on account of Skt. *svásuras*. Hence, words that cannot be traced outside of the Germanic may yet be Idg., e. g., *Brust* (Engl. *breast*, Ablaut *u: eu*), *Winter*, *Hand*. In fact, the author denies any special significance to the partial equations and even goes so far as to say (§ 86): "Sobald wir also ein Wort des Germanischen in einer anderen indogermanischen Sprache nachgewiesen haben, so spricht alle Wahrscheinlichkeit dafür, dass es indogermanisch war." Compare with this the more cautious attitude of another well-known Indo-Germanic scholar, Meillet, in his "Introduction à l'Étude Comparative des Langues Indo-Européennes, Paris, 1908," p. 345: "Les rapprochements qui ne s' étendent pas à plus de deux dialectes doivent être tenus pour plus ou moins suspects, sauf raisons particulières, etc." And again, p. 346: "Là où il n' existe pas de raisons spéciales, on doit, en bonne méthode, tenir pour douteux tout rapprochement de mots qui ne porte que sur deux dialectes, etc." But then Hirt has little faith in the theory that makes the Germanic tribes neighbors of Slavs or Kelts in prehistoric times (cf. p. 63).

Passing over a number of chapters in which derivation and composition, the foreign elements in the vocabulary and their assimilation are considered, we come to Chapter IX, where a survey of the vocabulary from another point of view is attempted. Words are arranged in concept-groups and each group is examined as to its provenience. Some groups show much Idg. material, others little. Thus the numerals are overwhelmingly Idg., but the word for a thousand is specifically Germanic. To take one group for illustration, the words denoting parts of the human body are largely Idg.; yet many of the most common words in this group cannot be traced outside of Germanic, e. g., *Bein*, *Bauch*, *Blut*, *Brust*, *Busen*, *Finger*, *Haar*, *Hand*, *Klaue*, *Knochen*, *Leiche*, *Lunge* (a Germanic new formation), *Magen*, *Maul*, *Schädel*, *Schulter*, *Wade*, *Wange*, *Zagel* (= Eng. *tail*). The etymology of *Auge* is uncertain. All these words are old, common Germanic, many of them, no doubt, Idg. Loan-words in this group are few, e. g., *Kopf*, *Muskel*, *Nerv*. From an examination of the material under each group the author invariably draws conclusions for Idg. civilization. Thus from



the copious Idg. terminology for parts of the body it may be inferred that the Indo-Germani ate animals and dissected them. From the fact that the names of the chief domestic animals as well as such words as *Rahm*, *Herde* are Idg. it follows that the Indo-Germani were not Nomads. On the basis of the vocabulary for trees and plants the older view that the Indo-Germani were agriculturists is accepted against the Nomad-theory in vogue since Hehn and Schrader (§ 129). And so for each concept-group, minerals, natural phenomena, relations of family and state, qualities, activities, etc. the old Idg. material is sifted from what has been borrowed and interesting conclusions are drawn for the history of civilization. The method that aims to get from the word to the thing itself is rigorously applied with splendid results.

The material thus far examined is largely prehistoric and a precise account of its development is not possible. This becomes possible only for the time when written records appear and the remaining chapters are devoted to the task of giving a historic survey of the vocabulary for the historic periods. How words arise and vanish, become obsolete or die out, how in many cases they are revived, how the usage of words varies according to sex, age, territory and occupation, how the vocabulary of the *Schriftsprache* differs from and is influenced by that of the dialects and *Sondersprachen*, how cultural conditions and tendencies are reflected in language,—all this makes fascinating and instructive reading and is set forth with clearness and scholarly accuracy. But space forbids giving details; special attention, however, is due to the two final chapters on proper names and changes of meaning.

The explanation of proper names is one of the most difficult tasks of etymology. While some names or parts of names are readily explicable, the great mass is not clear. The Germanic personal names, like the Idg., are compounds consisting of two word-stems, like *Dietrich* < *diot* + *rich*. An examination of German names in use today reveals the fact that the greater part of them are old Germanic. Besides these we have the names of religious origin, names designating geographical provenience like *Sempacher*, *ten Brink*, *Vogtländer*, *Westermann*, surnames, particularly nicknames like *Lange*, *Kurze*, *Bidermann*, *Holbein*, *Kaiser*, *Zorn*. Sometimes sentences are contracted into a name, e. g., *Habeniet*, *Anesorge*. Position or occupation produces names like *Kamerer*, *Werter*, *Müller*, *Kästner*. Among names of foreign origin Slavic names are conspicuous, e. g., *Schwerin*, *Flotow*, *Kretschmar*. Jewish names are in great part of recent coinage, hence of an artificial, often bizarre character, e. g., *Lilienthal*, *Cohnstein*, *Rosenberg*, etc. The forms of proper names also show dialectic variations, thus diminutives

in *-ke* are prevailingly North-East German, those in *-el*, *lein*, *le*, Upper or Middle German.

Tribal names are far more difficult to explain than personal names, and opinions of scholars have diverged considerably. Thus Much interpreted most of these names as nicknames or animal-designations. Hirt does not accept these results and denies the validity of Much's method. What he submits is tentative, but deserving of careful consideration. It is undeniable that many Germanic names are Idg. and hence defy further etymological explanation. On the strength of the so-called "Elliptic Dual" in Idg. (Castores = Castor and Pollux, Latin plural having replaced the Dual) Hirt assumes that the tribal names are plurals of personal names, the method of formation for both kinds being the same. Furthermore, both are often identical in part. Now, if the etymology of many personal names is hopeless, still oftener is this the case with tribal names, and most of the etymologies that have been advanced for them are little better than guesses. Thus, to take a conspicuous example, the etymology of *Germani* is still utterly unknown. The author believes that the name originally belonged to one tribe and was subsequently generalized in its application.

As for place-names, there is much repetition in different localities. Names of rivers are especially interesting. Many such names assumed as Keltic occur in such distribution as to argue for pre-Keltic, possibly, as Hirt doubtfully suggests, for Ligurian origin. After allowing for these as well as for undoubted Slavic names, the number of rivers bearing genuine Germanic names is small, *Elbe*, *Fulda*, *Weser*, *Oder*, and the etymology of these names is uncertain. At least, Hirt regards Müllenhoff's explanation as very doubtful. A thorough investigation of the material is necessary before reliable results can be reached.

The chapter on semasiology concludes the book. To trace the meaning of a word back to prehistoric times involves much conjecturing, and imagination often takes the place of information. The attempt which Hirt makes to trace the original meaning of *Ding* is instructive in this respect (p. 345). Gothic *þeihs*, O. H. G. *ding* point to an Id. *\*ténkos* or *\*tenkós*. Kinship with Latin *tempus* is more than doubtful, and the comparison with Skt. *ā-tanakti* "to congeal," Lith. *tánkus*, "thick, close," is not at all convincing. To explain the original meaning of *Ding* on such grounds as "a condition of being close together," whence develop the meanings of "crowd," "assembly," is ingenious, but that is all. But the demand which Hirt makes, following Meringer, that to get at the fundamental meaning of a word we must start with a definite concrete, not

with a general abstract meaning, is thoroughly sound and, if obeyed, would do away with much of the fanciful speculation that is a hindrance to philological research.

That changes of meaning like sound-changes are subject to law seems certain, but the laws are difficult to detect and hence a principle of classification is not easily established. A historical principle is no doubt preferable to one purely logical, but owing to the immense diversity of historical details, the logical principle is more practicable. So Hirt classifies changes of meaning broadly, according to (a) whether the meaning remains within the same concept-sphere and merely becomes narrower or wider, better or worse, e. g., O. H. G. *thiorna*, N. H. G. *Dirne*, or (b) whether there is a transference to another concept-sphere by metaphor or metonymy, e. g., *Seezunge*, *Frauenzimmer*, *Dukat*. As for the causes of such change, they are found in the varying signification of the same word according to its syntactic use in the sentence; the different meanings of "*Tisch*" are an illustration (p. 367). The causes of change of meaning can only be explained by considering the function of the word in the sentence, not by studying the word by itself.

The carefully constructed indices at the end of the volume are an invaluable help to the student. The value of the book, however, lies not merely in the material which it contains, but in the clear and lucid manner in which the great problems of etymology are presented and discussed. A careful and conscientious study of this work of one of the foremost exponents of philological science of the present day is in itself a training in philological method.

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DIE ROLLE DES ERZÄHLERS IN DER EPIK von Dr. Käte Friedemann. Untersuchungen zur neueren Sprach- und Literaturgeschichte, herausgegeben von Professor Dr. Oskar F. Walzel. Neue Folge, 7. Heft. H. Haessel Verlag Leipzig 1910. X, 246.

Was ist das wesentlichste Gesetz aller echt epischen Darstellungsweise? Antwort: Die Selbstdarstellung des Erzählers!—da wäre der Kern der Arbeit. Sie erstreckt sich über 252 Seiten, wovon 7 auf das Vorwort, 32 auf die Einleitung, 64 auf den ersten größeren Abschnitt: den Blickpunkt des Erzählers, 146 auf den zweiten größeren Abschnitt: die epische Darstellung im Einzelnen, und 3 Seiten auf das Schlußwort kommen.



Die Arbeit wollte anfangs die deutsche Erzählliteratur eines historisch bestimmten Zeitraums daraufhin untersuchen, wieweit in ihr sich der Erzähler als solcher zur Geltung bringe, schritt aber während der Untersuchung über ihre Grenzen hinaus, so daß sich das Problem nicht zu einem literarhistorischen, sondern zu einem ausgesprochen ästhetischen gestaltete. Bei dieser weiten Fassung der Frage mußten dann nicht nur die deutschen, sondern überhaupt auch die hervorragendsten Epiker der Weltliteratur zur Sprache kommen.

In der Betrachtungsweise ihres Problems steht die Verfasserin ganz auf dem Standpunkte ihres dankbar verehrten Lehrers Oskar F. Walzel (ihm ist diese Schrift zugeeignet!): die Literaturwissenschaft gehöre zu den Kunstwissenschaften, welche die Untersuchung der Form als eine ihrer wesentlichsten Aufgaben betrachten; nicht nur von der Künstlerpsychologie sei auszugehen, sondern von der Form des Kunstwerks selber, wolle man das Ganze verstehen. Sodann dürfen literarische Erscheinungen, ebensowenig wie die Naturwissenschaften, der philosophischen Grundlage entbehren. Aber auch hier handle es sich nicht nur darum, welche Weltanschauung habe der Dichter bewußt in seinem Kunstwerk niedergelegt, sondern eher um die Frage, was verrate er unbewußt durch die Form der Darstellung; denn jede Form künstlerischer Darstellung spreche von einer besonderen Verhaltensweise des Künstlergeistes der Welt gegenüber, und dieses Verhalten äußere sich einmal in der individuellen Form, sodann aber auch in den bereits konstant gewordenen allgemeinen Formen, d. h., in den einzelnen poetischen Gattungen. Mit letzteren habe sie es hier zu tun.

In der nun folgenden Einleitung zur ganzen Streitfrage wird das Ziel der Arbeit genauer festgestellt. Geschickt weiß V. den Gegner zu stellen und ihn für ihre Zwecke auszunutzen. Diese Methode wird bei fast jedem neuen Abschnitt angewandt und führt leicht zur Weitspurigkeit; vieles hätte sich kürzer abmachen lassen. So die Erörterungen mit Zielinski (103), Brandes (119), Lessing (172), Theodor Meyer (173, 186, 68), Arno Holz (70), Quintilian, Biese (223). Andererseits gewinnt aber die Darstellung durch scharfe Polemik und logische Akribie eine gewisse dramatische Frische und zugleich aber auch eine leichte Übersichtlichkeit der Beweisführung. So läßt denn V. sogleich Spielhagen zu Worte kommen (1). Dieser betont in seinen theoretischen Schriften, der Erzähler habe hinter seinem Stoffe zu verschwinden, der Dichter müsse „objektiv“ sein. Es wird nun dargelegt, daß Spielhagen unter „Objektivität“ nicht die gemeingültige Annahme des geistig über dem Stoffe Stehens meine, daß er vielmehr „Objektivität“ mit „dramatischer Illusion“ gleichsetze, etwas rein Formales bezeichne, die möglichste Ausschaltung des Erzählenden aus der Erzählung anstrebe.



Dagegen nimmt nun V. schroffe Stellung und betont, gerade in der Geltendmachung des Erzählenden liege ein wesentliches Merkmal der epischen gegenüber der dramatischen Dichtung. Im Epos werden Geschehnisse nicht direkt, sondern durch ein organisch mit der Dichtung selbst verwachsenenes Medium (den Erzähler) übermittelt. Diesen Gedanken nun weiter zu begründen, ist der Zweck der nun folgenden zwei größeren Abschnitte.

Zuerst der Abschnitt über den Blickpunkt des Erzählers. Dieser Blickpunkt verrät sich in der Rolle, die das Medium in der Erzählung spielt, in dem Platz, von dem es schaut, in der Tatsache, ob es das Berichtete als Wirklichkeit oder als erfunden aufgefaßt wissen will, und schließlich in der Distanz, die es den Geschehnissen gegenüber bewahrt. Unter dem Medium der Geschehnisse versteht V. eine Abstraktion aus vielen konkreten Erscheinungsformen, die uns den Erzähler darbieten. Die einzige Wirklichkeitsillusion, die im Epos angestrebt wird, ist, daß erzählt oder berichtet wird. Der Erzähler, das Medium des Berichts, bilde das einzig Direkte, Gegenwärtige. Das Medium kann verschiedene Formen annehmen und sich auf verschiedene Weise zur Geltung bringen: als Rhapsode, als Rahmenerzähler, der Erzähler in seiner Eigenschaft als Schreiber eines Buches, als Ich-Erzähler, in der Erinnerungsnovelle. Mit welchem scharfen Verständnis für die Sache und zugleich künstlerisch nachempfindenden Feingefühl V. Literarisches zu bewerten weiß, zeige folgendes kurze Zitat aus den „Erinnerungen von Ludolf Ursleu dem Jüngeren:“ „Der Erzähler ist Beobachter, Weltweiser, der dem Untergang seines Hauses passiv zusieht. So wird die ganze Erzählung für uns, selbst da, wo die Gestalten auf dem Höhepunkt des Lebens stehen, von einer leisen traurigen Musik begleitet, jede Vorstellung ist vereint mit der von dem einsamen Mönch, dem die Erinnerung an die Momente des Glücks besonders schmerzlich sind, weil er an das Ende der einstigen Herrlichkeit glauben muß.“ (38)

Bei der Erörterung des Blickpunkts in der Erzählung setzt V. sich auch mit dem Naturalismus und Impressionismus recht scharf und klar auseinander. Beide Arten betonen in ihrer Darstellungsweise die Gegenwart, und da der erstere nur das gelten lassen will, was mit den Sinnen wahrzunehmen ist, alles übrige aber dem Schlußvermögen der Leser überläßt, schlägt er in seinen Gegensatz um, den Impressionismus, bei dem es nur auf den sinnlichen Eindruck des Dinges ankommt, und der weder das Abbild von diesem noch auch etwas ist, das in einem Ich stattfindet, „sondern zwischen Ding und Ich, die beide geleugnet werden, in der Mitte steht. Im Gegensatz zu dem impressionistischen Dichter steht nun der Dichter, der sein Ich bewußt zum Spiegel der Welt macht, dessen Basis die Philosophie des kriti-

schen Idealismus ist. Man sieht aus dieser Ausführung, wie konservativ, orthodox, V. verfährt, wie sie Goethes Formel dick unterstreicht: „Stil“ = „Verarbeitung“ auf weiter Grundlage des Wissens.

Jede epische Dichtung als solche ist ihrer Form nach im Grunde eine historische, weil sie die Geschehnisse nicht als gegenwärtig sondern als vergangen bringt. Was im historischen Epos noch hinzu kommt, ist die größere Distanz des Erzählers den Dingen gegenüber. Es wird also in der historischen Erzählung das für die ganze epische Dichtung wesentlichste Gepräge noch stark unterstrichen.

In dem zweiten größeren Teile der Arbeit, der epischen Darstellung im Einzelnen, wird nun das früher theoretisch Erörterte an der epischen Technik selber gemessen. Es gilt auch hier wiederum die Wesensunterschiede der epischen gegenüber der dramatischen Dichtung klarzulegen. Als besonderes episches Gebiet werden bezeichnet die epische Zwischenrede des Erzählers und alle Metaphern und Gleichnisse, die nicht von den Personen der Dichtung vorgetragen werden. Doch auch die Schilderung von Landschaft und Milieu und dem Äußeren der Gestalten gehört der Epik zu. Im Aufbau der Handlung, in der Einführung und Charakterisierung von Gestalten und deren Gesprächen zeigen sich gemeinsame Elemente.

Als wesentlich episch bezeichnet V. die Anordnung des Stoffs, wo die Erzählung mit dem Schluß anfängt. Der Gewinn bei einem solchen Verfahren ist dieser, daß das Kunstwerk sogleich in seiner ganzen Totalität erfaßt wird, daß nicht nur die Handlung gegeben wird, sondern daß auch ein Gefühlston mitschwingt, der selbst unwichtigen Vorgängen einen besonderen Wert verleiht. Bei einem streng chronologisch aufgebauten Roman kann diese Wirkung erst bei der zweiten Lektüre erzielt werden. Es bleibt die Spannung, hinzu kommt der Gefühlston. Das Schema zur Anordnung des Stoffes in Ludwigs „Zwischen Himmel und Erde“ wäre folgendes:  $abcde > ebabced$ .

Ihren größten Trumpf spielt V. wohl da aus, wo sie sagt: „Man streiche all das fort, was den Erzähler vorwiegend charakterisiert, und man wird ein verschlechtertes Drama übrig behalten. . . . . Eine Erzählung kann nie ein Drama werden. Könnte sie es, dann gäbe es überhaupt keine epische Dichtung mehr. Die ganze Frage wäre unnütz.“ (131)

Sympathisch berührt schließlich die Ausführung über die Metapher (Metapher = jede bildliche Ausdrucksweise), in der sich dem Leser die Gegenwart des Erzählenden kundtut: „Die Metapher dient weder zur Veranschaulichung bestimmter Gegenstände noch zur Versinnlichung der objektiven metaphysischen Wahrheit, sondern sie will ein durch die Dinge im Dichter

erzeugtes unaussprechliches Gefühl in ihrer Sprache andeuten und auf diese Weise durch Suggestion die gleiche Vorstellung erzeugen, von der der Dichter ausgegangen ist." (242)

Zum Schlusse verwahrt sich die V. gegen den Vorwurf, als habe sie dem epischen Künstler Maßnahmen für seine Tätigkeit vorschreiben wollen. Der Künstler habe den Ästhetiker in keiner Weise nötig; er sei souverän. Ersterer vollbringe durch Intuition, was letzterer durch Gesetze zu begreifen suche. Die Gesetze der Kunst seien aber keine kategorischen, sondern hypothetische: *wenn* der Dichter epische Wirkungen anstrebe, dann müsse er sich auch epischer Mittel bedienen, das wesentlichste Gesetz aller echt epischen Darstellungsweise sei aber die Selbstdarstellung des Erzählers.

Die Unerrbbare Konsequenz, mit der die V. immer wieder auf diesen Grundgedanken zurückkommt und die der Schrift eine stark ausgeprägte Einheitlichkeit verleiht, verführt leicht zu der Annahme, sie ginge von einer vorgefaßten Meinung aus. Ref. muß bekennen, daß er anfangs unter diesem Eindruck stand. Doch ein solcher Vorwurf fällt ganz hin, wenn man mit der gediegenen Arbeit zu Ende ist. Die Technik ihrer Ausführungen lag ganz selbstverständlich in dem aufgesteckten Ziel der Arbeit: es galt zu beweisen, und den Beweis ist sie s. E. nicht schuldig geblieben. Daß in ihren Zitaten und Beispielen das Hauptgewicht auf romantische und moderne, vorwiegend deutsche Erzählliteratur fällt und daß „die hervorragendsten Epiker der Weltliteratur“ nicht so recht zu Worte kommen, erklärt sich wohl aus der ursprünglich geplanten, enger begrenzten Arbeit. Und doch liegt eine weitausgedehnte Lektüre sowohl theoretischer wie anderer Schriften zu Grunde. Also: nach Plan, Ausführung und Ergebnis eine gediegene Leistung!

Druckfehler und andere äußere Verstöße: VIII, 31. „Romantik“ für „Romantechnik“; 85, Fußnote. „Griesebach“ für „Grisebach“; 89, 8. „ober“ für „ob“; 137, 19. „Buregonden“ für „Burgonden“; 137, 28. „sechtschaffensten“ für „rechtschaffensten“; 137, 29. „reiner“ für „seiner“; 188, 15., 189, 3., 210, 14. fehlt das redeschließende Gänsefüßchen; 195, 4. „charakter“ für englisches „character“; 216, 5. 15. und anderswo werden Fußnotenzahlen in das Zitat selber mit aufgenommen.—In den als Fußnoten beigegebenen Literaturverweisen herrscht oft große Willkür: bald wird die Jahreszahl eines Buches angegeben, bald weggelassen; bald wird der Titel halb, bald ganz zitiert. Es wäre besser gewesen, alles bibliographische Material zusammen an einer Stelle zu geben und dann in den Fußnoten durch Abkürzungen auf diese vollständige Liste zu verweisen.

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INDO-EUROPEAN *a :a<sup>x</sup>i:a<sup>x</sup>u*. A STUDY IN ABLAUT AND IN WORD-FORMATION. By Francis A. Wood, Ph. D. Strassburg, 1905.

Though years have passed since the publication of Wood's book, its lesson has not been learned. Between 1905 and the present there has been printed much etymologizing that was discredited in advance by the volume before us. The reason for this lies partly in the quiet manner of Wood's work and partly in the fact that the observance of Wood's principles lessens one's chance of publishing new etymologies.

The chief etymological principle of Wood's work is stated in § 1: "Synonymy alone is insufficient evidence of relationship." Of this principle the whole book is an illustration, its body being a collection of parallel words in different ablaut-rows, but otherwise alike in form and meaning, as e. g. (§ 535), E. *snap* "schnappen" and cognates (with plain *e* / *o*-vocalism): E. *snip* "schnippen", OSw. *snēpa* "kastrieren" and cognates (with *ei*-vocalism): and ON. *snoppa* "Schnauze" OSw. *snōpa* "kastrieren" and cognates (with *eu*-vocalism). These words are related in meaning but not for that reason of common origin. On the contrary, such similarity of sound as there is may be merely a result of the common meaning, i. e., the common meaning may have assimilated the words in form. Another and in this case more likely possibility is that accidental similarity of sound affected the meaning, or finally, that some of the words were formed on analogies in which others were involved.

Although no one would perhaps try to identify the different members of the above or of most of Wood's groups, it is apparent how the principle involved applies to much modern etymologizing. To quote (§ 6): "For example, we find Germ. *stauma*-; *þauma*-; *dauma*-; 'vapor' in OE, *stēam* 'exhalation, steam'; OHG. *thaum*, *doum* 'dunst'; *toum* 'dunst'. We might assume an IE. *\*dhoumo*- 'vapor', which with prefixed *s*- would give *\*s-dhoumo*-, *\*stoumo*-. From *\*stoumo*- might come in certain positions *\*toumo*-. There would then be three forms: *\*stoumo*-, *\*toumo*-, *\*dhoumo*-. This gives us a very simple phonetic explanation of these three words—but a very absurd one."

Let us mention no names!<sup>1</sup>

Or again, the Greek γρόφος δνόφος ψέφος ψέφας κνέφας "darkness" are derived from various and independent sources: the common meaning has assimilated them in form (§ 5). Syn-

<sup>1</sup> We might add to Wood's statement that the phonetics of such *reim*'-dich-oder-ich-hau'-dich etymologies are usually most shaky: the famous prefixal *s*, prefixed to *d*, *dh*, etc., would by all IE. parallels give not *st*, but *zd*, *zdh*.



onymous words might be collected to prove almost any desired sound-law—if synonymy were all that is necessary.

On the other hand, Wood points out (§ 4) that words of similar sound may influence one another's meaning, as in the case of E. *mash* (cf. G. *mischen*), many of whose meanings are due to the influence of E. *smash*, an entirely different word.

In short, the etymologist must take a concrete view of things. He is dealing with historic fact: if he wishes to show that two words are related he must show that their history has really been divergent, not convergent,—that their similarity is not the result of assimilation. Thus (§ 30), of synonymous Gic. *skrimp- hrimp- krimp-* "it is altogether more probable that some developed from others as rime-words than that all are derived phonetically from a common form. . . . Thus from original *skrimp-, hrint-, krink-*, etc., there might arise *skrint-, skrink-; hrimp-, hrink-; krimp-, krint-*.

*"The hypothesis that such forms are phonetically related would not be established by anything short of historical proof."*<sup>2</sup>

In § 6 Wood attributes such developments as the above especially to the "formative period of a language,"—a concept which we must oppose. A language is formed (i. e., a new speech-community is segregated) by definite changes in the outer surroundings of a group of people—by migrations or the arrival of new neighbors or changes in conditions of communication,—but this has nothing, primarily, to do with those inner processes which are here involved. Greek, and especially Germanic, passed through a period of rime-word formation and word-creation, and what we know of the parent language shows traces of a similar period in IE. times, but such things have nothing directly to do with changing language boundaries. At the time when High German and Dutch, or, say, Greek and Aryan, were first becoming mutually unintelligible, the processes of thought in any of these speech communities were not for that reason other than at other times. The only event which directly changes the inner analogic or phonetic conditions of language is a change in man. The rime-word formation of early Germanic was not a phenomenon of social or political history or geography, but of the human spirit.

We dwell so long on this minor point because our objection to the quoted expression involves exactly the principle taught by Wood's work. Namely, the vocabulary of the IE. languages as we have it is the product of countless analogic and "contaminative" developments, formations, and re-formations, the result of a myriad workings and changes of human language tendencies and habits. It exhibits numberless groups of rime-words, ablaut-parallels, and other traces of associational and

<sup>2</sup> The italics are our own.

emotional activity of the human mind. From this immense material it is easy to gather parallel-words galore to prove almost any desired "phonetic law", especially if the law, like the ciphers of the "Baconians", is formulated ad hoc; but such empty groupings of words and blatant assumptions have no claim to truth. We are dealing with history. The task of the etymologist is not to advertise himself by discovering as many such "sound-laws" as possible, but rather to study faithfully and carefully the actual material before him.

The best illustration possible of what the etymologist should do is Wood's book. It contains almost 500 groups of words illustrating the fact that the three ablaut series (plain-vowel, type *slex-*, vowel+*i*, type *sleix-*; vowel+*u*, type *sleux-*) occur in paralld roots, as in Gr. *φληδάω* "schwatze", *φληδεῖν* "platzen": *φλιδάω* "fliesze über, strotze": *φλυδάω* "fliesze über, zerfliesze" (§ 268). A tenth of Wood's examples might have precipitated some scholars into a vortex of unfounded "phonetic developments"; in the book before us there is no random theorizing. The parallelism in question is exhibited as a fact. Certain processes which must have contributed to its existence are mentioned, and there is ample discussion, as we have above indicated, of the principles involved.

It is needless to add that the book contains many a suggestive grouping of material and many a new etymology,—a phase of the author's work which needs not here to be spoken of, as it is universally well recognized.

To our mind two questions come up which Wood leaves unanswered. The first is: where shall we consider the facts sufficient to indicate that a sound-change has taken place? Our own answer is to point to the "circulus" in which every science moves. Certain sound-changes are obvious, so are certain analogic modifications. Detailed study of what is known will usually guide us in new matters, which in turn will confirm or modify our basic assumptions. The phonetician offers much help, though the setters-up of sound-laws have been slow to accept his delimitations of the probable. Less useful has been the psychologist in matters of analogy. Nevertheless the linguists will in time study analogy and perhaps come to definite results.

The second question involved but not answered in Wood's book is that of semantic change. If "synonymy alone is insufficient evidence of relationship," to what extent is dissimilarity of meaning, in phonetically comparable words, evidence of non-relationship? Wood's answer is, that any meaning may develop from any word. A word meaning "fiddlestick" might in time come to mean "notwithstanding". It is here that we disagree with Wood, not in principle but in application. There seems,

indeed, to be no bound to semantic development, but in a given case far more caution seems to us needed than Wood is wont to apply. The parent language must, for instance, have had some word for so concrete an idea as, say, "sneeze," but so far as we can see, Wood derives every word for this idea from some word of different meaning, such as "rub" or "grate" or "move quickly, snap",—in fact, the parent language, if Wood's semantic derivations were taken together, would appear to have had a rather colorless vocabulary. Though no one can question the commonness of semantic change, it must yet be remembered that on the whole the meaning of words is fairly tough, especially of every-day words. A great many differences in vocabulary must go back to primitive IE. times: indeed, the farther back we look into the history of any IE. language, the more diversified and concrete a word stock do we find.<sup>3</sup> However, any divergence of the reader's opinion from Wood's in this question will not lessen the value of this excellent book or of the sound linguistics embodied in its classically accurate form.

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TALES FROM THE OLD FRENCH. By Isabel Butler.  
Houghton, Mifflin & Company, Boston and New York,  
1910. pp. 265.

The selections from the old French translated by Miss Butler comprise *lais*, *fabliaux* and *contes dévots*. The lays translated are six in number, three from Marie de France, *The Two Lovers*, *Eliduc*, and *The Woful Knight*, and three from other sources, *Melion*, *The Lay of the Bird*, and *The Lay of the Horn*. Only three *fabliaux* are included in the selection, *The Divided Blanket*, *The Churl who won Paradise*, and the *Gray Palfrey*. The *contes didactiques* which have been selected are *The Knight of the Little Cask*, *The Jousting of Our Lady*, *The Order of Chivalry*, and *The Angel and The Hermit*. These tales are translated into prose, the rendering being almost literal. Following the translation is a bibliography giving a list of the texts which have been followed in the translation and an Epilogue of a dozen or more pages in which *lai*, *fabliau* and *conte dévot* are defined and discussed with reference to their place in mediæval French literature. The purpose of the book is indicated in the "Translator's Note" at the end. "In recent years, in various small books, a number of mediæval French tales, chiefly the lays, have been rendered accessible to English

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Jespersen, *Progress in Language*, §272.



readers, but no attempt has been made to bring together in a single collection examples of the different types of tales. The translator has tried within a small compass to show something of the range and scope of the Old French short story, and at the same time to choose as far as might be, tales that had not been previously translated."

To make a selection of stories based upon two principles of selection so opposed to each other as these, is by no means an easy task, since the most typical tales are usually the most popular ones and consequently find the earliest and most numerous translators. While the lays which the author has selected are fairly representative of mediæval minstrelsy, her choice of *fabliaux* is too restricted to give any adequate idea of the hundred or more tales which were current in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries under that name. If any *fabliau* might be called "typical" it would be that in which the wife deceives her husband in favor of a priest or student, as, for example the *Bourgeoise d'Orleans*, yet not one of the three *fabliaux* selected has as its principal characters the conventional trio, the husband, the wife, and the lover. As for the *contes dévots*, the selection of the *Order of Chivalry* as a tale is rather unfortunate, the narrative element in it being reduced to a minimum. Among the *lais*, too, it would have been better perhaps to substitute an unmistakable "lay" for the *Song of the Bird*, which as the author admits, might as well be called a *fabliau*.

The translation is in the main a very close rendering of the original; the objection might be made, however, that the attempt to render the style of the translation fitted to the subject by the devise of using antiquated expressions such as "full dear" and "methinketh" leaves an impression which is far from pleasant. An occasional translation of "mout" by "full" might be allowed, but when "full great was the orchard" and "full dear should that tree be held" occur in the same paragraph, the reader may be pardoned perhaps for sometimes finding these expressions "full wearisome."

It is rather unfortunate that the bibliography is limited merely to an enumeration of the texts which have been used by the author in preparing the translation. A list might have been added of different works relating to the subject, such as Bédier's *Fabliaux*. Although the translation is intended for those who do not read old French, yet readers of modern French would find such a bibliography extremely valuable.

The Epilogue indicates briefly some of the salient characteristics of the *lai*, *fabliau* and didactic *conte*. By means of a concrete example the author brings out very clearly the difference between a *fabliau* and a *romance*. "Her rescue" (that of the heroine of the *Gray Palfrey*) "is brought about not by the



help of magic or knightly adventure, but by a lucky chance: the conclusion turns upon a sleepy escort and a horse's eagerness for his stable."

While as a general thing a complete translation of the works of some one author is perhaps a more valuable contribution to literature than a group of selections from different authors, the number of translations from the Old French is so limited that this book will do a real service in rendering a few additional specimens accessible to those readers who have not been initiated into the Old French through the study of linguistics.

The typographical appearance of the work is excellent, the thick paper, large print and Old English titles have their share in the pleasant impression made by the book.

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BEOWULF, edited with introduction, bibliography, notes, glossary, and appendices, by W. J. Sedgefield, Litt. D., Manchester University Press, 1910.

This new edition of *Beowulf*, with introduction and critical apparatus in English, is sure to receive a hearty welcome in the United States, as well as in England. To the teacher, in particular, such a volume may well prove very useful, since, even for advanced students, there are some advantages to be derived from using an English rather than a foreign edition of the poem. A certain amount of time is thus saved, even with classes who read German with a fair degree of ease. And there is, at the present time, no English text which at all fills the place of the Heyne-Socin edition, as revised by Schücking. Wyatt's volume, admirable as it is in many ways, certainly leaves a good deal to be desired, partly through its compression and brevity, and partly for other reasons, which need not here be set forth. The Harrison and Sharp version of the Heyne-Socin text is, of course, entirely out of date. Klaeber's work is still in preparation. The time is ripe, then, for such a volume as this, and one opens it with the hope of finding it an acceptable substitute for the best foreign editions.

To say that this hope has scarcely been realized is not to deny the many excellences which the book contains. For the devotion and the care which have gone to its making, we should give Dr. Sedgefield the fullest recognition. The preparation of such a piece of work as this single-handed, as we are told was the case in the present instance, involves prolonged and tedious labor, and requires a mastery of a wide range of philological learn-

ing,—linguistic, metrical and literary. The mass of books, monographs, periodical articles and dissertations, which deal with the subject is truly bewildering. Under these circumstances, no one will be unduly severe for sins of omission or of commission. It seems best, however, to point out in some detail the errors which the volume undoubtedly contains, and to attempt a frank estimate of its usefulness as a guide to students. Such criticisms might be of service in preparing a second edition, which would surely result in many improvements. The following remarks are in part the result of actual experience in using this text as supplementary to a university course in the reading and criticism of the poem.

Perhaps the best part of the book is the text, which is a genuine contribution to "Beowulf" literature. It has involved, so the editor tells us, "more arduous labor than perhaps any other part of the book." Based on actual consultation of the manuscript, and with due regard for the Thorkelin transcription, and that made at Thorkelin's order, it registers, by means of a very careful and consistent system of round and square brackets and notes at the bottom of the page, the precise facts in regard to the various readings noted. The true situation in regard to the text of a given passage thus lies before the reader at a glance. This arrangement is far more convenient than Schücking's, which necessitates, even in the ninth edition, a somewhat tedious consultation of the annotations at the end, in order to discover the reading of the manuscript, and the source of the emendations. Less admirable seems the decision to omit all marks of quantity from the text, even in cases where they appear in the manuscript. What useful purpose is served by omitting them? If an absolutely literal copy of the manuscript were being made, the situation would be different, but if punctuation and capitalization are added, and the whole is arranged as poetry and divided to show paragraph-structure, why should not the quantities be inserted? At all events, why relegate the indications actually found in the manuscript to a list at the end of the book? It will be noted that the glossary indicates the length of the vowels, under the head-words. Upon this whole question, of course, opinions must differ; and it is in no sense a reproach to the work that this particular method has been followed. It would be convenient to have the *fytte*-divisions in the manuscript, bad as they are, indicated at the side of the text, rather than in an appendix at the end. The inclusion of the texts of "Widsith," "Waldhere" and "Deor" is an admirable idea. These pieces throw a great deal of light on the poem in a variety of ways. The editor's brief comment (p. 28), however, should be rephrased. "Deor" is certainly not a "fragment of the Old English epic," if indeed it is properly to be termed a "heroic lay" at all, and it is of

quite a different character from "Waldhere" and "The Battle of Maldon."

The editor has sometimes been pretty free with his conjectural emendations. Here again opinions must differ in regard to the best method of procedure, yet it seems better to err on the side of conservatism. Wherever a passage is metrically sound, and not hopelessly ungrammatical, it is surely wise to let it alone. Why, for example, should MS. *eaæle* 1537, be emended to *feaxe*?—a change not due in the beginning to the present editor. Again, it is dangerous to attempt to improve the poem stylistically, as in 642ff., in regard to which the editor says, "On the whole it seems best to transpose the half-lines, as in the text, and translate, 'Then once more as of old, the people were joyous; fine words were spoken, the sounds of victorious men.' (p. 158.)" This rearrangement of the sequence of thought in accordance with modern preferences for logical progression does violence to a characteristic peculiarity of Anglo-Saxon poetic style, the interlocking of ideas in the sequence ABAB, etc. The editor shows forgetfulness of this peculiarity also in his note to l. 208, where he argues against a certain rendering because "it would be a repetition." Another instance of conjectural emendation of doubtful wisdom is found in l. 1107, where the puzzling phrase *icge gold* is altered to *andiege gold*. The word *andiege* is found nowhere else, so far as my knowledge extends, and its meaning is almost as obscure as that of the word it replaces. On the other hand, the suggested transposition of *under heofones hador* to *hador under heofone* is ingenious, and thoroughly in accord with Anglo-Saxon idiom.

A certain number of misprints are bound to occur in any text, especially in a first edition. Of these the following have been noted:—880, *golde* for *wolde*; 1069, sentence should begin with a capital letter; 111, no capital for *panon*; 1488, comma instead of period at end of line; 1664, read *þat* for *þa*; 2276, read *þar* for *þa*; 1767, read *semninga* for *semminga*; 1865, period at the end of the line; 1912, read *næssas* for *mæssas*; 2320, read *dryhtsele* for *rhyhtsele*; 2168, read *dyrnun* for *drynum*; 3171, read *hie* (?) for *ho*; "Waldere" 18, read *symle* for *smyle*.

The difficult task of providing a suitable glossary has been well done. It is much fuller than Wyatt's, and the general scheme is excellent. The stems of nouns and the classes of strong verbs are indicated, which is a convenience for the more elementary student. The editor informs us that the glossary was first prepared independently, and then compared with the glossaries of Holthausen, Schücking, and Holder. A few misprints and omissions may be mentioned. The reader is referred under *ægweard* to *iegeward*, which is not to be found; the word



*wilcuma*, though correctly registered as wk. masc., is glossed "welcome," rather than "the welcome one;" the meaning of the word *sar* is omitted; and under *eaforheafodsegn* the reader is referred to *eafor* instead of to *eofor*.

The Glossary of Proper Names shows an instance or two of questionable editorial judgment. Möller's version of the Finn-episode is followed as the better,—a view which will hardly commend itself to modern students of the Episode and Fragment. For an exhaustive discussion of the location of the Geats, the reader is referred to Ten Brink's "Beowulf." A much better reference would be Schück's *Folkenamnet Geatas*, etc., which is registered in the bibliography earlier in the book. Ten Brink's work here is out of date, and less valuable than Schück's. Under *Brosinga* we are told that the necklace, the *Brosinga men*, "was supposed to have come ultimately into the possession of the Brisings." But it was the Brisings, the drawfs, "weavers," who made it in the beginning.

The Notes appear to the present reviewer hardly adequate. It is, of course, difficult to decide what to put in, and what to leave out, in the face of such a mass of exegesis as has accumulated about "Beowulf." But these notes hardly fulfil the editor's promise to include "what is essential to the understanding of the text," and important difficulties are sometimes treated in anything but a satisfactory way. For example, consider the comments on the passage beginning *mod þryþo wæg* 1931. Sedgefield reads *Modþryþe wæg*, taking *mōðþryþ* = *pride*. But in his note he seems to be following the other interpretation, which makes *þryþ* a proper name, as he refers to "the transition between Hygd and the bad queen." But how is the student to know that there is any transition, or indeed any bad queen? If no proper name is assumed in l. 1931, the lines following can hardly refer to any one but Hygd,—the older view, now obsolete. It is hard, indeed, to gather what Sedgefield's conception of the passage really is, and if it is difficult for the investigator, who is familiar with critical comments, it is sure to be doubly so for the student who is ignorant of them. Furthermore, Sedgefield's statement that "*þryþo* has been shown to be impossible as a proper name" needs further qualification or explanation; it might easily mislead the reader into inferring that the proper name *þryþ* is an impossible form.

Some of the statements in the notes which seem to be open to criticism are here noted.

7. William of Malmesbury and Æthelweard tell the story of the child floating to a foreign land not of Scyld but of Sceaf. Whether Scefing means "son of the sheaf" in this passage is a matter of dispute, cf. Olrik, "Heltedigtning," I, 233ff.



62. The most convincing reading of the line, *þæt Sigeneow wæs Sæwelan cwen*, adopted by Holthausen and Schücking, is not mentioned, either in the notes or in the textual annotations at the foot of the page.

73. *buton folcscare ond feorum gumena*. Sedgefield says "The king could not alienate the tribal land (*folcscaru*), nor could he on his own responsibility deprive one of the tribesmen of life." But *feorum gumena* refers rather to the ransoms paid for men of the tribe. The interpretation given by Sedgefield, even if admissible on other grounds, does not accord with *eall gedælan*, etc.

87. *þrage* is said to mean "an unhappy time." Why? Does it really mean any more than "a space of time"?

140. *burum*, "perhaps sleeping-recesses along the sides of the hall." This cannot mean inside the hall, of course,—the warriors sought other quarters on account of the dangers of the hall itself. Is there any evidence that the "bowers" lined the hall on the outside?

223. Is *eolotes* best taken as nominative? The word is otherwise unknown, but the chances seem wholly in favor of its being a genitive, since it ends in *es*.

236. Does the first element of *mepelwordum* add nothing to the meaning of the second element? Does it not convey the idea of *formal* address?

420. Who is "Binns"?

568. Is there any reason why *brontne* may not be used of the sea?—cf. the modern phrase "the high seas." And is it possible to take *brontne* as "the tall ones," hence "ships"? It will be noted, in considering the merits of Sedgefield's explanation, that it involves emending *ford* to *forþ*.

769. Sedgefield here reads *ealuscerpen*, following "Andreas" 1526, and taking *scerpen* as a substantive connected with the adjective *scearp*, and meaning "an acrid or burning sensation"; and *ealuscerpen* "heartburn" or "indigestion," or perhaps even "vomiting!" The references to the Bosworth-Toller "Lexicon" do not provide much support for this interpretation. If it is right, let us hope that the digestive disturbances will not be too literally set forth in future translations. The rendering of von Grienberger seems preferable, however,—"*Gährung*," hence "*Erregung, Aufruhr*."

785. "*wealle* is the town wall." Or it may be the wall of Heorot, from whence the noise proceeds.

1005. *genydde* is singular, not plural, as is shown by the sing. verb *sceal*, and the phrase *his lichoma*, etc., following. It seems better not to make it refer to *stowe*, as Schücking does, since it is the man, and not the grave, that is "forced by necessity."

1056. "Most edds. take *wyrd* as acc. s., but a man's destiny could not be hindered, as we see from l. 455, *gaep a wyrd swa hio scel*." Of course it is impossible to reconcile the Christian and the heathen conceptions in the poem; the point here is that the Christian God is powerful enough to avert the course of Fate. Cf. l. 477.

1240. "*sum*, sing. for plur., 'some,' 'more than one.'" Not at all; this refers to Aeschere,—cf. l. 1251 *sum sare angeald*, etc., and l. 1294ff.

1340. *feor* may be positive adv., not to be interpreted as "too far, excessively."

1691. *frecne geferdon* may mean "they behaved impiously," as well as "they had a fearful experience."

3014. "the subject of *gebrohte* is *he* (Beowulf) understood." Read *gebohte*, not *gebrohte*. It may well be the plu. of the past participle agreeing with *beagas*, instead of pret. 3sg. The construction is smoother if it is taken in this way.

In the bibliography p. 33, read Chauncey B. Tinker instead of Chas. and Chas. B. (ll. 1 and 15). Some additions and omissions might be suggested; such an indifferent piece of work as Kistenmacher's "Wortliche Wiederholungen" is registered, but not W. M. Hart's "Ballad and Epic," one of the best of all discussions of the style of "Beowulf." Chadwick's "Origins of the English Nation" should surely be included in the bibliography.

We now come to the Introduction, which will be read with especial interest, since there is at the present time no adequate discussion in English of the origin and development of the poem to which the student may be referred. A considerable part of the Introduction deals with purely formal description, of course, and with this there is little fault to be found, except certain remarks on metrics. The student might well conclude, from the information on p. 6, that Möller's strophic hypothesis deserves acceptance, and that Sievers' criticism of this was mistaken. The beginner should be told that the strophic theory, as Möller proposed it, is as dead as a door-nail at the present day. On the other hand, it is not quite correct to say that Sievers "denies the existence of the stroph in Old English verse of any period;" cf. his "Altgermanische Metrik," p. 145. The latter part of the Introduction contains much which demands adverse comment. On p. 16, Müllenhoff's and ten Brink's theories of the composition of the poem are set forth, but a clear idea is not given of the probable process of growth if the *Liedertheorie* be rejected. On p. 18 the name of Hygelac as it occurs in Gregory of Tours is misspelled, the form corresponding to none of the variants. (See Förster, *Materialien*, p. 6.)—Such a statement as this is confusing, "The name Beowulf has by some been identified with

the *Bíar* of Icelandic saga." By whom? And does Sedgefield refer to the occurrence of the name *Bíar* in the "*Kalfsvísa*?" There is no such definite Scandinavian hero as Sedgefield seems to imply.—In regard to the "*Grettissaga*," we are told that "*Grettir*'s followers, seated on the bank above, await his return." The "followers" consist of one priest, who leaves before *Grettir* comes out of the waterfall. Why should such a ludicrously outworn statement as Ettmüller's that "one primitive nation never borrows the heroic sagas of another" be perpetuated?—The summary of Sarrazin's "*Beowulf-Studien*" on p. 22 restates various theories which are either doubtful or obsolete. Sarrazin has done a great service to *Beowulf*-criticism, but everyone knows that the 1888 volume of "*Studien*" is now in many respects out of date,—a fact which Sarrazin himself would probably be the first to confess. But Sedgefield still seems to pin his faith to this book, although he does say that "no doubt Sarrazin goes farther than most can follow him when he claims the authorship of the *Beowulf* for *Cynewulf*." The researches of Morsbach and others into the language make still more improbable than ever the *Cynewulf*-theory. If the poem was written between 700 and 720 or 730 how can *Cynewulf* have had any thing to do with it, unless we put him entirely out of his usual position? Sedgefield discusses the "identification" of *Beowulf* with *Böþvarr Bjarki*, but he leaves us in some doubt as to just what he means by the word. Of course Sarrazin's equation *Beowulf*=*Böþvarr* is inadmissible. Similarly, the word "mythical" needs more precise definition on pp. 23 and 26. Sarrazin's notion of a Balder-myth underlying *Beowulf* does not command much assent at the present day, even from those who believe in mythological theories. The reference to Möller's strophic theory as supporting the arguments of Sarrazin is unfortunate, for reasons already given. Sedgefield notes that it is "considerably weakened" by the criticisms of Sievers, but it should have no place at all in such a brief analysis as is here given. The reference to *Hrólfr Kraka* (p. 22) shows forgetfulness of the fact that *Kraka* is genitive.—The good old arguments for the "*Beowa*-myth" are set forth on p. 24, and the editor comes to the conclusion that "the case for translation or adaptation of a Scandinavian poem is not proved, as the tone of *Beowulf* is essentially English."

This is no place to enter upon a discussion of the difficult question of the origins and the development of "*Beowulf*." The editor has read Panzer's book, and he rejects the results there reached, and cleaves rather to the old Müllenhoffian hypothesis, in a modified form. His analysis does not provide a clear and up-to-date statement of the older theory, such as may be found in Bradley's article on "*Beowulf*" in the eleventh edition of the



"Encyclopedia Britannica." His whole discussion reveals lack of a really comprehensive acquaintance with the problem, and a singular failure to discriminate between the true and the false, especially a failure to reject from a chapter intended as an introduction for students theories and conclusions which have long since been weighed in the balance and found wanting. These matters are indeed exceedingly difficult to control, but they deserve as much attention in such a volume as this as the establishment of a text or the preparation of a glossary.

In spite of these shortcomings, this new edition of "Beowulf" will fill a useful place, and, let us hope, will soon appear in a revised form, in which, freed from some of the inevitable errors which creep into the first printing of such a text, it will surely be of much service to future students of the poem.

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THE OLD ENGLISH CHRISTIAN EPIC. A STUDY IN THE PLOT TECHNIQUE OF THE JULIANA, THE ELENE, THE ANDREAS, AND THE CHRIST, IN COMPARISON WITH THE BEOWULF AND WITH THE LATIN LITERATURE OF THE MIDDLE AGES. By George Arnold Smithson. University of California Publications in Modern Philology, Vol. 1, No. 4, pp. 303-400, September 30, 1910. Berkeley. The University Press. \$1.00.

In addition to furnishing an analysis of the plot characteristics of the Old English Christian epic, Dr. Smithson's study attacks the following problems: (1) the relation of the narrative art of the later group of poems to the narrative art of the *Beowulf*; (2) the influence of Latin literature on the narrative art of the Christian epics; (3) the comparative value of the poems of the group; and (4) the authorship of the *Andreas*.

So far as the first problem is concerned, the dissertation is a continuation of Professor Hart's study of the development of narrative art in *Ballad and Epic* (Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, vol. xi). Dr. Smithson finds the Christian epic to be, in the main, another stage in the natural development traced by Professor Hart from simple ballads to the pagan epic *Beowulf*. A method differing somewhat from that of *Ballad and Epic* has been used, and the analysis does not show the thoroughness and elaboration which give weight to the conclusions of Professor Hart.



However, Dr. Smithson's purpose, at the outset, was not to trace the evolution of narrative art from pagan to Christian epic. He intended merely to point out the influence of Latin literature upon the narrative method of the Cynewulfian poems, and it was because of the negative results of this phase of the investigation that the scope was extended. Indeed, Dr. Smithson finds "that there is almost nothing in the Christian epics which we could not account for, if we desired to do so, without going outside the field of Old English literature" (p. 341). Inasmuch as Latin culture had a firm hold in England, the absence of Latin influence on the narrative form is somewhat surprising. Dr. Smithson finds a reason for this condition in the fact that ecclesiastical writers were not friendly to the pagan poetry of Rome. It is true that Virgil was studied in the schools, but it was for grammar and diction rather than for literary art. And as for the later and more Christian Latin poetry, Cynewulf's poetic instinct kept him from preferring the foreign to the English model supplied by the heroic epic. Even in the *Christ*, where a certain amount of Latin influence is pretty evident, there is scarcely any characteristic of which the germ may not be found in *Beowulf* and other Old English poems.

Dr. Smithson's contributions to the third and fourth problems are somewhat slight. He finds the *Elene* to be superior to the *Juliana*, the *Andreas* superior to the *Elene*, and the *Christ* so different in kind as to make a comparison fruitless. As to the *Andreas* problem, no conclusion is reached, but Cynewulfian authorship is regarded as probable, inasmuch as the advance of the *Andreas* over the *Elene* is not greater than that of the *Elene* over the *Juliana*. In this case as in others the study suffers in interest somewhat because of the negative character of the conclusions. Moreover, the character of the material of these epics (derived from Latin sources) has certainly influenced the narrative form, even if there has been no tendency to substitute Latin for English models, so that a conclusion derived from a study which disregards sources can not be regarded as final.

One cannot help wondering about the purpose of the two page bibliography (pp. 304 f.). Most of the books and articles mentioned have little or no relation to the specific subject under investigation. Some of them, e. g., Green's *A History of the English People* and Pancoast's *An Introduction to English Literature*, are honored, it seems, only because the author has chanced to turn to them for bits of information which any one of a dozen other volumes might have furnished just as well. As a result, the list has the appearance of being determined largely by accident. For the student it is practically valueless.

A question arises, also, in regard to the scope of the study. There seems to be no good reason why plot should be considered

apart from the other elements of narrative art. Professor Hart's *Ballad and Epic*, which would be greatly weakened by such a narrowing of its field, should have furnished valuable hints for a broader treatment. Moreover, Dr. Comfort's papers on the *chanson de geste* (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Asso.*, vol. XXI, pp. 279 ff., and *Quarterly Review*, April, 1908) suggest the possibilities of studies in character as revealed in medieval literature; and it is natural to wonder whether or not a consideration of character would confirm the conclusions which Dr. Smithson draws from a consideration of plot. A broader scope should have added interest both to the material and to the results.

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DIE SATIREN HALLS, ihre Abhängigkeit von den altrömischen Satirikern und ihre Realbeziehungen auf die Shakespeare-Zeit. Von Konrad Schulze. Palaestra CVI. Berlin: Mayer & Müller. 1910. (8 marks.)

This monograph contains, in the first place, a reprint of the text of Joseph Hall's six books of *Virgidemiarum*, from the earliest editions (1597 and 1598), with complete variant readings from the second editions, followed by a discussion of the sources of the satires and their relation to Elizabethan life. It is gratifying to have such a carefully made text of this best representative of formal Elizabethan satire, for there has not been any satisfactory modern edition of the *Virgidemiarum*, and Dr. Schulze appears to have done his editorial work very soundly. He has pointed out a considerable number of detailed borrowings from the Roman satirists, in addition to those noted by the present reviewer in *The Rise of Formal Satire in England* (1899), and has also indicated some interesting evidences, not hitherto noticed, of Hall's familiarity with Spenser. It must be said, however, that he has not escaped the temptation of the source-hunter to lay undue emphasis on verbal parallels of doubtful significance. Why pause, for example, to note a resemblance between Hall's

"Each man writes; there's so much labor lost.

. . . Much is seldom well;

Of what is bad a little's a great deal"—

and Donne's

"They who write because all write have still

That 'scuse for writing, and for writing ill"?

or between Hall's

"Nought spendeth he for fear, nor spares for cost,

And all he spends and spares besides is lost"—

and Lodge's

"What on himself he lays, he holds it lost,  
What on his wife, he deems unthrifty cost"?

In such cases as these no harm is done, but elsewhere, as we shall see, the habit becomes a matter of some importance.

Of the matters included in Dr. Schulze's comments on the text there are two of special interest, as having proved stumbling-blocks in all previous discussions of the *Virgidemiarum*; namely, the identity of the "base French satire" which Hall speaks of as one of his few available models, and the identity of the contemporary poet who is satirized under the name of Labeo. Dr. Schulze thinks that he has solved both problems; in the first instance with rather dubious results, in the second with an appearance of success.

The French satirist is taken to be none other than Regnier, whose satires were first published, so far as is known, in 1608, eleven years after Hall's. Schulze believes that we have evidence in certain words of Regnier's that at least some of the satires had appeared earlier than the collection of 1608, and that we have clear evidence in Hall's satires of borrowing from the second and fourth of Regnier's. He therefore concludes that these two satires (which deal with somewhat similar themes) had originally been published as one, and formed the "base French satire" which Hall had seen. Let us look more closely at the evidence. The passage relied on to prove the early publication of certain of the satires is in Satire II:

"Ignorez donc l'auteur de ces vers incertains,"

and some following lines playing upon the idea of their anonymity. Since the volume of 1608 was published over Regnier's name, the inference is that these lines indicate an early and anonymous publication. This is a quite possible, but not a necessary explanation. The lines may have been written with reference to manuscript circulation; they may mean that the satire was sent as an anonymous epistle to the Count de Caramain, to whom it is addressed, in order that he might enjoy the sport of guessing which of his protégés had written it, and of finding (as some of the lines imply) that many were willing to father it; or they may have actual reference to an intended anonymous publication, but one which we have no evidence ever took place. If, to be sure, we should find undeniable evidence that an Englishman had seen the satire before 1597, Schulze's explanation is both possible and clever; but by itself the passage tells little enough.

Now when we come to look at the passages in Hall supposed to be imitative of Regnier's second and fourth satires, we find in the first place that only one of them is from the second, and that the parallelism here is of a character to make it wholly unnecessary to suppose a borrowing. Here are the two passages, with Schulze's italics designed to throw the parallelism into relief.



“Mais c’est trop sermonné de *vice* et de vertu ;  
 Il faut *suivre* un sentier qui soit moins rebatu,  
 Et, *conduict d’Apollon*, recognoistre la trace  
 Du *libre Juvenal* : *trop discret* est *Horace*  
 Pour un homme picqué.”

“Pull out mine eyes, if I shall see no *vice*,  
 Or let me see it with detesting eyes ;  
 Renowned *Aquine*, now I *follow* thee,  
 Far as I may for fear of jeopardy,  
 And to thy hand yield up the ivy-mace,  
 From crabbed Persius and *more smooth Horace*.”

It is quite true, as Schulze notes, that the similarity between these passages was pointed out by the present reviewer (*op. cit.*, 1899), but it was pointed out as representing a common theme of Renaissance satire, viz., the presentation of Juvenal and Horace (and Persius) as models, with emphasis on the superior vigor of Juvenal. Each passage, therefore, is exactly what its writer might have been expected to say. And the verbal parallels indicated by italics, such as the word “vice” and the word “follow,” are, it need hardly be observed, of the most trifling character. It is certain, then, even if Regnier was a source for Hall, that we need not bother about the second satire and its possible union with the fourth, but may restrict ourselves to the fourth in seeking for the “one satire” which Hall said he had seen.

In this fourth satire Schulze finds some half dozen passages of which there are suggestions in the *Virgidemiarum*. Their character may be indicated briefly. Regnier, describing the wretched poets of his time, says that they sell their honor to the lowest bidder, and, abandoning Apollo and the Muses,

“Font un bouchon à vin du laurier de Parnasse.”

Hall (Bk. I, Sat. 2), in reproving obscene poets, says that they turn Parnassus to “a stew,” and, instead of drinking from the “simple flood,” “toss bowls of Bacchus’ boiling blood.” Regnier, discussing the decay of poets’ rewards, exclaims:

“Or va, romps toy la teste, et de jour et de nuit  
 Pallis dessus un livre, à l’appetit d’un bruit  
 Qui nous honore après que nous sommes souz terre.”

Hall (Bk. II, Sat 2), discoursing in a similar vein, says:

“What needs me care for any bookish skill,  
 To blot white papers with my restless quill,  
 Or pore on painted leaves, or beat my brain  
 With far-fetcht thoughts, or to consume in vain  
 In latter even, or midst of winter nights,  
 Ill-smelling oils,” etc.



And, later in the same satire:

"Long would it be ere thou hadst purchase bought,  
Or wealthier wexen by such idle thought.

Fond fool, six feet shall serve for all thy store."

Again, Regnier describes the conduct of a quack physician,

"tastant le poulx, le ventre et la poitrine,"

adding various repulsive details; and in Hall there is a similar description (Bk. II, Sat. 4), of those who

"grobe the pulse of every mangy wrist,

And spy out marvels in each urinal," etc.

Still further, Regnier mocks the false patrons who wish to seem to be "rivals of Maecenas," and look on the poet "de bon œil," asking,

"Avez-vous point sur vous quelque chanson nouvelle?"

Hall, on the other hand, has a "grand Maecenas" (Bk. V, Sat. 1) who

"casts a glavering eye

On the cold present of a poesie,

And lest he might more frankly take than give,

Gropes for a French crown in his empty sleeve."

Finally, Regnier begins his satire, which is on the decay of poetry, with the words, "Motin, la Muse est morte;" while Hall begins one of his (Bk. V, Sat. 2), which is on the decay of hospitality, with—"Housekeeping 's dead, Saturio."

These quotations will suffice to allow the reader to judge for himself of the character of the parallels. There is no doubt that the passages cited from Hall, taken together, all more or less resembling passages in a single satire of Regnier's, have a cumulative effect which, to some others than Dr. Schulze, may amount to a conviction. But any reader familiar with Renaissance satire will see that what was true of the parallel drawn from Regnier's second satire applies to most, if not all, of these also,—they deal with such themes, and in such a manner, as the fashions of the form made coincidently natural. And there is no single case in which the similarity of phrasing is so unmistakable and so striking as to be proof of imitation. If there were no evidence against Hall's being familiar with Regnier's work, a cumulative series like this might be accepted as *prima facie* suggestive of imitation. But when we recall the date of publication, the entire want of evidence of any knowledge of Regnier in England, the additional fact that Regnier's fourth satire has been thought, on internal evidence, to date no earlier than 1605 or 1606; when we further remember that it would have been rather odd for Hall to call Regnier's finished and clever work a "base" satire,—it would seem that there must be evidence of a more positive kind to weigh the balance in the other direction. It is probable, therefore, that we must remain uncertain what French satire it was that the author of the *Virgideiarius* had seen.

In the second matter of special interest, the identification of the bad poet Labeo, Dr. Schulze's reasoning, as has already been said, seems sounder, and there is perhaps no reason to question his argument for Nash. Space will not permit the outlining of it here. Briefly, it may be said that the fact that Labeo is first mentioned in the book of satires called "academical" led Schulze to suppose it was a fellow Cambridge man that Hall had in mind, and that many of the details in his descriptive attack are closely paralleled by the characterizations of Nash in the pamphlets of Gabriel Harvey. Schulze also finds allusions to *Dido*, as the joint work of Marlowe and Nash, in certain lines of Book II, Satire 1, and to the ironic Preface of Nash's *Christ's Tears*, in lines 18ff. of the satire that forms Book VI. On the other hand, the detailed characteristics of Labeo, in this last satire, Schulze agrees with previous critics in regarding as broadened out to a typical rather than a personal figure.

Hall's allusions to contemporary life are classified and discussed under the heads of Foreign Relations, Religion, Domestic and Social Relations (including the various ranks and professions), Morality, Fashions and Customs, London, Science and Superstition, and Literature,—with references to parallel allusions in other writers dealing with Elizabethan England. All this is carefully done. The writer stops short, to be sure, of any real effort to go below the surface and consider the meaning of such satiric exposition of contemporary life as the *Virgidemiarum* represents; but this is perhaps still too much to hope for in a dissertation.

There is very little in this monograph to suggest that English is not the writer's native tongue; but it may be noted that the etymologies he suggests for certain of Hall's *Personennamen* are not such as would occur to an English-speaking reader. Those traced to English roots are "Clodius (Cloth), Furnius (furnish), Lollo (loll), Polemon (pole), Ruffio (ruff), Tattelius (tattle)." Probably only the last two of these, at most, were suggested by the words in parenthesis; and for Clodius and Lollo, certainly, we do not need to go outside the field of Latin origins.

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SYNTHESIS UND ANALYSIS DES VERBUMS IM ORRMULUM. Von Wilhelm Zenke. Halle, 1910. Max Niemeyer.

This work forms number 40 in the well known series *Studien zur Englischen Philologie* edited by Lorenz Morsbach. The

present number is a credit to the writer and adds another stone to the imposing monument to the scholarship of the Göttingen professor, being constructed by the men who have worked under him.

The title does not afford an entirely just idea of the contents. Of the three parts into which the work is divided, Part I, which occupies 40 of the 108 pages, is devoted to Formenlehre. This part of the work is exhaustive, showing truly German industry. Not only are all the forms of the individual verbs recorded in their proper classes, but the exact number of times each form appears, is indicated by means of numbers placed like mathematical exponents. For instance under class V of strong verbs appears, "Inf. *spekenn*,"<sup>10</sup> praes. *speke spekeþþ*, praet. *spacc*,"<sup>11</sup> *spekenn*,"<sup>12</sup> conj. *spæke*," etc. The reader, however, does not become entirely lost in a wilderness of detail, since the writer has provided a concise statement of results reached. On the whole this part forms a definitive grammar of the verb forms in the *Orrmulum*.

Part II, "Synthesis und Analysis des Konjunktives," corresponds more closely to the title of the book. The use of simple and compound forms is handled in a thorough manner. Following the grammatical system of Mätzner, the author first assembles all instances of the use of the subjunctive, either in full quotation or by means of numerical reference. At the end of this section he offers a neat summing up of results obtained, in the form of a statistical table followed by an interpretation of the statistics.

One significant conclusion reached is with regard to the relative number of synthetical and analytical forms; there are 573 of the former, 580 of the latter. Of the 580 analytical forms, 326 are for the subjunctive in cases where the synthetical forms no longer afford means of distinguishing between subjunctive and indicative as against 254 in cases where the synthetical forms do afford means of distinction. From these statistics Dr. Zenke infers, what he had already assumed as true at the beginning of his work, that the compound forms owe their origin to the desire to make prominent the distinction of mood, a distinction no longer possible by means of the simple forms, owing to the weakened endings.

Another significant fact is that the auxiliary verbs in the compound forms are themselves subjunctive in form. There is not a single instance of a distinctively indicative form of the auxiliary with the infinitive in place of the synthetical subjunctive form.

Another conclusion, properly emphasized by the writer, is that the use of the analytical forms, with the auxiliary verbs,



*shulenn*, *muzhenn*, *wilenn*, *mune*, and *motenn*, owes its origin to the desire to give distinctive expression to the shades of subjunctive relation expressed without discrimination by the simple synthetical form. This seems to the present writer to be the true explanation of the origin of the analytical forms. It also seems to the present writer that the loss of the power of distinction in the synthetical forms by means of the distinctive endings, is due to the development of the new means of distinction making the old means superfluous, in other words that Dr. Zenke in assuming that the compound forms owe their origin to the weakening of the verbal endings in Middle English, is reversing the order of cause and effect.

Another point emphasized by Dr. Zenke in his conclusion, is that the auxiliary verbs retain their definite meaning, that is to say, are not exclusively auxiliary in character. In this respect the language of Orm is like that of the Old English period, and if the real progress in language represented in the *Orrmulum* is to be accurately measured, the statistics presented for the *Orrmulum* should be paralleled by corresponding statistics for Old English.

The third and last part of this work handles the subject of "Synthesis und Analysis des Futurums." The results here are interesting as showing the going out of use of the present tense with future meaning which is familiar in Old English. In the *Orrmulum* there are 341 compound forms of the future tense as against 70 simple, synthetical forms, and of the synthetical forms 40 are of the verb *beon*. Further the synthetical form, present tense form with future meaning, is used only where the future tense is indicated in some way by the context.

The other most interesting fact observed, is the greater frequency of the forms of *shulenn* as future auxiliary. The auxiliary verbs used are *shulenn* (297 times), *wilenn* (43 times), *mune* (1 time). Furthermore the use of *wilenn* is limited, 36 instances in independent principal clauses, 4 in principal clauses of conditional sentences, 1 in a conditional clause, 2 in concessive clauses. In all the cited instances, as far as the present writer has observed, *wilenn* is used either with the definite meaning of *willing* or as part of a circumlocution for the present tense.

Throughout this book Dr. Zenke does not permit himself great independence of judgment. In cases of forms of doubtful interpretation, with the reverence of disciple for master, he cites the opinion of Professor Morsbach as final authority. Neither does he offer startling results. But he has provided an assemblage of material which, as he modestly hopes, will serve as a contribution to a broader consideration of the subject of analytical and synthetical verb forms.

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## NOTE.

## FOR+SUBJECT+INFINITIVE.

In the fourth chapter of my dissertation, "The Accusative with Infinitive and some Kindred Constructions in English" (New York, 1908), I gave my theory of the construction *for*+subject+infinitive, and, assuming its complete identity with the expression *than for*+subject+infinitive, I ventured to dispute Professor Jespersen's assertion that "Such sentences as 'I don't know what is worse *than for such wicked strumpets to lay* their sins at honest men's doors' (Fielding) would be sought in vain before the eighteenth century" (Jespersen, *Growth and Structure of the English Language*, §211). As my thesis contained no early example of the usage with *than for*, Professor Jespersen felt justified in challenging my objection, and in an article in the *Viëtor Festschrift* (85-89), he emphatically reasserted his first statement with the remark: "I venture to maintain that there is every justification for my assertion until some one brings forward an earlier example of the same construction."

Before I proceed to answer Professor Jespersen's challenge, I should like to set down a useful maxim for the guidance of students of grammar. It is with grammar much as with the art of fiction. It is not necessary that a thing should actually happen in order to make it possible, and evidence of the possibility of a construction may frequently be regarded as equivalent to evidence of its existence. To question every statement not supported by an actual citation might prove almost as dangerous as to require the novelist to refer to the newspaper file for every incident which he introduces. It is an attitude the converse of which leads to the equally deceptive conclusion that everything which exists is possible, that every construction of which some example can be found is *ipso facto* a legitimate construction. This much in vindication of my own apparent rashness in assuming the existence of a construction which I had not encountered in my own reading of early literature. I might find fault with Professor Jespersen for an error of a different nature. He asserted and reasserted the generalization of a negative, which in its very nature was incapable of proof. Had I been unable to produce a single bit of evidence of the kind demanded by Professor Jespersen, I should still have adhered to my earlier view, though I should have done so in silence. But fortunately I have met with two examples of the construction in question, antedating Fielding by one and a half and two centuries, and the conspicuousness of one of the writers involved merely emphasizes the danger I have alluded to.

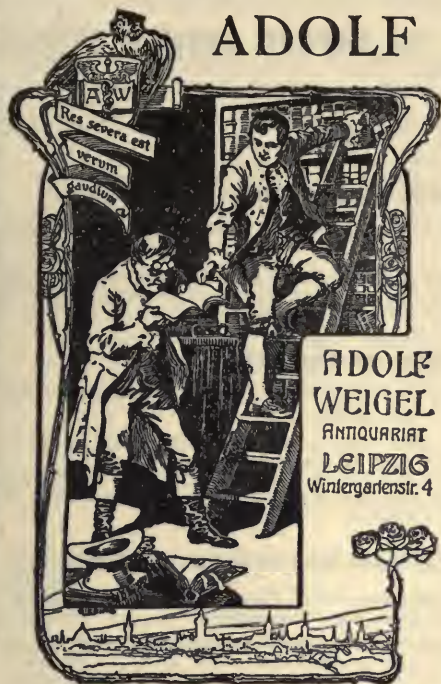
When I cited (Accusative with Infinitive, 140) such sentences as "*for me to put him to his purgation would perhaps plunge him into far more choler*" (*Hamlet*), and "*for him, though almost on certain proof, to give it hearing, not belief, deserves my hate for ever*", (Mas-

singer, *Duke of Milan*, IV, ii), I felt that I had given sufficient evidence that the construction for+subject+infinitive had attained complete independence, that it was now a separate unit, and that it could therefore be introduced by *than* or *as* without the least suggestion of violence to the idiom. Professor Jespersen speaks of the examples I have just quoted as stage II in the development of the construction and supposes that "this stage was not reached till about 1600." The third stage, the use with *than* or *as*, may, he thinks, "seem a simple consequence of stage II, but as a matter of fact it looks as if it took a century to pass from stage II to stage III, my oldest quotations being here from the beginning of the eighteenth century." Unfortunately the development of a vital linguistic expression refuses to conform to this neat architectural scheme. We discover an example of the third stage as early as 1553, and at once the whole orderly fabric falls to the ground. It is in Wilson's *Art of Rhetoric*, on the very first page of the Prologue to the Reader: "What greater pride can there be *then for any man to thinke* himself wise....or what greater folly can there be imagined, *then for one to think*, etc" (ed. Main, 1909). Another example occurs in Bacon's *Essays*: "Nothing doth extinguish envy more *than for a great person to preserve* all other inferior officers in their full rights" (Of Envy). I think I have brought forward the proof which Professor Jespersen demanded. Clearly the construction with *than* was possible in the sixteenth century, even if it was not common, and it would be rash to assume that these are the only two examples that occur between 1500 and 1700.

*University of Illinois.*

JACOB ZEITLIN.

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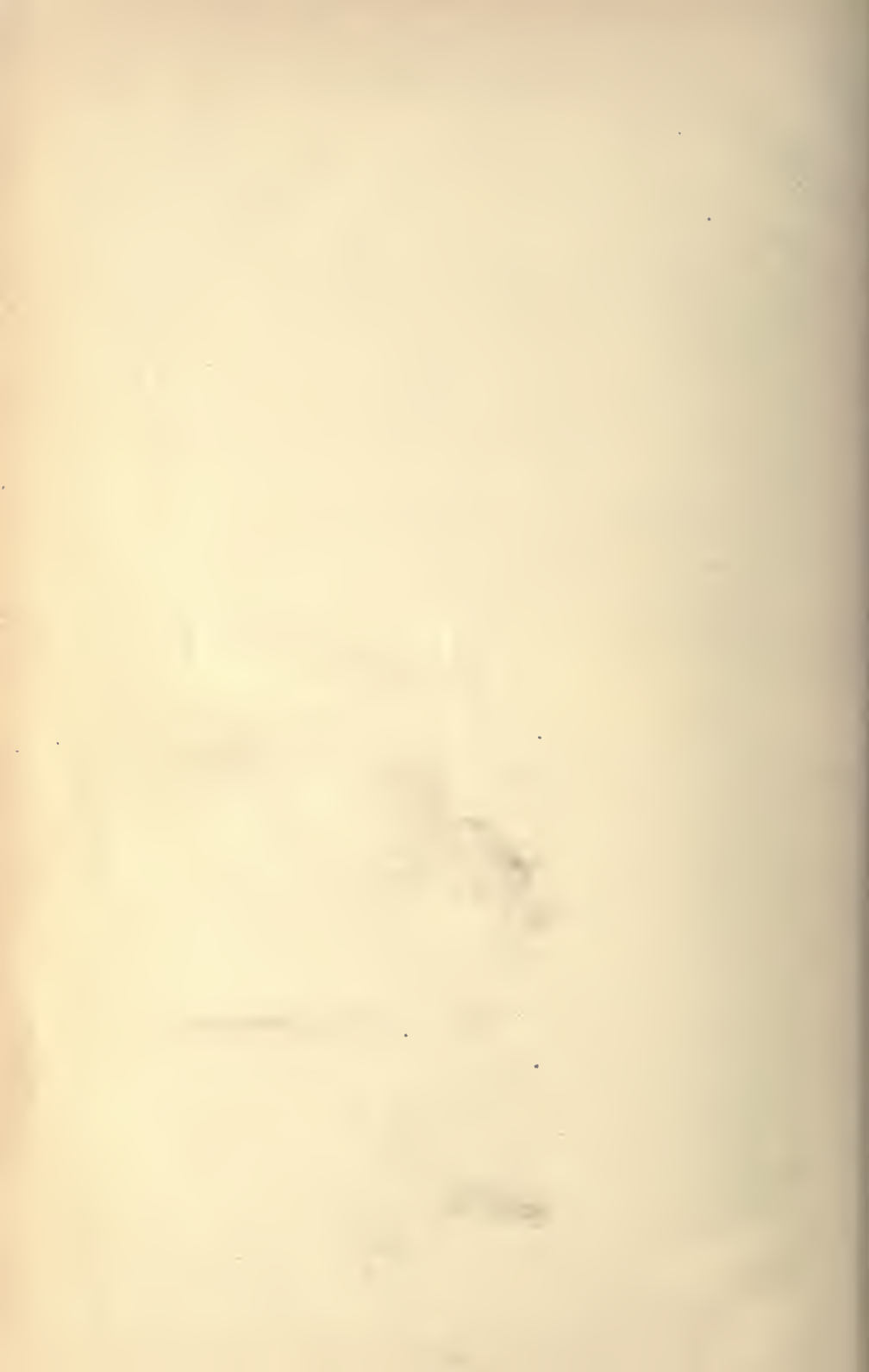
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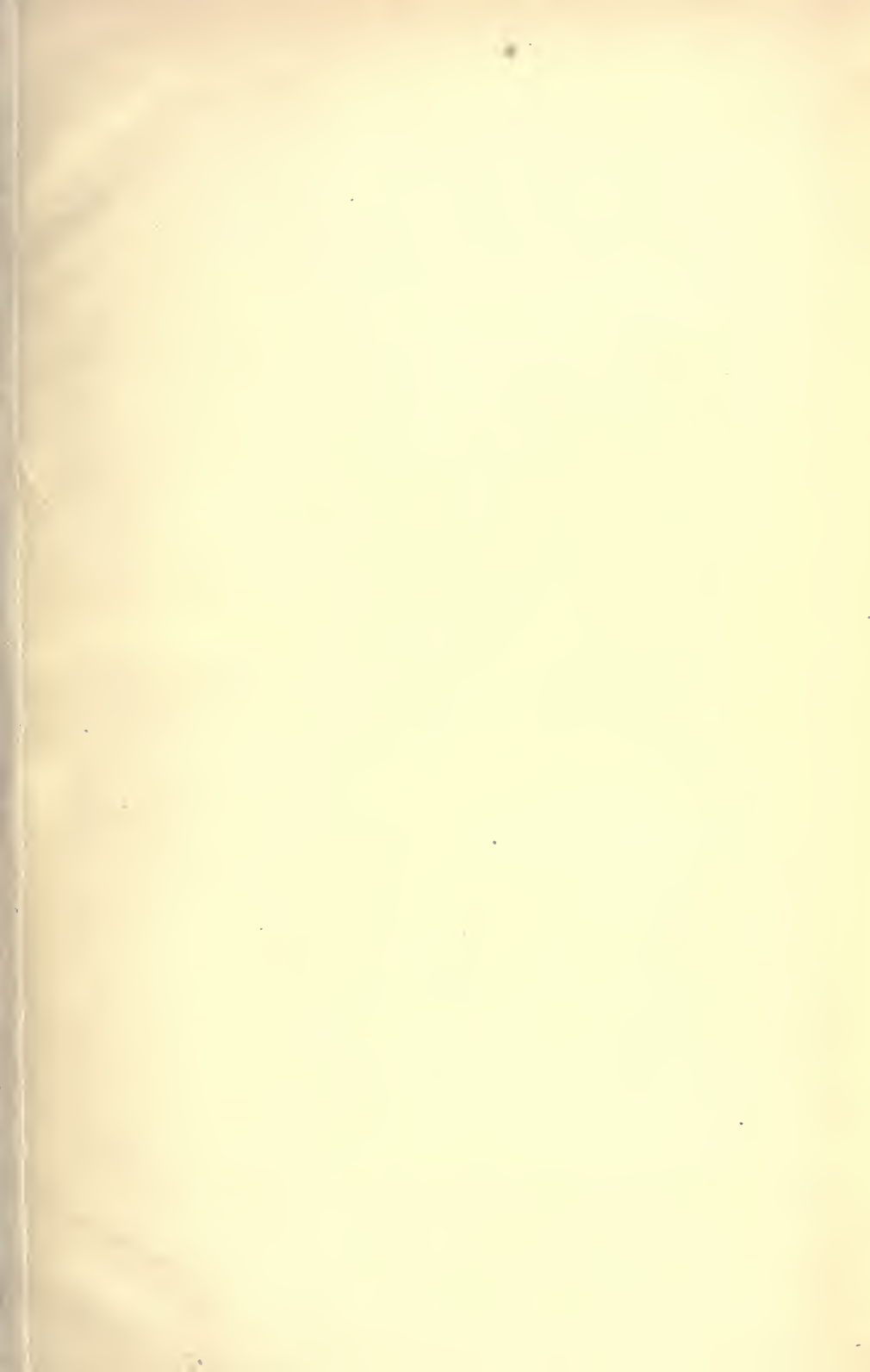


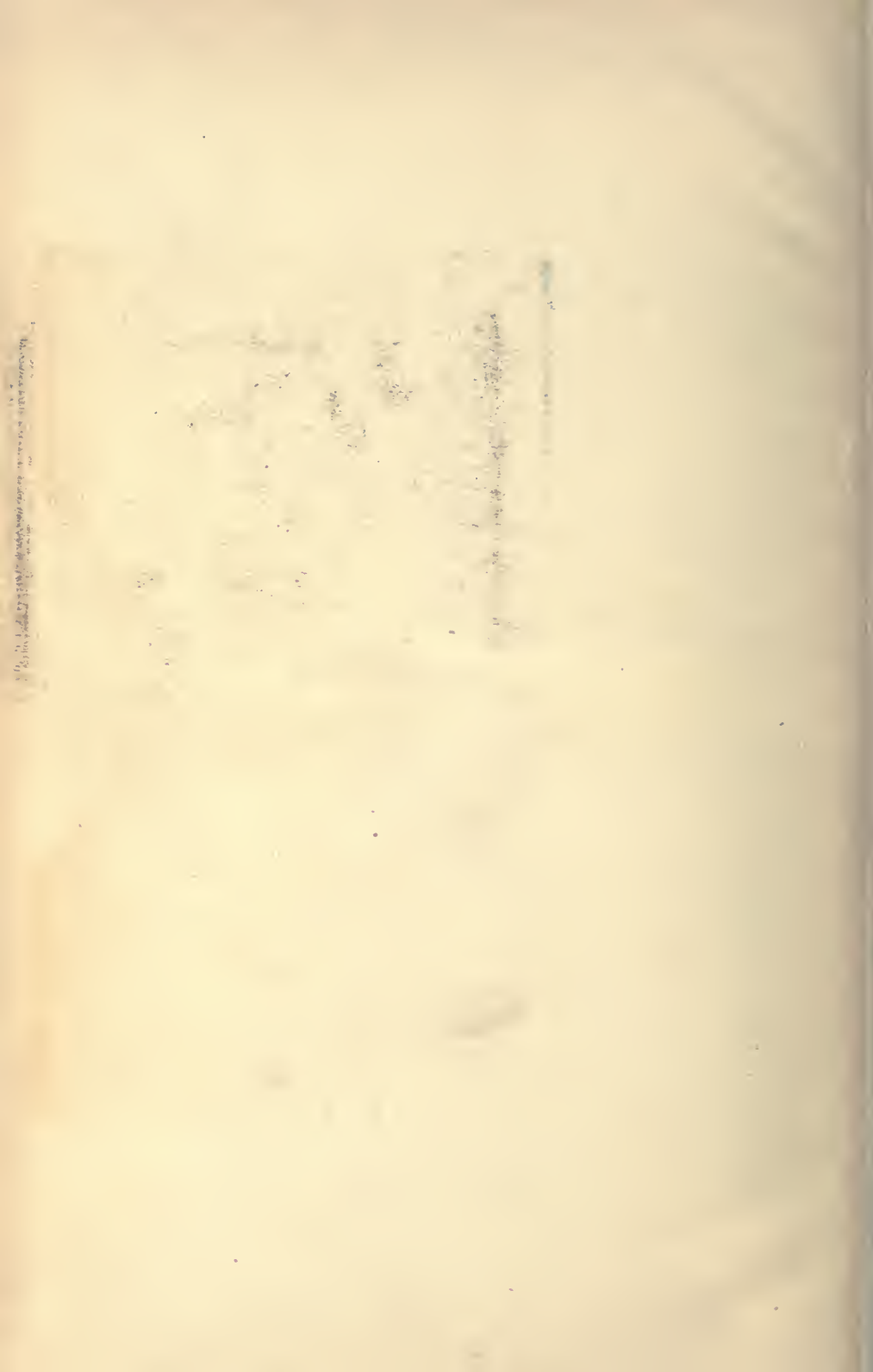












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